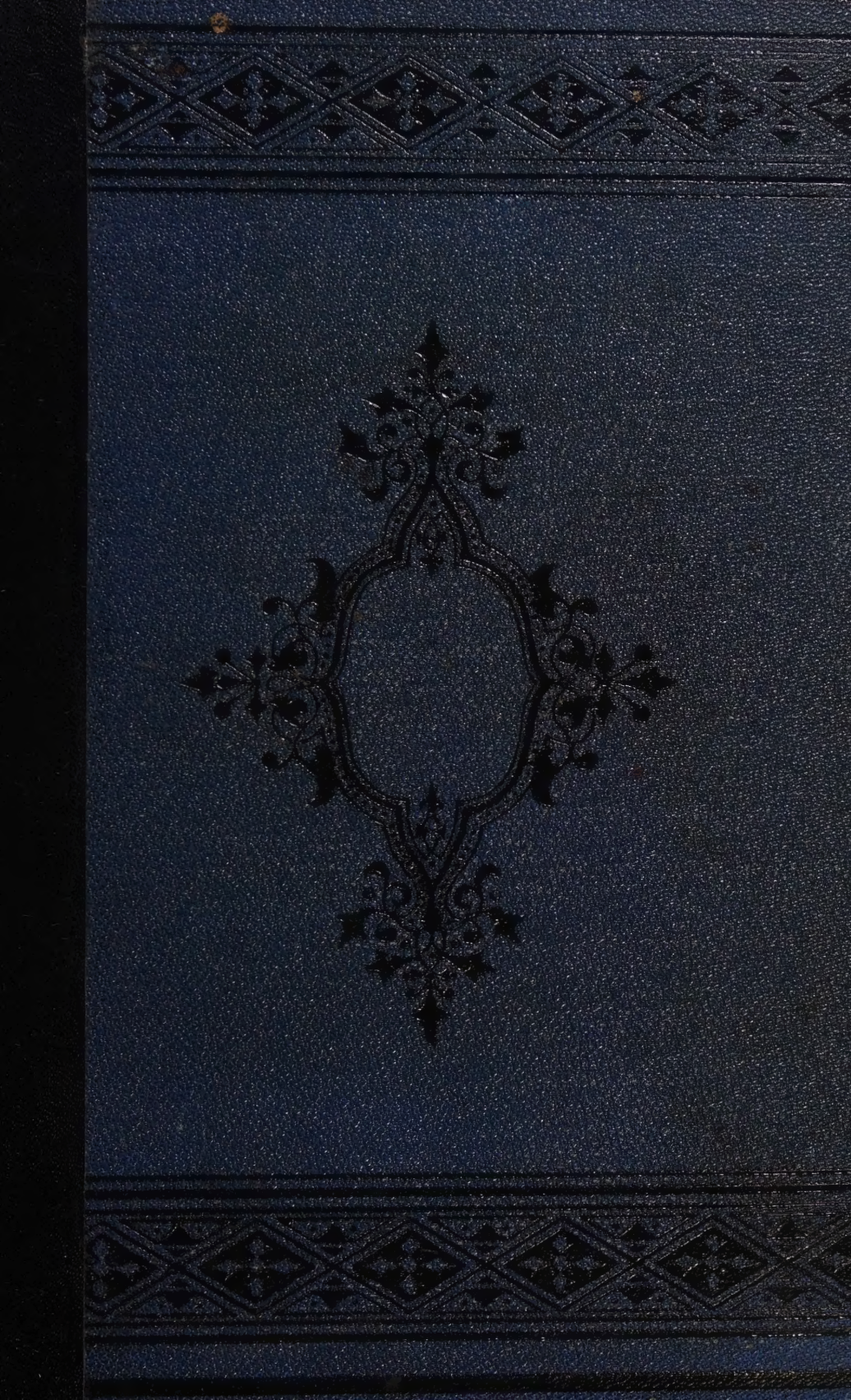




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35. English and Gascon Lords at Bordeaux.



36. Joan of Arc at the Siege of Jargeau. Page 257.

THE ILLUSTRATED
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY

THOMAS KEIGHTLEY.

REVISED AND EDITED,

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS,

BY

JOSHUA TOULMIN SMITH,

AUTHOR OF "COMPARATIVE VIEW OF ANCIENT HISTORY," "NORTHMEN IN
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P R E F A C E

TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

IN presenting this work to the public, some remarks are owing from the Editor explanatory of the office which he has discharged in reference to it. In the two former Histories of this series, (the Histories of Greece and Rome of the same author,) the chief labor has been confined to a careful revision of notes and authorities, the correction of any casual errors, the omission of any doubtful expressions of *opinion*, and the careful preparation of an assistant table of contemporary history. The work now before us requires, however, something more of editorial labor, — which it is only fair to the Author and Reader to point out. I. Histories of Greece and Rome allude to matters concerning which the inhabitants of England and America have equal means of information. That which, in its allusions, is adapted to one country, is, therefore, equally so to another. This is not the case, however, with respect to a history of England. Such a history, written in England, must necessarily contain allusions familiar to every inhabitant of that country, but which will not be thus familiar to others. Notes or alterations are then sometimes necessary, in order to make these allusions clear. II. Mr. Keightley is, in general, remarkable, above all other historians, for his candor, his freedom from party bias. He generally gives the facts on each side with equal fairness and freedom, and his expressions of opinion in respect to agitated or party questions are usually equally unbiased and independent. But there are, as it is impossible there should not be, occasional instances in which a prejudice or bias is apparent. As it is most important that *history* should comprise a rigidly strict adherence to *facts*, without any biased interpretation of those facts by the historian, the Editor has thought it his duty to prune all such exhibitions of prejudice or bias. It will be observed that *opinions*, not *facts*, are here spoken of. No fact has ever been altered, for Mr. Keightley

is rigidly accurate and careful in all such details. It is only the interpretation of such facts, and the expression of opinion upon them, that have been subject to editorial revision. The chief points in which such bias appears in the original, are the following;—with reference to the influence and deeds of the church of Rome and her followers; with reference to the merits of queen Elizabeth and her conduct towards Mary queen of Scots; and with reference to some of the more recent demonstrations of public opinion in Britain. Throughout the whole work, Mr. Keightley exhibits exalted and noble views of constitutional independence; his account of the Stuarts is admirable, and his summary of the struggles of the spirit of the nation with the assumed prerogative of the monarch is perhaps the best that has ever appeared. It may be expected, perhaps, that much of the account of the American revolution would require considerable alteration. Such has not been the case. The spirit of the narrative, on that point, is candid, and liberal, and just. But few expressions or allusions can be complained of by any candid reader. Such as could justly be so have been amended. In every case in which alteration or amendment has been made, it has been done in one of the three following ways—either, 1. by entirely erasing the expression or paragraph; 2. by inserting a word or sentence in the body of the text between brackets, [thus,] to distinguish it from the Author's own words; or, 3. by the addition of a foot note, illustrating, or qualifying, or adding to the text. In no case has the Author been made to say that which, in the original, he has not said. A Chronological Table of the Kings of England has been also added. It is hoped that these editorial labors will render the work more complete and valuable as a record of authentic history.

A word more on the subject of these volumes. It must be remembered that they contain details of the *political* history of England only; that is, merely and solely, of the form of the government, and of the relations of the country, in what may be termed its *corporate capacity as a nation*, with other nations. It does *not* contain a history of the progress of society, or of that of science, physical, intellectual, or moral;—branches of history far more important, it is true, but still distinct from political history;—political history, though connected with and in a great measure dependent on these, being only indirectly, and, in many respects, remotely so. Hence it happens that, in this, as in all other political histories, a vast deal is seen of the *animal* nature

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION. 1

of man, while other characteristics are thrown into the shade. The *animal* nature of man has, until within a comparatively recent period, held the chief sway in all political relations, and the settlement of political disputes. By the *animal* nature is here simply meant the impulses which lead to the love of acquisition and the glory of the battle-field, — both as purely *animal* impulses as any that mark the beasts that perish; both happily, now, though only very recently, reduced, in all most civilized communities, under subjection to the moral and intellectual nature of man. Hence, in such political histories, battles and their details are too frequent. *Nations*, until a very recent period, have invariably had recourse, in the settlement of all disputes, to the barbarous form of *wager of battle*, to decide the right, although, by the express laws of almost every nation in Europe, *wager of battle* between *individuals* has been long abolished. It is extraordinary that so barbarous and absurd a custom should have been thus so inconsistently persevered in, in the one case, while it has been abolished in the other. The public mind in England is, however, at the present time, in general, as much opposed to the appeal to this antiquated ordeal in the one case as the other; and it is to be hoped that the page of the future historian will abound chiefly in details of the moral and intellectual history of that as well as other nations; and that the history of society, of science, and of literature, will take high precedence of the history of politics. Meantime, the history of the politics of every nation must be studied by all who would observe the advance of nations, or truly understand their actual condition. More especially is that study important in respect of those nations where, as in England, the struggle between general independence and assumed individual prerogative, has been long continued and eventful, though crowned at last with noble and glorious success.

I. T. S.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE history of England may be regarded as consisting of two distinct portions, the Tudor period being one of transition. The former is that of middle-age, papal and feudal England: the latter, that of the same country modern, protestant, and constitutional, employing this last term in a restricted sense. The present work follows this division: the first volume contains the former period, and that of the transition in politics and religion; the concluding one will bring the history down to the present times.

Those who have read my former historical works will, I trust, give me credit for a love of justice and liberty, and a hatred of oppression and tyranny under all their forms, joined with courage in expressing my sentiments. It may also, I hope, be said with truth of my writings—

Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi;
Sunt lacrymæ rerum; et mentem mortalia tangunt.

The tyranny which I had to stigmatize in Greece and Rome was that of oligarchy and democracy. In middle-age England a tyranny of a different species presents itself—the despotism which would enslave the mind, and consequently degrade it. I need hardly say that it is to the church of Rome that I allude, which, under menaces of eternal torments, seeks to force on the world a system of doctrines, the belief in which (I speak not of mere profession) is always degrading to man's intellectual, frequently to his moral, nature. This system I have felt it my duty to expose, in order to remind us of what we are but too apt to forget—the great benefit which the Reformation has been to the world, and the gratitude which we owe to those undaunted spirits who achieved it. Religion is of more importance to a state than self-styled philosophers represent it. It is in fact so essential to our nature, that society cannot long exist without it: where it is pure, civil liberty will generally be found in its train; where it

has sunk to mere superstition, despotism is its usual ally. Hence I have little hope of ever seeing true liberty enthroned in Southern Europe, or extending her ennobling influence through the vast regions of Southern America.

I have not hesitated to make Dr. Lingard my principal guide in about a third of the present volume; as in the history anterior to the House of Tudor I did not deem it always necessary to write immediately from the original authorities, though I have frequently consulted them. From the commencement of the period alluded to, the inquirer after truth must draw from the original sources; for all the modern streams are turbid with religious and political prejudices.

It is almost superfluous to mention my obligations to the writings of Mr. Hallam; for it would be mere presumption to write a history of England without their aid. On various occasions I have introduced the profound and beautiful reflections of sir James Mackintosh. They constitute the principal value of his work, his narrative being very indifferent and frequently incorrect. To Mr. Turner and M. Von Raumer I have also to acknowledge my obligations.

In an Appendix are introduced various matters which could not properly form a part of the text. I have commenced it with a list of the principal authorities, as there was not space for references at the foot of the pages.

F. K.

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THE
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ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

B. C. 55—A. D. 450.

IF in imagination we transport ourselves back in time for a space of about two thousand years, and view the isle of Britain, whose vales and plains are now blooming with the riches of cultivation, whose numerous cities and towns are animated with the activity of commerce and manufacture, whose fleets ride triumphant on the most distant oceans, and whose political institutions claim the admiration of the entire world,—a widely different scene will appear before us. We shall behold a region covered with forests and spreading into marshes; its inhabitants a rude, barbarous race, subsisting chiefly on the milk and flesh of their numerous herds of cattle, with little of agriculture, and few of the useful arts; their towns mere enclosures in the woods; their dwellings rude wicker cabins, their only vessel the *coracle*, or boat of frame work covered with skins. Nearly as low in the scale of humanity, as her colonists in after-times found the aborigines of the New World, were the original tribes of Britain when the legions of Rome first landed on her shores.*

The indigenous inhabitants of the British isles were beyond doubt a portion of the Celtic race, whose seats on the main land extended eastwards to the Rhine, and southwards into Spain. The manners, customs, and institutions of

* See Appendix (A.)

the whole race were the same, only varying according to their geographical position; the rudeness and barbarism declining as they came near more civilized countries. Like all races in a low state of culture, the Celts were divided into numerous independent tribes, and warfare evermore prevailed among them. These tribes were composed of three classes or orders; the sacerdotal order, named Druids, the nobility, and the common people. All knowledge was in the hands of the Druids; they were the priests, the philosophers, and the judges of the people; those who refused to submit to their sentence were punished by excommunication, and as the Celtic race has been at all times prone to superstition, this weapon was as powerful in their hands as in those of the Romish clergy of after-ages. They were presided over by an arch-druid who held his office for life; they formed not a *caste*, but an *order*, into which any one who was duly qualified might be admitted. The Druids had a peculiar system of physics and astronomy; they taught in verses, which were never committed to writing; their chief doctrine was that of the Metempsychosis, or passage of the soul into various bodies; their religious system was dark and sanguinary. The order enjoyed immunity from all taxes and imposts, and were not required to serve in war. The nobility exercised a despotic power over the inferior people, who were in a state of the most abject slavery; and the power of the Vergobret, or prince, of each tribe was absolute.

We thus see that the institutions of the Celtic tribes offered a striking resemblance to those of the East; the same degrading thralldom of the inferior people, the same exaltation of the sacerdotal order as in Egypt and India; even the employment of chariots in war was common to both regions. Hence many have derived the Celtic religion and institutions immediately from Asia; but this is a theory of which there is no need, and for which no satisfactory evidence has been offered.

The Celts of Britain had dwelt for ages in the seclusion of their isle, without any direct intercourse with the civilized nations round the Mediterranean, when at length the arms of Rome reached the opposite coast of Gaul. We are certainly told much of the direct trade to Britain of the Tyrians and their colonists of Carthage, but no proofs of this are to be found, and it is much more probable that the tin, iron, and other minerals of the island were conveyed over land to Spain or the south of Gaul, and there disposed of to the foreign traders. We are also of opinion that the mines of Brit-

ain were wrought by the Germans, who, under the name of Belgians, had colonized its southern coast, and not by the natives, and that it was in their large vessels, and not in the British *coracles*, that the commerce was carried on with the continent.

Such then was the state of Britain when (B. C. 55) Julius Cæsar, being engaged in his project of subduing Gaul as a means to the enslaving of his own country, thought that the invasion of an island which was regarded as beyond the limits of the world might tell to his advantage at Rome. He accordingly embarked with two legions, and having effected a landing near Deal on the coast of Kent, defeated the natives who came to oppose him; but as it was not convenient for him to make any stay in the country, he granted the Britons peace on their promise of sending him hostages, and returned to Gaul. The following spring he landed with a force of five legions and two thousand horse: the Britons, who, laying aside their jealousies, had given the supreme command to Cassivelaunus, prince of the Trinobantians,* opposed without effect his passage of the Stour; he afterwards forced the passage of the Thames above Kingston, took Cassivelaunus' chief town, received the submission and hostages of several states, and having imposed tributes (which never were paid) quitted Britain forever.

The civil war occupied the remainder of Cæsar's life, the policy of his successor, Augustus, was adverse to extending the already enormous empire, yet an intercourse was kept up with the British chiefs, some of whom made offerings on the Capitol, and they allowed duties to be levied on the commerce between Britain and Gaul.† The policy of Tiberius was similar to that of his predecessor. The frantic savage, Caligula, to whom the empire next fell, led the army, at the head of which he was plundering Gaul, to the coast opposite Britain, (A. D. 36;) the warlike engines were set in order, and he issued his commands to the expecting troops to charge the ocean, and gather its shells as spoils due to the Capitol and Palatium.

At length, while the imperial throne was occupied by the feeble Claudius, (43,) the plan of conquering Britain was seriously resumed. An exiled British prince having applied to the emperor, orders were issued to A. Plautius, who commanded in Gaul, to invade the island. The Roman soldiers at first hesitated to embark. When they landed they found

* See Appendix (B.) † Strabo, iv. 5.

no enemy to oppose them, for the Britons had fled to their forests and marshes, thinking the invaders would retire; but Plautius hunted them out, and subdued the country south of the Thames. The emperor himself soon after appeared in Britain, crossed the Thames, and routed an army of the natives; and having been in the island but sixteen days in all, returned and triumphed at Rome. The war in Britain was continued by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, the future emperor. The command was afterwards (51) given to P. Ostorius, who carried his arms to the Avon and the Severn; he easily routed the Icenians; the resistance of the Silurians, under their gallant chief Caractacus, (Caradoc,) was more stubborn, but the legions were victorious in a great battle, in which the family of the chief became captives, and he himself, seeking refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantians, was by her basely surrendered. They were led before the tribunal of Claudius, in the presence of assembled Rome. The British prince addressed the emperor in dignified and manly terms, and life and liberty were granted to him and his family.

The defeat and capture of Caractacus did not end the war; the Silurians still gave the Romans abundant employment, and Ostorius died worn out with care and anxiety. His successors Didius and Veranius carried on the conflict without much success. At length (62) the command in Britain was given to Suetonius Paulinus, an officer of great ability and courage. Regarding the isle of Mona, (Anglesea,) which was the chief seat of the Druids, as the centre of union and focus of resistance among the Britons, he resolved to reduce it. He led his army to the strait of the Menai; they beheld the opposite shore covered by armed Britons, among whom, with wild gestures, dishevelled locks, and brandishing flaming torches, ran women exciting them to courage, while the Druids stood apart, and with hands upraised to heaven devoted the invaders of their sacred isle. The Romans paused: at length, urged by the voice of their general, they advanced their standards: the foe made but a brief resistance; the isle became the dominion of the victors, who built there a fort, and cut down the groves which so often had witnessed the human sacrifices offered by the Druids.

While Suetonius was thus engaged, he was summoned to quell an insurrection in the part called the Province. The king of the Icenians, when dying, had followed the Roman practice of making Cæsar heir, along with his two only daughters, hoping thus to secure their succession;

But the Roman officers entered on his kingdom as a conquered country; they violated the princesses, beat and scourged their mother Boadicea, and plundered and enslaved the nobles. Joined by the Trinobantians, the Icenians flew to arms; as the veterans who had been placed as a colony at Camalodunum (Maldon) had behaved with the usual violence and insolence of the Roman military colonists, they were the first objects of attack. They were utterly destroyed; the legate Cerealis, who was leading his troops to their aid, was defeated. Suetonius, on coming by forced marches to Londinium, (London,) found it necessary to leave that flourishing city and the municipal town of Verulamium (St. Albans) to their fate, and seventy thousand persons were slaughtered in them by the Britons. Suetonius, having drawn together a force of about ten thousand men, took up a position flanked by eminences, his rear being secured by a wood. The plain in front was soon filled with the troops and squadrons of the advancing foes; Boadicea, bearing her insulted daughters in her car, drove from nation to nation, exhorting them to avenge their injuries. The fight began; but victory soon took the side of skill and discipline; eighty thousand Britons, it was said, lay slain. Boadicea terminated her life by poison. Fire, sword, and famine then wasted various parts of the island. The successors of Suetonius were inactive; Vespasian, when emperor, gave the command in Britain to Cerealis, who made war with success against the Brigantians, and then to Frontinus, who subdued the Silurians.

Vespasian next committed Britain to Cn. Julius Agricola, a man who united in his person all the civil and military virtues. Soon after his arrival (80) he retook Mona, of which the Britons had repossessed themselves; he then devoted himself to conciliating the minds of the natives by a proper regulation of the tributes, and by introducing justice into the administration of affairs. After some time (82) he led out his troops and conquered the country to the æstuary of the Taus, (Tweed?) and the next year (83) he built a line of forts from the firth of Forth to that of Clyde. He had some thoughts of invading Ireland, one of whose princes, being expelled, had sought his aid; and he was of opinion that a single legion and a few auxiliaries would suffice for the conquest of that island, whose people were even more barbarous than the Britons. The tribes north of the firths, who were called Caledonians, meantime (85) prepared for war; they assailed the Roman forts; they also fell on the

ninth legion in the night, and were near overcoming it. Agricola resolved to invade their country; he advanced as far as the Grampians, which he found occupied by an army of thirty thousand warriors, which was receiving daily accessions of strength; each clan was led by its own chief, but the superior abilities of Galgacus were acknowledged by all. The infantry, armed with claymore and target, occupied the hills; the horse and war-cars moved about on the plain. But vain as ever were the arms and courage of the mountaineers against the discipline of the legions; the night beheld ten thousand Caledonian warriors lying dead on the plain. Agricola, having advanced somewhat further into the country, and forced some of the tribes to give him hostages, led his army back to winter quarters. His fleet meantime sailed northwards, and having succeeded in circumnavigating the island, returned to its usual station at Sandwich.

The conquests of Agricola gave the Roman dominion in Britain its greatest extent. All the native tribes south of the firths lived henceforth in peaceful submission to the empire; the Roman language and manners were gradually diffused among them; colonies and municipal towns were spread over the island; war was unknown, except on the northern frontier, where the untamed Caledonians gave the legions occasional employment. Against their incursions the emperor Hadrian, when in Britain, built a wall from the Tyne to the Solway firth, and in the reign of his successor, Antoninus, a similar wall was constructed on the line of the forts between the firths raised by Agricola. The distance of Britain from the seat of government, and the security of its insular position, often excited its prefects to assume the imperial purple, and it was hence named "an isle fertile of usurpers," (*tyrannorum*.) The two most celebrated of these usurpers were Carausius, at the end of the third, and Maximus, at the end of the fourth century.

During the period of Roman dominion the zeal of the early Christians introduced the beneficent religion of the gospel into Britain, as into all other parts of the empire, and it became the dominant faith throughout the Romanized part of the island. The names of Pelagius, a Welshman, and of Celestius, a North Briton, are famous on account of their theories of original sin and free will, which caused them to be ranked among the heretics of those times.

When internal decay, and the pressure of the barbarians from without were menacing the existence of the empire.

the troops were gradually withdrawn from the more remote provinces. The Picts, as the people north of the firths are now called, being strengthened by the Scots of Ireland who had settled on the west coast of their country, began to pour in their ferocious hordes on the Roman province; they even reached and plundered London, and, though defeated, renewed without ceasing their incursions. The Saxons from the opposite coast of Germany also made frequent plundering descents on the unwarlike province. The legions were at length totally withdrawn, and the Britons left to their own resources. Instead, however, of uniting against the common enemies, their princes and chiefs wasted their powers in contests for the supremacy of the island. At length (449) Gwerthern, or Vortigern, a British prince, being hard pressed by his rival for dominion Aurelius Ambrosius, (who claimed descent from Maximus,) and harassed by the incessant inroads of the Scots and Picts, resolved on the fatal expedient of taking a body of the Saxon freebooters into his service, and he formed a treaty with two of their chiefs, named Hengist and Horsa.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS.

450—827.

THE Germanic or Teutonic race, which occupied Europe east of the Rhine, differed in language, religion, manners, and external appearance from their western neighbors the Celts. The love of liberty was a leading trait in their character; their obedience to their chiefs was free and voluntary; their religion, though a part of their being, was no slavish superstition; and the German quailed not, like the Celt, before a sacerdotal order. He held the female sex in honor, and nowhere was valor seen to pay homage to beauty as in the forests of Germany. The Germans further differed from the Celts in their passion for maritime enterprise; and while the Celt had only his hide-covered coracle to creep

along the shore,* the Germans ploughed the waves and faced the storm in strong, well-rigged ships.† This led them, like the ancient Greeks, to combine piracy with trade, and we may suppose that after the Roman conquest of Gaul and Britain, and the consequent increase of luxury and wealth in these countries, the practice of piracy became more extensive among the maritime Germans.

These piratic tribes were the Jutes of the Cimbric peninsula, or Jutland, the Angles of Jutland and Holstein, and the Saxons who dwelt thence to the Rhine. Hengist and Horsa, to whom Vortigern applied, were Ealdormen or chiefs of the Jutes, and the tradition is that they came to his aid with three *chiule* (keels, *i. e.* ships,) carrying sixteen hundred men. In imitation of the Roman practice of granting lands for military service, Vortigern bestowed on them the isle of Thanet, whither numbers of their countrymen repaired to them. Their arms were successful against the Scots and Picts, but when the Britons refused to comply with their further demands, they joined these northern tribes, and spread their ravages over the whole island. The Britons, led by Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, (which last they had deposed for his vices and incapacity,) now resisted with all their might, and in one battle, (455,) fought at Ægeles- (Ayles-) ford, Horsa was slain; Hengist then associated with himself his son Eric, or Æsk, and a series of victories gave them possession of the whole of Kent, which was the first of the kingdoms formed by the invaders.

The British writers relate the following anecdotes in connection with these events, but which probably are mere fictions to cover the disgrace of defeat. Hengist, they say, had a beautiful daughter, named Rowena, whom he resolved to employ as a means to extend his influence over the British king. At a banquet given by Hengist, the fair Rowena advanced, bearing a golden goblet filled with wine, and presented it to Vortigern,‡ who, having thus an opportunity

* The Venetians of Gaul, who fought with Cæsar on the sea, (B. G. iii. 8—16,) might seem to form an exception; but Strabo (iv. 4) assures us they were Belgians, and these were always regarded as of Germanic origin.

† Among other reasons for regarding the navigation of the Germans and their northern kindred as homesprung, may be mentioned, that the names of a ship, and all its parts, are original terms of their languages, and not adopted from the Latin, Greek, or Punic.

‡ Her words on this occasion were, *Was heal, hlaford conung!* ("Health to thee, lord king!") from the first two of which was formed the old English *wassail*. The usual reply was, *Drinc heal*

of contemplating her beauty, became enamored. He asked and obtained her of her father, and, as was to be expected, she used an injurious influence over his mind. Again, it is said that after the first war between the Britons and Saxons, a banquet, the scene of which was the celebrated Stonehenge, was held at the ratification of a peace; but the treacherous Hengist had made his companions conceal their *seaxes*, or short swords, beneath their garments, and on his crying out as had been concerted, "Lay hold on your seaxes!" (*Nimet' eure seaxes*,) they fell on and slew three hundred of the British nobles, and made Vortigern a prisoner.

To return to the history. The Jutes were followed by the Saxons; a chief named Ella landed (477) with his three sons to the west of Kent, and defeated the Britons, and drove them into the wood of Andredes-leage;* he again (490) routed them, and took and razed their town of Andredes-ceastre. He then formed the kingdom of the South-Saxons, which embraced the modern county of Sussex.

Another body of Saxons, led by Cerdic and his son Cynric, landed (494) to the west of the kingdom of the South-Saxons. They also were victorious against the Britons, and they gradually conquered the country from Sussex to the river Avon in Hampshire; they also passed the Thames, and subdued the country as far as Bedford. These were called the West-Saxons, and the kingdom of Cerdic was named Wessex.

The Saxons at this time also established themselves on the east coast, where they formed the kingdom of the East-Saxons, or Essex, of which that of the Middle-Saxons, or Middlesex, was a part.

The Angles now followed the example of their kindred tribes, and a large body of them occupied the country to the north of Essex, which was named from them East-Anglia. Here they were divided into two portions, named the North-folk, (Norfolk,) and the South-folk, (Suffolk.)

The country from the Humber to the firth of Forth was occupied by the British kingdoms of Deyfyr (Deira) and Bryneich, (Bernicia,) which were separated by a forest extending from the Tees to the Tyne. The Jutes and Saxons are said to have invaded Bernicia in the time of Hengist, but without much success. At length (547) Ida, the Angle, landed with a large force at Flamborough Head, and he

* The *Weald* (that is, *wood*) of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, is the remains of this forest.

speedily made himself master of the country. It is not known how the conquest of Deira was achieved, but in 560 we find it under the dominion of the Angle Ella. Deira and Bernicia were afterwards, under the name of Northumbria, united under one monarch, and the kingdom thus formed was the most powerful in the island.

The country south of Deira and west of Anglia was regarded as *march-* or border-land toward the Britons, (whence its name of Mercia.) It was chiefly settled by the Angles; a great part of the population continued British, and it was divided into a number of states. Mercia was at first, it would seem, under the supremacy of Northumbria, but a fierce chief named Penda cast off the subjection, (626;) conquests were made from the Britons and West- and East-Saxons, and gradually Mercia became extensive and powerful.

Thus was formed what is usually called the *Heptarchy*, or *seven* states, founded by the German conquerors of Britain. This term has been objected to as not strictly correct, for there were at first *eight* instead of *seven* independent kingdoms; but Deira and Bernicia were so early united under one sceptre, that it seems to us a needless effort after exactness, to change, as has been done, Heptarchy into Octarchy.

The Britons, or Welsh,* as they were named by the conquerors, were thus driven back to the western side of the island. Their country, extending from Alclud or Dunbarton (i. e. Dun or fort of the Britons) on the Clyde to the south of Lancashire, separated from Northumbria by a range of mountains, was named Strathclyde and Cumbria; they also held, and their descendants retain, the country named Wales; and, in the south, Damnonia (Devonshire) and Cernaw, (Cornwall,) under the name of West-Wales, were long independent of the Saxons. Of the Britons of the conquered country, part fell in defence of their liberty and property; part sought refuge with their independent kindred; the remainder submitted, and were incorporated among the conquerors in various relations of freedom or servitude. It is remarkable, that in these parts their language went entirely out of use; †

* The Anglo-Saxon word *Wealh*, (i. e. *Gael*,) and its kindred terms in the other Teutonic dialects, signify a *Gaul*, *stranger*, or *foreigner*. Thus the Germans at the present day call Italy *Wälschland*, and the Italians *Walscher*. The Valais in Switzerland, the Walloons, &c., are all of the same origin.

† See Appendix (C.) In Celtic, *amhain* (pronounced *awan* or *owan* akin to *amnis*) is a *river*, and *uisge* is *water*. There are three or more

British terms form no portion of the modern English; few towns or lands retain Celtic names; the chief vestiges of the Celtic having once prevailed over the whole island are the appellations of some mountains and streams.

We have thus succinctly related the conquest of Britain as it has been transmitted to us by the oldest authorities. We must not, however, conceal the fact that but one, the British Gildas, can be regarded as a contemporary, and that from him we obtain hardly any details; while Venerable Bede, our principal authority, was not born till two centuries after the conquest; and as Christianity, and with it letters, was not introduced among the Saxons much more than half a century before his time, we are left to suppose that the genealogies of chiefs and the songs of bards were the materials for the history of the conquest and the succeeding century and half. How little real history these usually transmit is well known; in the present case, for instance, the numbers of the invaders are ludicrously small, and the names of the first leaders have such a mythic air, as to lead some inquirers even to doubt of their actual existence.* Nor are the tales of the British bards more credible than those of the Saxons, and the fame and the existence of their renowned Arthur are at least as problematic as those of Hengist and Horsa.

To proceed: all Britain was thus divided among the Anglo-Saxons, as we call the conquerors; the Britons, or Welsh; and the Picts and Scots, north of the Roman wall. Ceaseless warfare, it will readily be supposed, prevailed among all these independent states; and the Anglo-Saxons, little heeding their community of origin, turned their arms as freely against each other as against the Welsh or the Picts. Milton has said that these conflicts are as undeserving of notice "as the fights between the kites and the crows," and this remark certainly holds good with respect to the general reader, though it may not apply with equal force to the philosopher or the antiquary. We will therefore

rivers in England named *Avon*, the same as the former word; and the Exe, Axe, Esk, (to which we may, perhaps, add the Isis, Ouse, and Wash,) are connected with the latter.

* Hengist and Horsa both signify *horse*; the white horse is the arms of Kent and Hanover; the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, kept sacred white horses, from whose neighing they took omens. (See Palgrave, *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, Part i. p. 395.) We do not, however, think that their names present any difficulty. Wolf (*Ulf*) and Bear (*Beorn*) were names of real persons; why then object to Horse?

content ourselves with selecting some of the most prominent events in each of the kingdoms during the space of about two centuries.

We shall begin with Kent, as it was in this kingdom that Christianity was first introduced among the heathen Saxons.* The following was the occasion. Gregory (who was afterwards pope, and named the Great) happening when a young man to pass through the slave-market at Rome, his attention was caught by some boys, with fair long hair and blooming complexions, who were there exposed for sale. He asked the slave-dealer of what country they were: he was told that they were Angles. "With reason," said he, "are they so called, for they are fair as *angels*, and would that they might be cherubim in heaven! But from what province of Britain are they?" "From Deïra." "Deïra!" said he, "that is good; they must be delivered from the wrath (*de ira*) of God. But what is the name of their king?" "Ella." "Ella! Allelujah then should be sung in his dominions." Gregory forthwith resolved to go on a mission to Britain; he obtained the pontiff's consent, but the people of Rome would not suffer him to expose his life to such peril. At length he ascended the papal throne himself, and he then resolved to make no delay in proposing the truths of the gospel to the pagan Saxons. He selected a monk named Augustine, whom with forty companions he sent to Britain, (596.)

The conjuncture was favorable. Ethelbert, king of Kent, was married to a Christian princess, Berta, sister of Caribert, king of Paris: when, therefore, the missionaries landed in the isle of Thanet, and sent to solicit an interview with the king, it was readily granted; but Ethelbert, fearful of magic, would only receive them in the open air. They advanced, bearing aloft a silver cross, and a banner displaying the image of Christ, and chanting litanies; then addressing the king, they explained to him the tenets of their faith. Ethelbert hesitated to embrace the new doctrine, but he gave them leave to preach it to his people, and assured them of his protection. Soon, however, the king and his court became converts, and his example so wrought on his subjects that not less than ten thousand of them were baptized on one Christmas. He gave up his own palace to the mis-

* National hatred on one side, and contempt on the other, had probably prevented, or rendered unavailing, any attempts on the part of the British Christians to convert the Saxons.

sionaries, and the church which they built adjoining it occupied the site of the present cathedral of Canterbury. Sebert, king of Essex, the nephew of Ethelbert, readily embraced the Christian religion, and on the site of an ancient temple of Apollo, in a wild, desert island formed by the branches of a small river that fell into the Thames to the west of London, and which was named Thorney (Thorn-isle) from its appearance, he built a church dedicated to St. Peter, — the present Westminster Abbey. He also built in London, on the site of a temple of Diana, a cathedral dedicated to St. Paul.

On the death of Ethelbert, however, the new faith seemed likely to decline; his son and successor Eadbald, smitten with the charms of the widowed queen, made her his wife, and returned to the religion of his fathers. The sons of Sebert also renounced the new faith. Mellitus, bishop of London, and Justus, bishop of Rochester, returned to Gaul, and Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, was preparing to follow their example. Ere he departed he resolved to make one more effort to reclaim Eadbald. The night before he was to set out for the continent, he caused his bed to be made in the church. In the morning he came to take leave of the king, and stripping his back and shoulders, showed them bloody with the marks of recent stripes. Eadbald asked who had dared thus to treat a person in his station. He was told they were the chastisement inflicted on him, in the dead of the night, by the prince of the apostles, for his having thought of abandoning his flock. The king was terrified; he put away his queen, suppressed idolatry, and became a most zealous Christian.*

Edwin, king of Northumbria, was married to Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, and at the request of her brother Eadbald he allowed (625) a missionary named Paulinus to preach in his dominions. Edwin's had been a life of vicissitude; he was heir to the crown of Deira, but Ethelfrith, king

* As this is one of the first Romish miracles in English history, we must make a few remarks on this subject. Of the fact above related we see no reason to doubt, though most surely St. Peter was not the flagellator. From the earliest ages to the present day, that "the end sanctifies the means" has been the maxim of the Church of Rome. The fraud, as was apparently the case in the present instance, was often well intended, but still it was fraud, and therefore is to be condemned. The preceding narrative is given at full length by Venerable Bede. Dr. Lingard thus softens it: "On the morning of his intended departure he made a last attempt on the mind of Eadbald; his representations were successful." Surely this is not fair-dealing in a historian.

of Bernicia, who had married his sister, expelled him when an infant from his inheritance. When Edwin grew up, he sought refuge with Redwald, king of East-Anglia, where, from his manners and conduct, he gained universal favor. E helfrith sent repeatedly, offering large rewards to Redwald if he would kill him or give him up. The Anglian prince at first steadfastly refused; at length he began to waver. Edwin was informed of his danger, but he refused to fly; the queen then strongly interested herself in his favor, and Redwald resolved to remain in the path of honor. Knowing that a war must ensue, he resolved to anticipate Ethelfrith, and he invaded his dominions. Ethelfrith fell in battle against him, and Edwin became king of Northumbria, where he so distinguished himself by the strict administration of justice, that it was said that during his reign a woman or child might openly carry a purse of gold without danger. The king of Wessex, unable to face Edwin in the field, resolved to have him murdered. The assassin, named Eomer, came as an ambassador, and when the king stretched forth his hand to welcome him, he suddenly drew his sword and attempted to stab him; but Lilla, one of the king's officers, seeing the act, threw himself before the sword, which passed through his body and wounded the king. The fright of the queen brought on premature labor; the safety of herself and her babe was ascribed to the prayers of Paulinus, and with Edwin's permission the infant was baptized. A victory which he gained over the treacherous king of Wessex also contributed to dispose him to embrace the new faith, and after divers conferences with Paulinus, he called the great council of his realm to take the matter into consideration.

The first who spoke was Coifi, the chief priest. He declared himself satisfied of the nothingness of the gods whom he had hitherto served; "For if," said he, "they had power to bestow blessings, I, who have always served them, should have been most highly favored, whereas the contrary is the case." One of the nobles then spoke, likening the soul to a sparrow, which in the midwinter, when the king is enjoying himself with his lords by the fire, flies into the warren hall where they are sitting, and having flitted for some time around it, again goes out into the storm at another door. "Thus," added he, "we know nought of the origin or end of the soul, and if the new doctrine can give us any certainty, we should embrace it." All assented; Coifi then proposed that the temple of Godmundingham, at which he officiated should be destroyed, and offered to commence the profana

tion. It was the law among the Saxons that the priests should never carry arms, and should only ride on mares; but Coifi now, to prove his change of faith, mounted a war-steed, girt himself with a sword, and grasping a lance galloped on to the temple. The people thought him mad, and their amazement increased when they saw him hurl his lance against the fane; no opposition, however, was made to the demolition, and the number of the converts became so great, that for thirty-six days Paulinus was engaged from morning to night in baptizing them. The Christian faith was gradually adopted in the other states, and in zeal and piety the Anglo-Saxons might vie with any people of the time.

Of the political events of this period the following are the most deserving of note. In the year 626 Penda mounted the throne of Mercia, at the age of fifty, and he reigned for thirty years. He was a man of a violent, tyrannic character, ever at war with his neighbors. Edwin, king of Northumbria, and his successor Oswald fell in battle against him. Penda himself was slain at last in the battle of Winwid-feld, fought against Oswio of Northumbria, (655:) his successor Penda was a Christian, and the Mercians embraced the faith of their king. The greatest of the Mercian monarchs was Offa, who warred with success against the British princes, and drove them out of the plain country; to secure his conquests he ran an intrenchment, still named Offa's Dyke, from near Chester to the Wye. Offa also conquered Kent and Essex; Wessex submitted to him, and by treachery and murder he gained East-Anglia. For Ethelbert, king of that country, wishing to espouse one of his daughters, went in person to his court at Tamworth, in reliance on Offa's honor, though they had long been at enmity. But Offa's queen said to him, "Now you have your old enemy in your power, whose kingdom you have so long coveted;" and Offa treacherously seized and beheaded him. The princess, however, had time to give the Anglian nobles warning, and they made their escape, but Offa entered and conquered the kingdom. The power and fame of Offa were so great, that the emperor Charlemagne entered into friendship and alliance with him. Offa reigned forty years; after his death Mercia rapidly declined.

→ The supreme power in Britain was reserved for the royal line of Wessex. Egbert, a youth of the race of Cerdic, being deemed by the people to have a better right to the throne than Beortric, who occupied it, (784,) was an objec-

of suspicion to that monarch, and to save his life he took refuge with Offa, king of Mercia. Beortric sought and obtained the hand of Offa's daughter Edburga, (787,) but his request for the surrender of Egbert was refused. This young prince, however, not deeming himself secure, retired to the court of Charlemagne. Edburga, who was a woman of the most vicious character, frequently made her husband put his nobles to death: at times she was herself the agent; and one day, when she had mixed a cup of poison for one of the nobles, the king by mistake partook of it and died. The people rose, and drove Edburga from the country, and abolished the title of queen;* she went to France, thence to Italy, and king Offa's daughter finally died a common beggar at Pavia.

Egbert now returned from France, (800,) and occupied the vacant throne. He concluded a peace with Mercia, and then (809) turned his arms against the Britons of Cornwall and Wales, whom in the space of fourteen years he reduced to submission. The power of Egbert at length excited the jealousy of the Mercian king, and a war broke out; but the Mercians sustained a great defeat (823) at Ellandune, (Wilton,) and Egbert, then sending his son with an army into Kent, drove out of it the prince who governed it under the Mercians, and the people joyfully submitted to his rule. The East-Anglians revolted, and put themselves under the protection of Egbert. The king of Mercia led an army against them, but he fell in battle; the same was the fate of his successor; and Egbert finally (827) invaded and conquered Mercia. He then turned his arms against the Northumbrians, who submitted at his approach. The whole island south of the firths now acknowledged the authority of the king of Wessex.

We will terminate this portion of the early history by a few observations.

The resemblance is very striking between the heroic age of Greece and the early Anglo-Saxon period of Britain. In both the form of government is regal, and confined to particular families, who derived their lineage from the deities worshipped by the people; for if the Grecian *Basileus* traced his pedigree up to Zeus, the Saxon *King* drew *his* down from Wodin, (Odin,) the monarch of the northern heaven. The same qualities of mind and body were required in the sovereigns of both people. The king was the source of law,

* Hence, instead of *queen*, we shall find the term *lady* employed

and the administrator of justice, in Britain as in Greece; and if in one country he was aided by a *Bulé*, or senate, composed of the nobles or chieftains of his realm, the same appearance is presented by the other in its *Witena-gemot*, (*Meeting of the Witan*, or *Wisemen*,) or great council.*

The leaders of the Anglo-Saxons were at first called *Ealdormen* (*Aldermen*,) or elders.† When they took the title of King,‡ that of *Ealdormen* was retained for the inferior chieftains, or the governors of districts and towns. Some of the Anglo-Saxon kings assumed a still higher title, that of *Bretwalda*, or *Ruler of Britons*, and those who held it are supposed to have enjoyed some kind of supremacy over the different states of the island.§

CHAPTER III.

KINGS OF WESSEX SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

EGBERT, 800—836.

AT the time when Egbert mounted the throne of Wessex, the Anglo-Saxons had been for three centuries and a half the occupants of Britain. During all this time they had been divided into separate, independent states; and, as we have seen, warfare against each other or the original natives prevailed almost without intermission. A new and most formidable foe, of their own race and kindred, was now about to appear, and a closer union among their states was required. It would almost seem that Egbert had foreseen this necessity, for we are told that on his accession he gave the name of England (*Angle-land*) to his realm; and as only the West-Saxons were his subjects, we may infer that he even then aspired to the monarchy of the whole island. It was probably at the court of Charlemagne, and in imita-

* See History of Greece, Part I. ch. ii.

† As the Grecian chiefs were called *γέροντες*, Hom. II. ii. 53.

‡ *King* is cognate to the Persian *Khân*, and perhaps to the Celtic *Cean*, (head.)

§ The *Bretwaldas* were Ella of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex, Ethelbert of Kent, Redwald of East-Anglia, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswig of Northumbria, and Egbert of Wessex.

tion of that great monarch, that he formed this plan of extensive dominion.

The foes with whom the English were now to contend were the Northmen, (the people of Denmark and Norway, named by them the Danes. Like all nations in a low state of culture, the Danes had probably lived for centuries with little knowledge of any country but their own; and though they may have possessed the art of ship-building from time immemorial, and had navigated their own stormy seas without fear, we have no accounts of their pillaging the coasts of the more southern countries till about the period at which we are now arrived. Some internal changes, of which we are uninformed, may have taken place at this time in Scandinavia; excess of population may have caused want; a spirit of adventure may have sprung up from some unknown cause; at all events we shall henceforth find the fleets of the Vikingar, or northern pirates, annually devastating the coasts of France and England. They were still heathens, and the martial character of their religion tended to augment their ferocity.

Their first appearance in England is said to have been in 787, in which year they landed from three ships on the coast of Dorset; and when the reeve of the next town attempted to make them prisoners, they slew him, and escaped to their vessels. In 793 and 794 they made descents on Northumberland, and plundered the monasteries at Lindesfarne and Wearmouth. Probably from having become better acquainted with the political state of the island, they now directed their efforts against the south coast, and formed alliances with the Britons of Devon. In 833 they landed from thirty-five ships at Carrun (Charmouth) in Dorset, where king Egbert gave them battle. The slaughter was great on both sides, but the invaders kept the field. Two years after (835) a large body landed, and, being joined by the men of Devon, invaded Wessex; but Egbert met and defeated them at Hengistdune. The year after his victory king Egbert died, leaving two sons, Ethelwulf and Athelstan, of whom the former succeeded to the crown of Wessex, the latter obtained Kent, Essex, and Sussex.

ETHELWULF, 836—857.

The landings of the Danes on the east and south coast were now periodical, but they were in general stoutly resisted. Still, the spoil they were enabled to carry off en-

couraged them, and every year their numbers increased. They twice took and pillaged London and Canterbury, and in 851 having defeated the king of Mercia, they advanced into Surrey; but at Ac-lea (Ockley) they were encountered by king Ethelwulf and the West-Saxons, and routed with prodigious slaughter. In 854 a large body of them came and passed the winter in Sheppey island in the Thames.

While his kingdom was thus endangered, king Ethelwulf, urged by superstition, undertook (854) a pilgrimage to Rome, where he remained for twelve months. On his way home he married Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France. He had been previously married to Osberga, daughter of a nobleman named Oslac, who had borne him five sons, Athelstan, (now dead,) Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethered, and Alfred. The last was his favorite; and the year before, though he was but five years of age, he had sent him to Rome, where Pope Leo IV. consecrated him as king, and made him his godson. This circumstance alarmed Ethelbald, the eldest son, and he took up arms to secure his right to the throne. On the return of Ethelwulf a civil war was on the point of breaking out, but it was happily prevented by the moderation of the king, who, contenting himself with Kent, Sussex, and Essex, gave up Wessex to his son, (855.) Ethelwulf died soon after, (857,) and was succeeded by his second son, Ethelbert, in Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

ETHELBALD, 857—860.

Ethelbald gave great scandal to his people by marrying his step-mother Judith, but he divorced her on the remonstrances of Swithun, bishop of Winchester. He died after a short reign, and was succeeded by his brother Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT, 860—866

The Danes now resumed their ravages. They stormed and burned Winchester, (860;) but as they were returning to their ships laden with booty, they were fallen on and routed by the men of Berks and Hants. In 865 they settled themselves, as the Jutes had formerly done, in the isle of Thanet. Their neighbors of Kent gave them a large sum of money to purchase peace, but the faithless Danes took the money and then ravaged the country.

ETHERED, 866—871.

The reign of Ethelbert also was short. On his death (866) his next brother, Ethered, mounted the throne, and in the very year of his accession, a large army of Danes, led by three brothers named Halfdan, Hingvar, and Hubba, said to be the sons of the famous northern hero Ragnar Lodbrok, landed in East-Anglia, the people of which made peace with them and supplied them with horses. The pirates, thus mounted, crossed the Humber and poured into Northumbria, where the people were at discord among themselves, having deposed their rightful king Osbert, and given the throne to Ella, a man not of the royal line. The two rivals, however, joined their forces against the invaders and attacked them at York, which city they had taken; but the Northumbrians were defeated, and both their kings slain. The Danes then entered Mercia, and took the town of Nottingham. At the request of the king of Mercia, Ethered led an army to oppose them, but they seem to have kept possession of the town. They next spread into Lindesey, (Lincolnshire,) where they were bravely resisted, but their numbers and their ferocity finally prevailed. They plundered and burnt the monasterie of Medhamstede, (Peterborough.) Croyland, Ely, Thorney and Ramsey, and then invaded East-Anglia. Edmund, the king of that country, a prince celebrated for his virtue and piety, offered them a gallant resistance, but he was defeated, and, being hotly pursued, was discovered and dragged from his place of concealment. The Danes bound him to a tree, and, on his steadfast refusal to renounce his faith, they beat and abused him, shot their arrows at him, and at length, by the order of Hingvar, struck off his head. The next year (871) the Danish host advanced to Reading in Wessex: the king and his brother Alfred led an army to oppose them, but were defeated. Four days after they engaged them again, with success, at Escisdune, (Aston?) and in about a fortnight after the two armies again encountered at Basing, where victory was with the Danes, who were once more successful in a battle fought two months later at Morton in Berks. The king died the following Easter of a wound he had received, leaving his throne to his brother Alfred, a young man twenty-two years of age, who had greatly distinguished himself in the wars of this time.

ALFRED THE GREAT, 871—901.

Alfred first engaged the Danes at Wilton, and no less than nine battles, besides numerous skirmishes, took place in the course of this year. A treaty was at length concluded, and the heathens evacuated Reading and moved to London. Burhed, king of Mercia, to whom London belonged, then made a treaty with them, and they removed to Lindesey; but finding little to plunder in this wasted country, they poured, regardless of the treaty, into Mercia, and took a station at Repton, (874,) whence they spread their ravages over the country. King Burhed, despairing of being able to resist them, left his kingdom and retired to Rome, and the Danes made one of his thanes king, on condition of being their vassal, and resigning when required. The next year (875) they divided their forces; one division, under Halldan, invaded and conquered Northumbria; the other fixed itself at Cambridge, whence it moved the following year (876) and came unexpectedly to Wareham in Dorset; but Alfred forced them to a treaty, and they swore in their most solemn mode (that is, on their holy ring or bracelet) to depart, giving some of their chief nobles as hostages. Yet, heedless of all this, they made a rapid movement (877) and gained possession of Exeter; but Alfred besieged them, and forced them to a new treaty, which was better kept. They went back to Mercia, where they divided a part of the land among themselves. In the midst of the following winter, (878,) however, they secretly collected their forces, entered Wessex, and seized the town of Chippenham, whence they ravaged the kingdom far and wide; some of the inhabitants fled over the sea, the rest submitted. The spirit of the king alone remained unbroken; but he could not collect troops, and he was forced to lay aside all marks of royalty, and to conceal himself under mean disguises.

It is related that he took refuge for some time in the cottage of one of his cowherds, to whom his person was unknown. As he was one day sitting by the fire adjusting his bow, arrows, and other arms, the cowherd's wife set some cakes on the hearth to bake, naturally expecting that he would have an eye to them. She then went about her other household affairs, but happening to turn about, she saw that the cakes were all burnt. She rated the king well, telling him he was ready enough to eat them, and so might have

minded them. Alfred bore her reproaches with patience, and his quality remained undiscovered.*

Gradually Alfred was enabled to collect a small body of faithful followers, with whom he retired to a bog or morass formed by the waters of the Thone and Parret in Somerset.† Here, on about two acres of firm land, they raised a habitation, and led the life of outlaws, supporting themselves by plundering excursions against the enemy and those who had submitted to them, and also by hunting the deer of the forest and taking the fish of the streams. His abode here, however, was not long; the men of Devon had defeated and slain the Danish chief Hubba when he landed on their coast, and captured the Raven, the magic standard in which the heathens placed such confidence.‡ Alfred soon felt himself sufficiently strong to venture on engaging the Danish army, but he resolved previously to ascertain its condition and situation. For this purpose, it is said, he disguised himself as a gleeman or minstrel, and entered their camp. The rude warriors received and entertained him joyfully for his music and songs; he was brought to make melody before Guthrum their leader, and allowed to go where he pleased all through the camp. After a stay of some days he retired, having obtained the knowledge he wanted.§ He then summoned the men of Somerset, Wilts, and Hants to meet him at Brixton, on the verge of the great forest of Selwood, and they came in great force, and greatly rejoiced to behold him again in arms. He led them thence to Ethandune, (Eddiston?) and took a position in front of the enemy. A fierce and bloody engagement terminated in favor of the English; the Danes fled to their entrenched camp, where Alfred blockaded them for a space of

* This anecdote is related by Asser in his life of Alfred, so that there can be no doubt of its truth. It is curious enough that Asser puts the woman's exclamation into Latin hexameters, the only ones that occur in his book. They are as follows: —

"Urere quos cernis panes gyrare moraris
Cum nimium (*valde*) gaudes hos manducare escentes."

† It was thence named Æthelinga-ige, or Isle of Nobles; now Athelney.

‡ It was woven, says Asser, in one afternoon, by the three daughters of Ragnar Lodbrok: if victory awaited the army, it would appear like a live raven flying; if defeat impended, it would hang down and droop.

§ We question the truth of this story. It is not told by Asser, who could hardly have omitted it, (we first meet with it in Ingulf;) it answered no purpose, as no attack was made on the camp; it seems merely a repetition of that of Anlaf, soon to be noticed.

fourteen days. A treaty was then agreed to; the Danes gave hostages, and engaged to evacuate Wessex; and Guthrum pledged himself to receive baptism, which rite was performed about three weeks after, the king being his sponsor. As was usually the case in these times, most of the Danes followed the example of their chief. It was further agreed that Guthrum should settle with his people in East-Anglia, and a part of Mercia, acknowledging Alfred as his superior lord, Guthrum remained faithful to Alfred as long as he lived; his subjects laid aside their predatory habits, and devoted themselves to agriculture. A Danish prince named Guthred was, by means of the bishop of Lindesfarne, made king of Northumbria, and he also acknowledged the supremacy of Alfred. Ethelred, who was married to the king's daughter Ethelfleda, governed Mercia as alderman; Wessex and its dependencies were under his own more immediate rule.

During some years the kingdom had tolerable repose, and in these years Alfred employed himself in providing the means of defence. He rebuilt or fortified London, and other towns which had been ruined by the Danes; he established a militia, assigning a rotation of military duty to all his subjects; and greatly increased and improved his navy, which he stationed in different divisions round the island.

The efforts of the Northmen were at this time chiefly directed against the Netherlands; but in the year 893 a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships entered the Rother in Kent, and going up it for four miles, landed, and formed a strong camp at Appledore, in which they remained for a twelve-month. At the same time a famous pirate, named Hastings, sailed up the Thames with eighty ships, and raised a fortress at Middel-tun, (Milton.) The king came with his forces, and, taking a station between the two armies, harassed them greatly. The army at Appledore then set out for the Thames with their plunder, with the intention of passing over into Essex; but Alfred came up with and defeated them at Farnham, and took all their booty. They fled over the Thames, and entrenched themselves on the Colne, where they were besieged by the king. But meantime the Danes of Northumbria and East-Anglia, who had joined their countrymen, put to sea with one hundred and forty ships, and invaded the coast of Devon; and when Alfred returned to its defence, the foreign Danes raised a fortress at Bensfleet. The king's troops, however, stormed and took this camp; among the captives were the wife and two sons of Hastings, to whom Alfred generously gave their liberty. The Danes

then pushed boldly across the island, and came to the Severn where they formed a strong camp; a large army of English and Welsh besieged it. The Danes had eaten all their horses, and many of them had died of hunger, when they burst out, and with great loss forced a passage and returned to Essex. Here, being reënforced, and having secured their wives, ships, and property in East-Anglia, they set out again, and marched day and night till they came to Chester, which was lying deserted. The king's troops, which had been unable to overtake them, besieged them for a few days, and then retired. They staid there for the winter, and then (895) set forth again, and came to the isle of Mersey, on the east coast of Essex, whence they sailed, (896,) and going up the Thames, towed their vessels twenty miles up the Lea, and formed a strong camp. The king, in the harvest, came and encamped near London, in order that the citizens might get in their corn in safety. One day, as he was riding along the Lea, he observed a spot which might be secured, so that the Danes could not bring down their ships. He forthwith set about raising forts on each side at that place; but the Danes, aware of what he was about, broke up suddenly, and marching to the Severn, again raised a fortress there, in which they passed the winter; and the next summer (897) they went thence to Northumbria and East-Anglia, and having gotten ships, sailed away to France. They still, however, harassed the south coast of England; and Alfred, who had built ships of war on an improved plan of his own, destroyed several of their vessels. As a piece of wholesome severity, he hanged the crews of two of them which had been driven ashore on the coast of Sussex.

As we are now approaching the close of this great monarch's reign, we will pause, and take a brief survey of his efforts to improve his people in the intervals of war.

It will not surprise any one who is acquainted with the general ignorance and barbarism of those times, to hear that Alfred, though the favorite son of a king, had attained the age of twelve years before he learned to read. When he was at that age, his mother one day showed him and his brothers a volume of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and said that the book should be his who first could read it. Alfred, who had always loved to listen to the lays of the minstrels, and whose curiosity was excited by the fine illuminated or colored letter with which the book commenced, asked eagerly if she would really give it. She assured him that she would; he then took the book, sought out a teacher,

and soon made good his claim to it.* The next book that he read was a collection of Psalms: this he always carried about with him, and it was his chief source of consolation in his retreat in Athelney. When his kingdom was settled he began to study Latin, and he translated from it the works of Orosius, Boethius, and Venerable Bede, and other pieces. His great object was to diffuse sound knowledge among his people; he therefore refused to promote the uneducated to office, and he invited eminent scholars from all parts, and gave them honors and dignities. His labors were not without fruit. "When I took the kingdom," says he, "very few on this side of the Humber, very few beyond, not one that I recollect south of the Thames, could understand their prayers in English, or could translate a letter from Latin into English;" yet he lived to thank God that those who sat in the chair of the instructor were then capable of teaching. By a regular distribution of his time into three equal parts, for repose, business, and study, this great prince, though laboring under a severe internal malady, was enabled to produce more literary works than any man of his time.

Alfred died in 901, in the fifty-third year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign. His character has, down to the present day, been the theme of universal applause, as the nearest approach to perfection in a man possessed of power that our nature has yet exhibited. His civil and military talents were alike great; his religion was simple, sincere, and unostentatious; his love of truth and justice were remarkable; his passion for the acquisition and diffusion of useful and valuable knowledge was strong; he especially encouraged trade and mercantile adventure. The fame of his wisdom, justice, and love of his country, was so prevalent among the succeeding generations as to cause the most valuable institutions to be ascribed to him, though without reason or proof. But though we must thus derogate from his fame as a legislator, the character of Alfred as the good and great monarch remains one with which that of the emperor Marcus Aurelius can alone be placed in competition.

EDWARD I. (THE ELDER.) 901—925.

Edward, named the Elder, to distinguish him from his successors of the same name, was chosen by the Witan to succeed his father Alfred. But Ethelwald, the son of the

* See Appendix (D.)

late king Ethelbald, resolved to assert his claim to the throne; and assembling his partisans, he took possession of the town of Wimburn in Dorset. The king marched against him, and Ethelwald, though he vaunted that he would conquer there or die, stole away secretly, and escaped to Northumbria, where the Danes owned him as the king. He then went beyond sea to collect troops, and (904) he landed in East-Anglia, where the people at once submitted to him. In breach of peace they joined him (905) in an invasion of Mercia, and penetrated to Wiltshire. King Edward assembled an army and pursued them; he ravaged all their country from one end to the other, and then retired, charging all his men to follow; but the Kentish men took no heed, and staid till the Danes came and surrounded them. The battle was fierce, and most of the leaders on both sides fell, among the rest the pretender Ethelwald; so that the disobedience and loss of the Kentish men was ultimately of advantage to king Edward, who in the following year concluded a peace with the Danes of Northumbria and East-Anglia. The turbulent Danes, however, could not remain at rest, and they began again (911) to ravage Mercia. The king assembled a large fleet to attack their coast: thinking all his troops were aboard of these ships, the Danes advanced boldly into Mercia, wasting and plundering; but the royal troops came up with them as they were retiring, and routed them with great slaughter.

During the remainder of his reign, king Edward gradually extended his power and supremacy over the whole island. The people of Northumbria and East-Anglia submitted to him; the princes of Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and Strathclyde, and the king of the Scots, became his liegemen. In all his projects he was assisted by the Lady of Mercia, as his sister Ethelfleda was named, who governed Mercia after the death of her husband, (912.) This able princess headed her own troops, and gained victories over both Danes and Britons. She and the king turned their thoughts to the possession of strong fortified towns as the best means of securing the realm. The Lady fortified Bridgenorth, Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, etc.; the king raised works round Hertford, Witham, Buckingham, Bedford, Malden, Towcester, Colchester, Stamford, Manchester, Nottingham, and other towns. On the death of the Lady (920) Edward took the government of Mercia into his own hands. After a prosperous reign of twenty-four years, king Edward died in peace, (925.)

CHAPTER IV.

ÆNGLO-SAXON MONARCHS OF ALL BRITAIN.

ÆTHELSTAN, 925-941.

By the will of his father and the choice of the Witan, Æthelstan, the late king's eldest son, mounted the throne. He was crowned at Kingston, but a part of the West-Saxons, alleging that he was illegitimate, refused to recognize him, and a conspiracy to seize and blind him was formed by a nobleman named Alfred. The plot was discovered, but as Alfred denied his guilt, he was allowed, according to Anglo-Saxon usage, to clear himself by oath before a bishop. It was agreed that he should go to Rome and swear in presence of the Pope; he accordingly repaired thither, and before the Holy Father swore that he was innocent. Instantly, it is said, he fell senseless to the ground, and he died within three days.

The first wars in which this able prince was engaged were against the Britons of Cambria and Damnonia, who strove to regain their independence. But their efforts were unavailing; the Cambrian princes had to come to Hereford and do homage, and agree to pay yearly twenty pounds weight of gold and two hundred of silver into the hoard or treasury of the 'king of London;' they were to send him every year twenty-five thousand beeves, and their best hawks and hounds, and the country between the Severn and the Wye was to become a part of Mercia. The Damnonians, who hitherto had dwelt to the Exe, were now driven beyond the Tamar, and completely reduced beneath the sceptre of Æthelstan.

The king, in the hopes of maintaining peace, had given one of his sisters in marriage to Sihtric, the ruler of the Danes beyond the Humber; but Sihtric dying soon after, (927,) the northern chieftains urged his sons Guthfrith (Godfrey) and Anlaf (Olave) to cast off allegiance to Æthelstan; "for in the old time," said they, "we were free, and served not the southern king." War was resolved on. Constantine, king of the Scots, took share in it; but the power of the English king was not to be withstood; the Danish princes were forced to fly beyond sea, the Scottish

king to do homage for his dominions, and give his son as a hostage, (926.*)

Guthfrith and Anlaf embraced the life of pirates; the former died early, but the latter, more fortunate, made himself master of Dublin, in Ireland, and became the chief of a powerful piratic force. The king of the Scots, ill brooking subjection, made a treaty with Anlaf; the Britons of Strath-clyde, Cumbria, and Cambria readily joined in the confederacy, and when Anlaf entered the Humber with a fleet of six hundred and twenty sail, the whole confederacy took arms. King Athelstan assembled an army without delay, and the hostile forces met at a place named Brunanburgh. It is said that Anlaf before the battle disguised himself as a minstrel, and entered the English camp. The soldiers quickly flocked about him: the news of the arrival of a strange minstrel was brought to the king, at whose order Anlaf was led to the royal tent, where he played and sang as the king and his nobles sat at a banquet; he was then dismissed with a suitable reward. He retired, having noted every thing in the camp; but his pride would not let him retain the money which prudence had induced him to accept, and he buried it in the ground when he thought himself unobserved. A soldier, however, saw him, and on a close inspection recognized him, and then went and informed the king. Athelstan demanded why he had not given information when he might be seized. The soldier made answer, that he had once served and sworn fealty to Anlaf, and if he had betrayed *him*, the king might justly suspect him of equal treachery to himself. Athelstan praised him, and then, suspecting Anlaf's design, removed his tent to another part of the camp, and the vacant ground was occupied by the bishop of Sherborn, who arrived that evening with his retainers. In the dead of the night Anlaf and his troops burst into the English camp, and making direct for the royal tent, as they thought, slaughtered the bishop and his companions. The tumult spread; at sunrise a regular battle commenced, and having lasted all through the day, terminated in the utter discomfiture of the invaders. Five Danish kings and seven earls (*Iarls*) were slain, the king of Scots lost his son and warriors without number fell. "Never,"

* The king of Scots had, as we have seen, done homage to Edward in 921. There are, we apprehend, few points in history more certain than the vassalage of the Scottish crown from that date till the end of the fourteenth century. See Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Constitution*, vol. i. ch. 20.

says the poet who sung the battle, "since the Saxons and Angles, those artists of war, arrived, was such slaughter known in England."

After this great victory the realm of Athelstan was at ease and tranquil. The king of the English, or of all Britain, as he styled himself, was highly respected by the princes of the continent; the kings of Norway and Armorica sent their sons to be reared at his court; the son of the German emperor, Charles the Simple king of France, the duke of Aquitaine, and Hugh the Great, count of Paris, espoused his sisters; and after the dethronement of Charles the Simple, his widow and her son Louis took refuge in England, whence the latter was named when restored D'outremer, (*From beyond sea.*)

EDMUND. 941—947.

Athelstan was succeeded (941) by his brother Edmund, then only eighteen years of age. The Northumbrians immediately recalled Anlaf from Ireland to be their king; and Wulstan, archbishop of York, warmly espoused his cause. Mercia was forthwith invaded, and Tamworth taken and plundered; a battle was fought at Leicester, after which, by the mediation of the prelates of York and Canterbury, a peace was concluded, by which Edmund was to rule south, Anlaf north of Watling Street,* and the survivor to possess the whole. Anlaf, however, died the next year, and Edmund then (945) reduced all Northumbria. He next turned his arms against the Britons of Cumbria; he defeated and expelled Donald, their prince, and blinded his sons, and then gave the country to Malcolm, king of Scots, in vassalage. Edmund the Magnificent, as he is named, did not long enjoy his power. As the next year (746) he was sitting at a feast with his nobles, on St. Augustine's festival, he saw at the table one Leof, who had been outlawed. Enraged at his audacity, the king sprang up, caught him by the long hair, and dragged him to the ground; but in the struggle Leof drew a dagger, and gave the monarch a mortal wound.

EDRED. 947—955.

As Edmund's children were young, he was succeeded by his brother Edred, a prince of delicate frame, but of vigor.

* So the Roman military road from Dover to Chester (a part of which still remains) was named by the Saxons.

ous mind; his dominion was acknowledged by all the kingdoms of the island. Hardly, however, had the Northumbrians taken the oaths, when they rose in rebellion, and made one Eric their king. Edred speedily invaded and laid waste their country; and as he menaced to return and do still worse, they deposed and murdered their new ruler, and submitted to the king. As Wulstan was the chief cause of disturbance, Edred, after confining him some time at Jedburgh, made him bishop of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, where he could do no mischief. Northumbria was now made an *earldom*, and not a *kingdom*, and the earl was appointed by the king.

EDWY. 955—959.

On the death of Edred (955) his nephew Edwy, the son of the late king Edmund, was chosen king, and Mercia became the appanage of the king's younger brother Edgar.

The most remarkable man of these times was Dunstan, whom the church of Rome has canonized for his exertions in her cause. Dunstan was of noble birth, and even akin to the royal family, and his wealth was considerable; he received his early education at the monastery of Glastonbury; intense study brought on him while there a severe attack of fever, and there is some reason to suppose that it may have caused a partial derangement of intellect, for all through his life he was, according to his own account, (and we should not be too forward to accuse him of falsehood,) tormented by visions of evil spirits. His bodily frame was delicate, but his mind was most active; he was master of all the learning and arts of the age; he wrought the various metals with great skill; he excelled chiefly in music, and with the tones of his harp he sought to soothe his perturbed spirit, and banish the thoughts that agitated him. By his uncle Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, he was early introduced at the court of king Athelstan, where he won favor by his knowledge and accomplishments. But envy and jealousy soon showed themselves among the courtiers; the proud spirit of Dunstan was roused, and he quitted the court: his enemies lay in ambush for him; they seized and bound him, trampled him under foot, and flung him into a marsh, where he lay till he was found and relieved by some passers-by. He soon after consulted his uncle on his future course of life; the prelate urged him to become a monk, but Dunstan loved a beautiful maiden, and he withstood all his arguments. Athelm then prayed that some evil might befall

him to cause him to act right; and Dunstan, viewing a fever, brought on probably by mental uneasiness, as a judgment sent from heaven, took the monastic vows at Glastonbury. Not content with the ordinary austerities of the convent, he built himself a cell too short to allow him to lie at his length, and here he wrought at his forge when not engaged in prayer: his sleep was brief; his food barely sufficed to sustain nature. Here too the fiend assailed him, and it is said that late one evening he came in a human form, and, thrusting his head in at the little window of the cell, began to tempt the recluse with wanton language. Dunstan, who knew who he was, waited patiently till he had made his tongs red hot, with which he then seized the tempter by the nose, and the yells of the tortured demon were heard over the surrounding country. The fame of the sanctity, the talents, and the wisdom of Dunstan spread over the whole realm; king Edmund, on his accession, invited him to court, and made him his chief minister, and his influence in this and the following reign was without limits. The zeal of Dunstan was directed to two points: the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy, and the introduction of the monastic rule of St. Benedict into England. Hitherto the English clergy had followed the dictates of nature and the plain sense of Scripture, and entered, like other men, into the married state; but the Oriental reverence of asceticism and celibacy had gradually been gaining ground in the Western church, and the Popes had possibly begun to discern the advantages they might derive from cutting the clergy off from all social ties, and heedless or ignorant of consequences, eagerly sought to enforce an institution which experience has shown to be the most detrimental to morality that has ever been devised. A Roman monk named Benedict had also drawn up a series of rules for the regulation of the convent of Monte Cassino, over which he presided; the superiority of these rules caused them to be adopted all over the continent, and the monks throughout Europe thus formed one corporation. The rule had been adopted at Glastonbury, but the English and British monasteries in general continued to govern themselves by their ancient institutes. Dunstan, a man of resolute character, and in whose heart all social feelings were now extinct, resolved to enforce the rule which he approved, and the celibacy which he had learned to regard as sanctifying; he had naturally to encounter much opposition, but like most reformers of his character he was little scrupulous as to means, regarding them as justified by the

end, and he exerted all the influence and power he possessed to carry his favorite measures.

On the accession of Edwy the influence of Dunstan in the state began to wane; for the king, a youth of but seventeen years of age and addicted to pleasure, set himself against the new regulations in the church. Edwy had, in opposition to his councillors and prelates, espoused a beautiful maiden of the royal blood, but related to him within the prohibited degrees.* On the day of his coronation, when his nobles were carousing after the Saxon fashion in the royal halls, the king secretly withdrew, and leaving them to their revels, retired to enjoy the society of his wife and her mother. At the desire of the guests, Dunstan and one of the prelates went in search of him, and entering the apartment, Dunstan abused Elgiva (so the queen was named) and her mother in the most opprobrious manner, even menacing the latter with the gallows. He seized the king, dragged him away to the hall where the nobles were reveling, and forced him to resume his seat.

Edwy had too much spirit not to resent this insult, and Elgiva naturally urged him to vengeance. Under the pretext of his having made away with public money in the late reign, he banished him the kingdom. Dunstan retired to Ghent, but he had left a strong party behind him; at the instance of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, the people rose in rebellion in Mercia and the North, and made prince Edgar their king; and in Wessex Odo forced the king to give up Elgiva, who, by the prelate's orders, was seized by a band of soldiers, her face was scarred with a red-hot iron, and she was banished to Ireland.† But when her wounds were healed, she re

* We give this view of the case on the authority of the honest Saxon Chronicle. Its words are: "In this year (958) archbishop Odo divorced king Edwy and Elgiva, because they were too sib" (*i. e.* near akin.) There must, therefore, have been a marriage. The atrocious statements and imputations of Dunstan's biographers are, in our opinion, utterly unworthy of credit. He knows little of writers of this class who believes that they will stop at any falsehood in the cause of their hero.

† How gently Lingard tells all this! "Archbishop Odo undertook to remove the scandal by enforcing the punishment which the laws awarded against women living in a state of concubinage. Accompanied by his retainers, he rode to the place, arrested Ethelgiva, probably in the absence of her lover, conducted her to the sea-side, and put her on board a ship, in which she was conveyed to Ireland. At his return to court, he waited on Edwy, and in respectful and affectionate language endeavored to justify his own conduct, and to soothe the exasperated mind of the young prince."

turned in search of her husband; she was, however, intercepted by a party of Odo's soldiers, by whom she was seized and hamstrunged, and she died in great torture at Gloucester. The unhappy Edwy did not long survive, and Edgar, now but thirteen years of age, became king of all England.

EDGAR (THE PACIFIC.) 959—975.

There is, perhaps, no just reason for supposing that Dunstan, or possibly even Odo, had given orders for the atrocities which his partisans had committed; but he certainly reaped the advantage of them. He returned in triumph when Edgar was acknowledged in Mercia and Northumbria, and became his chief adviser; he was made bishop of London and Worcester, and Edgar forced the successor of Odo to resign, that Dunstan might have the primacy, with which he held the sees of London and Rochester. The married clergy were persecuted without mercy, and not less than forty-eight Benedictine monasteries were founded in England. The king joined heartily in this persecution, and the monkish writers have in return made him almost a saint. Their only charge against him is his fondness for introducing Flemings, Germans, and Danes into the kingdom, who corrupted, as they say, the simple, virtuous habits of the people.

Yet Edgar's character was in some respects far from perfect. He broke into a convent and carried off a nun, at least a lady who had assumed the veil,* named Wulfreda, and made her his mistress; for this Dunstan enjoined him by way of penance to fast twice a week, and to lay aside his crown for a term of seven years. But on another occasion the monarch's guilt was morally, though not perhaps in Dunstan's eyes, of a deeper dye. Having heard much of the beauty of Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devon, he directed one of his favorites, named Athelwold, to visit the earl under some pretence, and see if fame spake true of his daughter's charms. At the sight of Elfrida, Athelwold conceived the most violent affection, and he resolved to sacrifice his duty to his love. He returned to the king, and told him that fame had exaggerated, as usual, and that Elfrida was but an ordinary maiden. Edgar then ceased to think of her; and some

* Malmsbury asserts that she was not professed, (*sanctimonialis*.) Dunstan's biographers expressly say she was; yet Dr. Lingard undauntedly cites them as witnesses for his statement, that she "was a young lady educated in the convent, who to elude his pursuit had covered herself with the veil of one of the sisters."

time after Athe wold said to him, that he had been thinking that homely as Elfrida was, her birth and fortune would make her an eligible match for himself, and he craved permission to seek her hand. The king gave a ready assent, and even strongly recommended him to her parents, and the fair Elfrida became the wife of Athelwold. But a courtier has many enemies, and the truth soon reached the ears of the king; he dissembled his resentment, and only told Athelwold that he was resolved to pay him a visit, and be introduced to his new-married wife. Athelwold saw his danger, and having obtained permission to precede him by a few hours, hastened to Elfrida, and revealing to her the whole truth, implored her to use every artifice to conceal her beauty. Elfrida, an aspiring, ambitious woman, though secretly incensed, promised compliance, and Athelwold's fears were somewhat allayed: but what was his horror when he saw her come before the king in the full blaze of her charms, and practise all her arts on the royal heart! Edgar still dissembled, but a few days after he slew Athelwold at a hunting party with his own hand, and then made Elfrida his queen.*

- Edgar, named by his historians the Pacific, was doubtless a prince of no mean capacity. His sway was supreme over the whole island; the sound of war was unheard during his reign, justice was duly administered, and the realm prospered: the kings of Scotland and Man, and all the princes of the Britons, were his liegemen. In the sixteenth year of his reign, (973,) having celebrated his coronation at Bath,† he assembled a fleet of five thousand sail, it is said, and proceeded to Chester, whither his vassal princes were summoned to meet him and perform homage. The morning following the day of that ceremony, Edgar and his royal vassals entered a barge on the Dee; each prince grasped an oar, the king himself took the helm, and they thus proceeded down the river to St. John's monastery, and having there heard mass, returned in the same manner to the royal abode.

The reign of this prince is remarkable for the extirpation of wolves in England. Driven from the plain country, these animals harbored in the mountains of Wales, whence they descended to commit their ravages. Edgar changed the annual tribute imposed by Athelstan on the Welsh princes to

* It is but fair to add, that the authority on which Malmsoury relates this tale is apparently a Saxon ballad.

† This was probably the resumption of his crown on the expiration of his penance

that of three hundred wolves' heads, and so active a chase was kept up against the wolves that the race was soon extinct.

EDWARD II. (THE MARTYR.) 975—978.

On the death of Edgar (975) there was a contest between two parties in the state, the one supporting the claim to the throne of Edward, son of the late king by his first wife, the other seeking to place the crown on the head of Ethelred, the son of Elfrida. Edward's cause, which was founded in justice and supported by Dunstan, succeeded, and he was crowned; but his reign was brief. As he was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, (978,) and came near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida and her son resided, he went unattended to pay them a visit. Elfrida received him with great apparent kindness, but while he was drinking a cup of mead on horseback, one of her servants, as he had been directed, stabbed him in the back: the king gave spurs to his horse, but he soon fell exhausted by loss of blood, and was dragged along by his horse till he expired. The appellation of Martyr was bestowed on this innocent and ill-fated prince, and miracles were believed to be wrought at his tomb.

It was during the reign of this prince that two events occurred which have led many modern writers to entertain serious and not ill-founded doubts of the sanctity of Dunstan's character.

At a synod held in Winchester, (977,) at which the young king and the prelates and nobles of the realm were present, the matters in dispute between the clergy and the monks were discussed. When the arguments had been gone through, a profound silence reigned, all anxiously expecting the reply of Dunstan, who sat with his head hanging down as immersed in thought. Suddenly a voice was heard from a crucifix in the room, saying, "Let it not be! let it not be! Ye have judged well; to change were not well!" Even at the time some contrivance was suspected, and certainly the transaction strongly resembles a feat of ventriloquism, a power which there is some reason to believe the saint possessed.

Another synod was held the following year at Calne, at which the king was not present, on account, it was alleged, of his tender age. The two parties occupied different sides of the room. When his opponents had ended their arguments, Dunstan declared that he would commit the cause of the church to Christ. Instantly the floor gave way under the opposite party, and they were killed or maimed by the falling timbers, while the part where Dunstan and his friends

were sitting remained firm and unmoved.* This may doubtless have been accidental, but one may without breach of charity suspect, as Fuller says, "that Dunstan, who had so much of a smith, had here something of a carpenter in him, and some device used by him about pinning and propping up the room." Unfortunately the character neither of Dunstan nor of his church offers any security that such an atrocious measure would not be resorted to in support of the cause.

ETHELRED (THE UNREADY.) 978—1016.

Ethelred mounted without opposition the throne which his mother's crime had procured him, (978.) Though *he* was innocent, Dunstan at his coronation pronounced, it is said, a malediction on his reign for the guilt of Elfrida and her accomplices; and never was prophecy of ill more fully accomplished, though Dunstan lived but to see the beginning of the evil. The Danes, who had let the kingdom have rest since the days of Athelstan, now renewed their ravages. Sweyn, son of the king of Denmark, being banished by his father, assembled a pirate-fleet, and appeared off the coast of England, (982.) Chester and London were taken and plundered, and the whole south coast ravaged. The Danes continuing their inroads, the Witan, by the advice of the archbishop Siric, agreed (991) to pay them 10,000*l* to purchase exemption from their ravages, for which purpose a tax under the name of Dane-geld (*Dane-money*) was imposed. But this cowardly expedient had the fate it merited. It served but to excite the cupidity of the Danes, and next year they appeared in still greater force on the east coast. The English were now roused to energy; a large fleet was assembled at London, and it was intended to close the pirates in harbor and then assail them; but the treachery of one of the English leaders frustrated the plan. Alfre earl of Mercia, who had been a partisan and accomplice of Elfrida's, had been succeeded in his office by his son Alfric, (983.) The new earl, having engaged in a conspiracy against Ethelred, was banished the realm, (985;) yet such was his influence

* So the matter is related by Dunstan's biographers. The Saxon Chronicle, Malmsbury, Huntingdon, and others say that Dunstan alone escaped injury by catching hold of a beam. The account in the text seems to us the true one. Lingard, with his usual art, affects to regard this and the speaking crucifix as fictions undeserving of notice. The biographers are now, with him, silly, credulous men, who compiled from materials of the worst description; but when the object is to charge the unhappy Edwy with the most incredible depravity, their evidence becomes unimpeachable.

and power, that he was restored to his lands and office. As a means of securing himself, he had entered into a secret league with the Danes; he now sent them intelligence of the plan for their destruction, and he stole away from the army the night before the engagement which took place. The king had the barbarity to put out the eyes of Elfgar, the traitor's son, to punish the misdeeds of the father. Yet ere long Alfric was again ruler of Mercia!

In 993 Sweyn, now king of Denmark, and Olave king of Norway, entered the Humber with a large fleet, and laid all the adjacent country waste. The next year they came and laid siege to London, and failing to take it, spread their ravages over the southern counties. The king and his council agreed to give them 16,000*l.* if they ceased, and to supply them with provisions. They therefore fixed themselves at Southampton, and food came to them from all parts of Wessex. Olave soon after visited the king at Andover, and was there baptized; he made a solemn promise, and kept it, never again to molest the realm of England, and on his return to Norway he imposed his own faith on all his subjects.

Year after year the Northmen made descents on various parts of the coast, burned the towns and villages, and laid waste the country. The troops collected to oppose them always lost courage and fled, their leaders not seldom setting them the example. In 1002 peace was purchased for a sum of 24,000*l.*, and food as before. Meantime the king and his Witan resolved to have recourse to a most atrocious expedient for their future security. It had been the practice of the English kings from the time of Athelstan to have great numbers of Danes in their pay as guards or household troops, (*Hus-carles*,) and these, it is said, they quartered on their subjects, one on each house. The *Hus-carles*, acting like soldiers in general, paid great attention to their dress and appearance, and thus became more acceptable to the females of the families than the Englishmen liked; they also, of course, behaved occasionally with great insolence. At the same time they acted very remissly against their foreign kinsmen, and were strongly suspected of having intelligence with them. It was therefore resolved to massacre the *Hus-carles* and their families throughout England. Secret orders to this effect were sent to all parts, and on St. Brice's day, (Nov. 13th, 1002,) the Danes were every where fallen on and slain. The ties of affinity (for many of them had married and settled in the country) were disregarded; age, sex, or rank could claim no exemption; even Gunhilda, sister to Sweyn of Denmark.

though a Christian, was, after beholding the death of her husband and son, beheaded by the command of the king's favorite, Edric Streone, the chief instigator, it is thought, of the massacre. With her last breath she declared that her death would bring the greatest evils on England; and her words were true. Sweyn, burning for revenge, and glad of a pretext for war, soon made his appearance on the south coast, and during four years he spread devastation through all parts of Wessex, and round to East-Anglia. In 1006 the king and his Witan agreed to give 30,000*l.* and provisions as before for peace, and the realm thus had rest for two years. In this space of time, measures were adopted for raising a large land and sea force; every owner of nine hides of land was obliged to furnish a man with helm and breast-plate, and he who had three hundred and ten a ship. The greatest fleet that had ever been seen in England was assembled (1009) at Sandwich, but it was as fruitless as the preceding armaments; and Brihtric, brother of Edric, having traduced Wulfnoth, the 'Child of Sussex,' as he is called, to the king, the latter went off with his division of twenty ships, and ravaged all the south coast. Brihtric sailed with eighty ships in pursuit of him; but his vessels were assailed by a storm, and most of them driven ashore, where they were burnt by Wulfnoth. The king and all his nobles, on hearing of this disaster, quitted the fleet, which went back to London; and thus, after all the great expense of preparation, nothing was effected. Immediately after came a formidable Danish army, called from its leader Thurkill's Host, to Sandwich, and during this and the following year it spread its ravages almost unopposed through Kent, East-Anglia, Mercia, and Wessex. London repelled the invaders from its walls; but they took most of the other towns which they attacked, and Canterbury was given to them by the treachery of an abbot named Elfmar. They led the venerable archbishop Elfeah a captive to their fleet, in the hopes of obtaining a large ransom for him. But he stood firm against them; he declared he had no goods of his own, and he would not waste those of the church, which belonged to the poor and needy, nor "provide Christian flesh for Pagan teeth by robbing his countrymen for *them*." They dragged him before a kind of council of their chiefs, who were at a rude, tumultuous banquet; their cry was, "Gold, bishop, gold!" and when he still persisted in refusing, they pelted him with cow-horns and bones. At length one of them smote him with an axe on the head and killed him. Meantime Edric and the Witan, who were

assembled at London, had agreed to purchase the departure of the Host for 48,000*l.*, and the king made Thurkill earl of East-Anglia, and took him and a great part of his men into his pay.

But all availed not to save England from the Danish yoke. Next year (1013) king Sweyn appeared with a large and splendidly equipped fleet at Sandwich; he sailed thence and entered the Humber. All Northumbria and Lindesey, and all the Danes north of Watling Street, joyfully submitted to him, and gave hostages. Leaving his fleet and his hostages with his son Canute, (Knut,) and having made the country furnish horses for his army, he advanced southwards, spreading devastation on his way. London, where the king abode at this time, having repelled his attacks, he went to Bath, where he received the submissions of the western thanes. Meantime Ethelred abandoned London, and took shelter in the isle of Wight, where having bitterly complained of the treachery and disaffection of his nobles and generals, he sent the lady Emma, his wife, and his two sons, for safety to the court of her brother, the duke of Normandy, whither he was soon obliged to repair himself also. The royal exiles were most kindly received at the Norman court, and Sweyn became the unopposed ruler of all England.

The duke of Normandy, to whom the king of England was allied by marriage, was the third in descent from Hrolf or Rollo, one of the most formidable of the piratic Northmen in the days of Alfred. Harassed by the continual devastations committed on his dominions by these freebooters, the French king Charles the Simple agreed to surrender the province of Neustria to Rollo on the same terms as Alfred had given up East-Anglia to Guthrum. Rollo thus became the most powerful vassal of the crown of France; he treated his new subjects with justice and kindness, embraced their religion, and sought to mitigate the ferocity of his freebooting comrades; by degrees the two parties firmly coalesced, the French language became that of both court and people, the manners and religion of the French prevailed; the province was named Normandy from the Northmen.

Sweyn did not long enjoy his new dominion; he died early in the following year, (1014.) The Danish host chose his son Canute king; but the English nobles and clergy met and resolved to recall king Ethelred, provided he would pledge himself to govern them better than he had done hitherto. The king sent over his son Edmund, named Ironside from his bodily vigor, and a solemn compact was entered

into between king and people, he engaging "to be their faithful lord, to better each of the things that they disliked, and to forgive each of the things that had been done or said against him; provided they all unanimously, without treachery, turned to him." A decree was then passed declaring every Danish king an outlaw in England. Ethelred returned and marched an army into Lindesey, where Canute was making preparations for war, and laid the country waste. Canute having retired to his ships sailed round to Sandwich, where he set the hostages given to his father on shore, after cutting off their hands, ears, and noses.

The next year, (1015,) a great council was held at Oxford. Among those who repaired to it were Sigferth and Morcar, the chief thanes of the Danish Burghs; * but the treacherous Edric, having enticed them into his bower, (*bure*,) or private apartment, had them there slain, probably with the knowledge of the king, who immediately seized their possessions. The widow of Sigferth was confined at Malmsbury, whence Edmund the Atheling † carried her off by force and made her his wife, and in her right took possession by the strong hand of all the lands of Sigferth and Morcar. As Canute was now ravaging the coast of Wessex, an army under Edmund and Edric advanced to oppose him; but no action took place, in consequence of an attempt of Edric to betray the prince. Foiled in his attempt, the traitor went off with forty ships and openly joined the enemy. All Wessex now submitted to Canute, and he and Edric led their forces in the mid-winter into Mercia, burning and plundering as usual. Edmund vainly tried to collect a sufficient army to oppose them; the king, fearing treachery, would not take the field, and Canute, having ravaged all the east of Mercia, entered and subdued Northumberland, whose earl had joined the Atheling.

While such was the state of affairs, the troubled life and reign of king Ethelred came to a close. He died on St George's day (1016) at London.

EDMUND II. (IRONSIDE.) 1016.

On the death of king Ethelred all the Witan who were present joined with the citizens in electing Edmund the Atheling king; but the Witan of Wessex meantime met at

* These were Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and Stamford

† Atheling (from *ethel*, noble) is equivalent to crown prince or heir apparent

Southampton and chose Canute king, and the sword was now to decide between the rival monarchs. Canute sailed up the Thames and laid siege to London, which was bravely defended by the citizens; and in the mean time Edmund reduced Wessex. Having gained two victories, he came and raised the siege of London, and he again routed the Danes in Kent; but the traitor Edric, who had been hitherto on the side of the Danes, now sought a reconciliation with Edmund, who allowed him to join his troops with the royal army; and at the battle which was fought soon after at Asingdon in Essex, while victory seemed about to declare for the valiant Edmund, Edric, having slain a thane who resembled the king, held up the head, crying, "Flee, English! flee, English! dead is Edmund!" and then set the example of flight. "Thus had Canute the victory," says the chronicle, "though all England fought against him, and all the nobility of England was there undone." Canute followed Edmund into Gloucestershire, where that indefatigable prince had assembled another army. When the forces stood in array, Edmund proposed to decide their claims by single combat; but Canute saying that he, a man of small stature, would have little chance against the tall, athletic Edmund, proposed, on the contrary, for them to divide the realm as their fathers had done. A meeting was held in the isle of O'ney for the purpose, and Edric and the Witan there arranged that Edmund should retain Wessex, Essex, East-Anglia, and London, with a superiority over the rest of the kingdom which was assigned to the Dane. But before the end of the year Edmund was no more, and Edric is accused of having been the author of his death.

CHAPTER V.

DANISH KINGS AND SAXON LINE RESTORED.

CANUTE. 1016—1035.

WHEN the death of Edmund was known, the Witan assembled at London and decided that Canute should be king of all England, and they outlawed the family of Ethelred. Canute soon after put to death Edwy, the brother of

Edmund; and he sent that monarch's two infant childrer to his brother, the king of Sweden, requesting him, it is said, to free him from uneasiness by their death. The Swede shrunk from staining his hands with the blood of babes, and sent them to the king of Hungary, who brought them up carefully. One of them died; the other, named Edward, was married to his benefactor's sister-in-law, and had issue, of which we shall hear anon. Canute might thus have been so far secure; but the lady Emma had her two sons with her in Normandy, and duke Robert, their cousin, was inclined to assert their rights. To obviate this danger Canute sought and obtained the hand of Emma in marriage, engaging to leave the crown of England to her issue by him.

Canute divided his realm into four separate governments. Wessex he retained in his own hands; Mercia was ruled by Edric; East-Anglia by Thurkill the Dane, and Northumberland by the king's kinsman Eric. But in the very first year of his reign Edric met the reward of his treachery in the following manner. Not content with Mercia, he sought more, alleging as his merits his treasons to Edmund. Canute replied, that he who had been a traitor to an old master would hardly be faithful to a new one. Eric then, probably in concert with the king, struck Edric dead with a battle-axe; his body was flung into the Thames; his head was stuck on the highest gate of London. Several of the English nobles were put to death, and their possessions given to the Danes; and these men, as was to be expected, treated the English with such insolence as drew on them their universal hatred.

Canute was the most powerful monarch of the age. He was king of England, Denmark, and Norway, and superior lord of Sweden and Scotland. England was his chief abode, but he frequently visited his northern dominions, where the hostility of the Sclavonian Vends, who held the south coast of the Baltic, and the independent spirit of the Swedes, gave occasional employment to his arms. In one of these expeditions the native English troops, commanded by Godwin, son of Wulfnoth, 'the Child of Sussex,' being stationed near the enemy's camp, their leader, seeing a favorable opportunity, fell on it in the night and completely routed the foes. Canute, to reward Godwin, gave him his daughter in marriage, and highly advanced him in wealth and honor. All through the reign of this king England was at peace; toward its close, (1033,) Malcolm king of Scots, and his son Duncan prince of Cumbria, refused homage, alleging that Canute, not being the rightful king, was not entitled to claim

it; but the appearance of that monarch with a large army soon reduced them to obedience, and they performed their homage.

Advancing age mitigated the original harshness of Canute's character; his rule became just and equitable, and he gradually gained the affections of his English subjects; religion also engaged much of his thoughts and time, and he showed his piety in the manner of that age by building churches and endowing monasteries. He even (1031) made a pilgrimage to Rome, and he engaged the princes through whose dominions he passed to cease from exacting tolls from the English pilgrims.

It is said that one day, while he was residing at Southampton, his courtiers were extolling his might and power. Canute ordered his chair to be set on the strand, where the tide was now advancing, and as lord of the ocean commanded it not to approach; but heedless of his mandate the waves pursued their destined course, and soon flowed around the royal seat. Then turning to his flatterers, the king bade them confess the weakness and impotence of all human power compared with that of Him who had said to the ocean, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." After this he deposited the crown in the cathedral of Winchester, and never again resumed it. Canute died at Shaftesbury, (1035,) after a reign of eighteen years, regretted by his subjects, and confessedly inferior in fame and ability to no monarch of the time.

HAROLD I. (HAREFOOT.)

Canute left three sons, Sweyn, Harold, and Hardacnute. To the last, who was the issue of the lady Emma, and was alone legitimate, England was due by the marriage contract; but Canute had by will appointed him ruler of Denmark (where he now was) and of the Danes in England, while to Sweyn he left Norway, and to Harold England. This last, who was on the spot and had secured the royal hoard or treasure, was supported by Leofric earl of Mercia, the thanes north of the Thames, and the citizens of London; while Godwin, now earl of Wessex, and the English in general, were in favor of Hardacnute. A Witena-gemot was held at Oxford, in which it was agreed that Hardacnute should be king of Wessex. As he still remained in Denmark, his mother Emma, aided by Godwin, governed it as regent. Her two sons by Ethelred, who were in Normandy, meantime fitted out a fleet and sailed over to England to

maintain their right; but on coming to Southampton they found the people prepared to oppose them, and they retired. Soon after a letter was written in the name of their mother, inviting one or both of them to come over and assert their claim to the crown; and Alfred, the more spirited of the two, set sail from Flanders with about 600 followers. Godwin received him with much seeming kindness, and they set out for Winchester; but at Guildford they were all seized in the night by armed men, and next morning, being drawn up in a line with their hands bound behind them, one out of every ten was selected and set at liberty, a few were reserved for slaves, and the rest were inhumanly butchered. The unhappy prince was sent to Ely, where he was blinded, and he soon after died. Godwin was generally accused of this crime, Harold having, it is said, gained him by a promise to marry his daughter.* Emma, not thinking herself any longer safe, retired to Bruges in Flanders, where some time after she was joined by her son Hardacnute, and Harold dying (1040) after a reign of about four years, he was unanimously invited to occupy the throne.

HARDACNUTE. 1040—1042

One of the first acts of the new monarch was to avenge on the senseless remains of Harold his own exclusion and the murder of his brother Alfred; he caused them to be dug up and flung into the Thames. This king imposed such heavy Danegeld on the people, that commotions prevailed in various parts, particularly at Worcester, which town was stormed and plundered by his command. The reign of Hardacnute also was brief; at the wedding-banquet of his banner-bearer, a Dane named Towed the Proud, at Lambeth, which he honored with his presence, and where the drinking, as usual, was deep, he fell speechless to the ground, and expired a few days after, (1042.)

EDWARD III. (THE CONFESSOR.) 1042-1066.

Edward, the remaining son of Ethelred, was at this time in England, whither he had been invited by his brother the late king, and being of a timid character, was preparing to fly to Normandy, when Godwin proposed to secure him

* Dr. Lingard has, in our opinion, made a very good defence for Godwin.

he crown on condition of his espousing his daughter Editha the Fair. Edward assented; the influence of Godwin smoothed all difficulties in a great council held at London and at Easter (1043) Edward was crowned at Winchester. To gain the affections of his people he abolished the odious tax of Dane-gelt; he at the same time resumed the lavish grants of his predecessors to their Danish favorites. His conduct to his mother was rather harsh; under the pretext of her having neglected himself and his brother after her second marriage, he stripped her of her property and confined her in a monastery near Winchester.

The power of Godwin was now at its height: he himself ruled Wessex and Kent, his son Sweyn was over a large portion of Mercia, and Harold, a third son, was earl of East-Anglia and Essex, so that his influence extended over the whole south of England. The remaining part of Mercia was governed by earl Leofric,* Northumbria obeyed earl Siward; and England was thus in effect divided among three great families. Still Edward, though ruled by the Godwin family, never liked them; and in consequence of this dislike, or urged by that mean and mistaken piety which acquired him from the monkish writers the title of Confessor, he never claimed his conjugal rights from Editha the Fair. Godwin gradually became alienated from him, and the king's weakness soon furnished him with a popular subject of complaint. Edward, gentle and feeble in character and reared in Normandy, preferred the Normans, whose manners were more polished than those of the English. Numbers of them repaired to his court, where they were received with great favor, and the chief offices in church and court were committed to them. Their language, the Norman-French, also became that of the court. The popular jealousy was naturally excited, and Godwin secretly nourished it. At length an event occurred which brought matters to a crisis.

Eustace earl of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, having come over to England (1051) and staid some time at court, proceeded to Dover on his return. He and his train entered the town in armor, and insisted on having free quarters. One of his men being refused admittance into a house, fell on and wounded its master; the Dover-man slew the intruder; the alarm spread; Eustace and his men got to horse, and came and killed him on his own hearth. They

* This is the earl who, with his wife Godiva, is famous in the Coventry legend of Peeping Tom.

then went through the town slaying all they met, out most of themselves lost their lives in the fray. Eustace hastened to court to complain, and Edward without inquiry ordered Godwin to repair to Dover, as it was in his earldom, and punish the town by military execution. Godwin refused, alleging that the people were not in fault. Matters speedily came to a rupture; Godwin and his sons Sweyn and Harold assembled an army and demanded the surrender of the earl and his followers. The king called on Siward earl of Northumberland and Leofric earl of Mercia to come to his aid, and they assembled their troops, which were also joined by those of Ralph, a Norman who had been made earl of Worcester. The two armies approached each other in Gloucestershire, but no engagement ensued, as the majority in both declared against shedding the best of English blood in civil contest: a truce was effected; hostages were given on both sides, and it was agreed to refer the whole matter to a witenagemot to be holden at London. At the appointed time Godwin came with his troops to Southwark; but measures had been taken to reduce his strength, and finding he could not dictate, and that even his personal safety was not certain, he took to flight, and the gemot passed a sentence of outlawry on him and his sons. The king gratified his spleen against the family by stripping the innocent Editha of all that she possessed, and confining her in the convent of Wherwell in Hampshire, of which his sister was abbess.

Godwin and his son Sweyn retired to Flanders, taking with them a ship laden with treasure; Harold sought refuge in Ireland. His earldom was given to Algar the son of Leofric, and a nobleman named Odda obtained the west part of Wessex. When the king's power was thus reëstablished, his cousin William, the young duke of Normandy, came over with a numerous train to visit him, and, having spent a short time at the English court and witnessed the state of affairs, he returned home.

But though the Godwin family were outlawed, they were not reduced. The old earl assembled a fleet (1052) in Flanders, Harold collected forces in Ireland, and having united their strength, they appeared on the south coast. Sussex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex declared for them; the peasantry joyfully supplied them with provisions; they sailed up to London, where the king was residing, and sent to demand the restitution of their honors. A denial being given, Godwin's troops became furious, but he restrained them, and having stationed them in the Strand, (as the north bank of

the Thames, west of the city wall, was named,) prepared for action. The king's troops were numerous, but they were loath to fight against their countrymen, and he was obliged to yield to their desire of an accommodation. A witenagemot was assembled, before which Godwin protested his own and his sons' innocence of all laid to their charge. His power was too great for his veracity to be questioned; all the forfeited honors and possessions were restored; the lady Editha, also, 'sat in her honor.' On the other hand, the foreigners, with a few exceptions, were outlawed, and the Norman bishops of Canterbury and Dorchester only saved their lives by a precipitate flight.

Godwin did not long enjoy his power; as he was sitting at the royal table the following Easter, (1053,) he fell down in a fit, and died within a few days. The legend says that the king had charged him with the murder of his brother Alfred, whereupon he cried, "May this morsel be my last if I did it!" and the piece of bread which he attempted to swallow choked him. His power and honors fell to his son Harold, who resigned East-Anglia to earl Algar, who had held it when he was himself an outlaw. On the death of his father Leofric, (1057,) Algar succeeded to Mercia, and he then resigned East-Anglia, a part or the whole of which was given to Harold's brother Gurth. Algar was outlawed shortly after (1058) on a charge of treason; he retired to Griffith prince of Wales, who had married his sister, and he so wasted and destroyed the adjoining country that Harold was glad to make peace with him and let him resume his honors.

Harold had also an opportunity of extending his influence in the north. Duncan king of Scots had been treacherously murdered (1039) by one of the subordinate chiefs named Macbeth, who then expelled Malcolm the heir, and seized the crown. Malcolm appealed to Edward as his superior lord, and by the king's directions earl Siward led an army into Scotland, (1054,) where he defeated and slew the usurper, and placed Malcolm on the throne. Siward's eldest son had fallen in the battle; he died himself the following year,* and his remaining son Waltheof being too young to govern the earldom, Harold made the king confer it on his own brother Tosti. After a few years, however, the thanes, weary

* When Siward heard of the death of his son, he asked how he had fallen, and being told that his wounds were all in front, he said he was satisfied and desired no better death for himself. When he felt his own death approaching, he declared he would die as a warrior, and arrayed in armor, with his spear in his hand, he breathed his last.

of the tyranny of their new earl, rose against him and drove him away, (1065.) They appointed Morcar son of Algar and brother of Edwin, who had now succeeded his father in Mercia, to be their earl, and Harold deemed it prudent to acquiesce in their choice. England was now in effect divided between him and the sons of Algar.

The king, who had mounted the throne at the age of forty, being advanced in years and childless, began to think of appointing a successor. He therefore had summoned from Hungary his nephew Edward, named the Outlaw, the son of Ironside. The prince came (1057) with his wife and three children, Edgar, Christina, and Margaret; but ere he had seen the face of the king, he fell sick and died, to the great grief of all the people. The king, it is said, then passing over the young Edgar, whose incapacity was apparent, made a will appointing the duke of Normandy his successor. It is also said that Harold was the person who brought the duke the tidings of the bequest in his favor, but there is great contradiction in the various accounts of this matter. That Harold bound himself by oath to forward the views of William, is a matter of little doubt; how the oath was obtained is problematic. The common account is as follows: Godwin had been obliged to give one of his sons and a grandson to the king to be kept as hostages beyond sea; and they had been committed to the charge of the duke of Normandy. Harold, having procured Edward's permission for their release, proceeded in person to Normandy to obtain them. Being driven by a tempest on the coast of Ponthieu, he was, in accordance with the barbarous usages of the age, made a prisoner by the count, Guy, who expected to obtain a large ransom from him. Harold sent to inform the duke of Normandy, the count's superior, of his being thus seized when on his way to the Norman court, and William forthwith ordered his vassal to transmit his captive to Rouen. Here Harold was treated with the utmost courtesy, and no objection was made to the release of his relations. William then took occasion to inform him of his pretensions to the crown, adding that the king intended to make a will in his favor: he desired the aid of Harold in furtherance of his claims, vowing the utmost gratitude, and offering him the hand of his daughter Adela. Harold was astounded, but knowing himself to be in the duke's power, he promised every thing. William required his oath; Harold swore on the missal in the usual manner in presence of a large assembly; the missal was then removed, and there appeared beneath it a vessel filled with the bones of

saints, and other relics which William had caused to be placed there secretly, and on which Harold was now held to have sworn.

Another account says that the object of Harold's voyage was to inform William of king Edward's intentions in his favor. A third and more probable account is, that Harold was merely sailing along the coast of Sussex on business or pleasure, when a storm drove him to Ponthieu.

The life of the feeble monarch was fast drawing to its close. Aware of the approach of death, he hastened the consecration of the abbey of Westminster, which he had rebuilt. On Innocents' day (1065) the fane was dedicated in his name by queen Editha, and on the eve of the Epiphany (Jan. 5) he breathed his last, and was interred in the abbey the following day.

A prince more devoid of energy than Edward, is not to be found in history. His very external appearance displayed his character; his hair and skin being remarkably white, and his complexion rosy like that of a child. He was abjectly superstitious, for which he was canonized by the church, and miracles were invented for him. He was weakly indulgent and lavishly charitable. If he showed any symptoms of vigor, it was in his love for the chase, between which and his prayers he divided his time. For the affectionate remembrance in which he was held by the English nation, he was more indebted to the Norman tyranny than to his own deserts; his reign was looked back to as halcyon days between the rigors of the Danish and Norman rule; and the laws of the good king Edward (meaning thereby not his code, but the laws which prevailed in his time) were the constant demand of the people for near a century.*

It is perhaps not undeserving of notice that the Confessor was the first who touched for the king's-evil.

HAROLD II. 1066.

It was said, and perhaps with truth, that as the late king lay on his death-bed, he yielded to the importunity of Harold, and named him to succeed. At all events, on the day of Edward's funeral, Harold was crowned without opposition by Aldred archbishop of York. The southern counties, which he and his family had long governed, readily acknowledged

* It is really amusing to see how Dr. Lingard strives to make some thing respectable out of the character of this royal saint.

his authority. To gain the good-will of the Northumbrians, he made a progress to the north, accompanied by Wulstan the good bishop of Worcester. His efforts were successful, and to bind Edwin and Morcar to his interests, he espoused their sister Editha.

The news of the death of Edward and the coronation of Harold reached the duke of Normandy as he was hunting in his park near Rouen. The bow, it is said, dropped from his hand; he stood a few moments rapt in thought, then threw himself into a boat, and crossing the Seine, entered his palace, and after an interval of moody silence, he called his barons to council. By their advice he sent to require Harold to perform his engagements and resign the crown. The reply was such as might be expected, a refusal veiled under specious pretexts, in effect a defiance of the Norman power. Forthwith William summoned a parliament of his barons at Lillebonne, and though the nature of their tenures did not oblige them to cross the sea in the service of their liege-lord, they agreed, at the impulsion of a baron named Fitz Osbern the Bold, to aid in the conquest of England. Promises of rich rewards were made by the duke to stimulate them to exertion: similar promises were held forth in proclamations, and the flower of the chivalry of Brittany, Poitou, Anjou, and other parts crowded to the standard of William the Bastard.*

The pope when applied to readily condemned the perjury of Harold, and he sent the duke a consecrated banner and a ring containing a hair of St. Peter's, at the same time stipulating for a more punctual payment of the Peter-pence.†

Meantime William aided Harold's brother Tosti, who was in Flanders, and enabled him to collect a force of sixty vessels, with which he passed over to the Isle of Wight, and began to ravage it and the adjacent coast. Being driven off by Harold's forces, he sailed away to Lindesey, but here, finding Edwin and Morcar too strong for him, he went to Scotland, and at the end of the summer Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, to whom he had become a vassal, having entered the Tyne, he came and joined him. They thence sailed to the Humber, and went up the Ouse toward York. On the right bank of this river they were engaged (Sept. 20) by the earls Edwin and Morcar; the English were defeated

* He was the natural son of duke Robert by a maiden of humble birth named Arlotta.

† This was an annual tax of a penny a house, granted to the Holy See by king Ethelwulf. Lingard is silent about this and the ring

with great slaughter, and the two earls were besieged in York.

King Harold, who had assembled a numerous fleet, and taken a position with his land forces between Hastings and Pevensey to await the arrival of the Normans, on hearing of the landing of the Norwegians, led his troops with all speed to the north. He reached the neighborhood of York four days after the defeat of Edwin and Morcar, and came up with the Norwegian king and but a part of his forces. Tosti advised his ally to fall back to his ships; the proud spirit of Hardrada spurned at retreat. He sent three messages to his ships, to summon his remaining warriors to his side, and then retiring to Stamford bridge, on the Derwent, drew up his men in array of battle; his array was a hollow circle in whose centre waved the Landeyda (*Land-waster*) the royal banner of Norway; the outer rank fixed their spears obliquely in the ground, while the second rank protruded *theirs*, so that the English, who were mostly cavalry, would impale their horses if they made a charge. As Hardrada was riding round the circle to inspect it, his horse stumbled and threw him. "Who is that warrior in blue, with a glittering helmet, that has fallen?" inquired Harold; he was told it was the king of Norway. "He is a large and stately person," replied he, "but his fall shows that his end is at hand!" Harold then sent to Tosti, offering him the earldom of Northumbria and other honors. "That offer should have been made last winter," said Tosti; "but if I accept it, what will be given to the king of Norway?" "Seven feet of ground, or as he is a very tall man, perhaps a little more," replied the envoy. "Go back," cried he, "and tell king Harold to make him ready for the fight, for never shall it be told in Norway that earl Tosti left Harold son of Sigurd, and went over to his foes."

The fight began, (Sept. 25:) the English cavalry in their usual manner charged in masses, dispersed, reassembled, and charged again. The ardor of their foes at length made them break their firm array to pursue them; the English rushed in at the opening; Hardrada fell pierced in the neck by an arrow. Tosti took the command; the troops from the fleet arrived: the battle continued till Tosti and every chief of name had fallen, and the evening closed on the complete victory of the English. Harold dismissed Olave the son of the fallen king in safety, and having taken possession of the fleet and booty, led his troops to York. Here, as he sat at his royal banquet, tidings came to him of the landing of the Normans in Sussex.

The preparations of the duke of Normandy being completed, a numerous fleet of vessels of all sizes assembled in the month of August at the mouth of the little river Dive, to convey his forces to England.* But the wind proved adverse for more than a month, and when at the time of the equinox it changed, and the armament put to sea, a storm came on, and though the greater part of the ships escaped to St. Vallery, near Dieppe, several were lost, and the shore was covered with wrecks and the bodies of the drowned. To appease the wrath of Heaven, William caused the body of St. Vallery to be carried in solemn procession, and when the weather became serene the armament again put to sea; the duke's galley, the present of his wife Matilda, on whose prow stood a golden boy, his right hand pointing to England, his left holding an ivory trumpet to his mouth, leading the way. The vessels advanced so unequally, that when the duke reached the English coast many of them were still twenty leagues in the rear, and they would have been an easy prey to the English fleet if it had been at hand; but fortune favored William in every way; the wind which he had deemed so adverse had only detained him till Hadrada had landed and drawn the disciplined forces of Harold to the north, and in that interval the English fleet had been obliged to disperse to get provisions, and the wind had not yet permitted it to re-assemble. He landed without opposition at Pevensey, (Sept. 28,) whence he advanced to Hastings, and raised fortifications at both places to protect his ships, which were speedily blocked up by the English fleet.†

It is said that when William sprang to land from his galley he stumbled and fell. The superstition of the age might have converted this into an ill omen, but the soldier who raised him had the presence of mind to avert it; seeing his hands full of mud, he cried, "Fortunate leader! you have already taken England! its earth is in your hands!"

Harold flew to London on hearing of the landing of the Norman; though he had lost some of his best troops in the late battle, and, it is said, had disgusted the rest by retaining the whole of the Norwegian spoil, he assembled within six days a force which he deemed sufficient to meet the invaders. He sent spies to ascertain their strength; William, it is said, caused these men to be led through his camp and then dismissed. As the Normans shaved the upper lip, contrary to the Eng-

* See Appendix (E.)

† Hence the falsehood appears of the story of his burning his ships

ish custom, the spies told Harold that they looked like an army of priests; he laughed, and said, they would find these priests right valiant soldiers. Messages passed between the two rivals. William offered Harold the option of a legal trial of their claims, or a single combat. Harold replied that God should judge between them: his brother Gurth then urged, that as he had been so unfortunate as to be obliged to take an oath of fealty to William, it would be wiser for him not to enter the battle in person, but to let *him*, whose conscience was clear, lead the troops. Harold derided these apprehensions, and forthwith set out with his forces, in the hopes of surprising the Normans like the Norwegians; but William was too alert; his scouts brought him timely word, and Harold giving over his plan of a night attack, the two armies took a position at a place anciently named Senlac, now called Battle, from the event, eight miles on the London side of Hastings.

It was the laudable custom of that age for the warriors to employ themselves in devotional exercises the night previous to a battle, and to hear mass and receive the sacrament in the morning. With this the Normans complied, while the English, we are told, passed the night in feasting and rowelry. At dawn (Oct. 15) Harold drew up his troops on the declivity of a hill in one compact, solid mass; their rear was protected by an extensive wood; each man was covered by his shield and grasped a battle-axe, the ancient English weapon. The king and all his nobles, and other horsemen, dismounted and took their station with the rest; in the centre waved the royal banner containing the figure of a fighting warrior woven in gold, and adorned with precious stones; beneath it stood Harold and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin. On an opposite eminence the duke marshalled his troops in three lines, the first of archers, the second of heavy infantry, the third of his numerous cavalry in five squadrons; the papal banner was raised in their front by Toustaine the Fair; William bore suspended from his neck the relics on which Harold had sworn.

The Normans raised their war-cry of "God help us!" and advanced; the English responded by shouts of "Holy rood! God's rood!" A Norman knight, it is said, named Taillefer, preceded the army mounted on a stately horse, tossing his sword up in the air with one hand and catching it with the other, and singing aloud the deeds of the hero Roland; he slew two English warriors, but fell by the hand of a third. The Normans ascended the hill; their archers, having discharged

their arrows, fell back on the infantry, but neither could make any impression on the English phalanx: the cavalry then charged; the battle-axe hewed them down; the Norman left wing, horse and foot, turned and fled; the opposite English broke from the mass and pursued; a report was spread that the duke had fallen; William took off his helmet and rode along the line. A body of cavalry got in the rear of the English, who had pursued; the fugitives turned, and the English were all cut to pieces. Again he assailed the English phalanx; firm and unmoved it withstood the shock. He then had recourse to stratagem; a part of his horse feigned flight; the English again broke and pursued: a deep ditch, concealed by vegetation, lay in the way; pursuers and pursued fell into it pell-mell, but the English were destroyed as before. The same stratagem was tried with the same success in another part of the line. Still the main body of the English stood unbroken around their king; but William had directed his archers to shoot upwards, that their arrows might fall down on their enemies. By one of these Harold was wounded in the eye; his brothers were already fallen. Twenty Norman knights rushed to seize the royal banner; Harold was slain; the English broke and fled. It was now night, but the Normans pursued them by the light of the moon, and the fugitives turning on them in a place full of ditches, took a severe vengeance for their defeat. Thus was this memorable battle terminated; the victors lost in it a fourth of their number; the loss of the vanquished, like their number, is unknown.

William caused a spot near where Harold had fallen to be cleared, and pitched his tent there, in which he and his barons supped that night. He afterwards founded an abbey on that spot named Battle, in which prayers were to be continually offered up for the souls of those who had fallen. Though Harold's mother offered its weight in gold for his body, he refused it. He caused it to be buried on the sea-shore, saying, "He guarded the coast when living, let him still guard it now that he is dead." He seems, however, to have afterwards relented, and the remains of Harold finally reposed at the abbey of Waltham, which he had founded.*

See Appendix (F.)

Having now brought the history of the Anglo-Saxons to its close, we will pause and take a slight view of their political institutions.

The population of Anglo-Saxon England (exclusive of the kings of the blood of Wodin) was divided into three classes — the Earls, the Ceorls, and the Theowes. Of these the Earls were the nobles, or land-owners; the Ceorls (*Churls*) were their vassals, the class of ignoble cultivators and artisans, answering to the *demos* of Greece; the Theowes were slaves, whose wretched condition was the consequence of their crimes, or of their imprudence in contracting debts which they were unable to discharge.

The Earls and Ceorls were each again divided into two classes; the former consisted of the Hlafords (*Lords*) or great landed proprietors, and of the Sithcundmen or those who by blood were Earls, but who had not property enough to make them Hlafords. The Ceorls were divided into Heorthfastmen or householders, and Folghers (*followers*) or laborers and farming servants. The Ceorl, also named Bonde* and Gebur, (*Boor*), and in Latin Villanus, (whence *villain*), seems to have been attached to the soil, in which, however, he had a property, and as long as he paid the customary rent, and rendered the usual services, he could not be removed. In all other respects the Ceorls were freemen, and under the protection of the law. It is probable they were for the most part (like the continental *villani*) the descendants of the Britons who continued to hold their lands under the Saxon conquerors.

The Thane (*Then* or *Thegn*) or Knight, (*Cniht*), that is, servant, (*minister*), was originally one to whom land was granted on condition of his fidelity to his lord. In course of time the word Thane became equivalent to Earl, and the Thanes were the gentry of the country, that is, all between the Alderman or Earl† and the Ceorl; and the king's thanes and lesser thanes answered to the two classes of the Earls.

The lands held by these classes were either Folcland, (answering to the Odal-land of Scandinavia, the *allodium* of the continent,) that is, land held in absolute property, or Boc

* This word is still in use in the North of Europe. We find it still in *husband*, (house-bonde,) which answers to the *paterfamilias* rather than the *maritus* of the Latin, and in *husbandman*.

† After the settlement of the Danes in England, this term, corresponding to the Scandinavian *Jarl*, was used as synonymous with Ealdorman.

land, (*Book-land*,) or Læn land, (*Loan-land*,) that granted by charter and held on particular conditions, the *fiſc* or *feud* of the continent. The holders of all these lands were subject to what was called the *trinoda neceſſitas*, viz., the payment of taxes for the Briegbote or repairs of roads and bridges, the Burhbote or repairs of fortresses, and the Fyrd or general array of military service for the defence of the country.

The first and lowest political division of the land seems to have been the Town, (*Tun*,) answering in some sort to the Manor of the Normans.* It contained not only the land which the Hlaford held in his own hands, but the land or feuds which he had granted by charter, and the folcland included within its limits, and some common pastures for the general use. A second and larger division was into Hundreds; † and a still larger into Shires, above which there was nothing but the original Kingdoms.‡

Each of these divisions had its mote or court for the administration of justice. That of the town was named the Hall-mote, as being usually held in the hall of the lord's residence. The lord had the right of executing summary justice on thieves caught with the goods on them; he could impose fines, etc. His officer was the Reeve, (*Gerefa*,§) who represented him on most occasions, received all his tolls and dues at markets, etc., and superintended the Ceorls, by whom, however, he was elected to his office. In the Hall-mote we may discern the court-baron with civil and the court-leet with criminal jurisdiction of the present day, while the Reeve reminds us of the modern steward of the manor.

The Hundred-mote or Folk-mote met once a month; it was presided over by the alderman, (whether of the shire or only of the hundred is uncertain,) with whom the bishop of the diocese sat, and it was composed of the thanes or landlords whose demesnes lay within its jurisdiction. It was attended by the reeve and four good and lawful men

* In Scotland and Ireland the word *town* is still used in this sense.

† Whether as containing 100 hides of land, 100 free families, or 100 tithings, is uncertain. North of the Trent the Hundred was called Wapentake, from the custom, it is said, of the suiters touching the *weapon*, i. e. spear, of the ealderman when he entered on his office.

‡ Some shires, such as Kent and Sussex, had been original kingdoms; others, such as Yorkshire, were divisions of kingdoms. The power of the Shiremote or county-court was greater in the former kind.

§ *Gerefa* is the same as the German *Graf*, a count or earl. From *Shire-gerefa* we have made *Sheriff*.

from each town, and also, it would appear, by the priest. It took cognizance of the crimes and misdemeanors committed within the hundred; it tried civil actions, and it was in this court that contracts were made for the sale of lands, and the money paid in the presence of the Hundredors, who could afterwards bear witness if required, and landbocs or charters were there read out and published.

The Shire-mote met twice a year under the presidency of the bishop of the diocese and the alderman and the gerefæ of the shire. Every landlord in the shire was required to attend personally or by his reeve; the reeve and four good men from each town also appeared at it.

The rights of the crown, of the church, and of private persons were here discussed and determined; grants and charters were read out as in the hundred-mote, with which it had much in common. In the shire-mote the laws which had been enacted by the king in council were received and published.

Far above all these courts was the great council of the nation, the Witenagemot or Micel-getheah, (*Great-thought*.) Originally each kingdom had its own witenagemot, at which, besides the prelates and thanes, the reeves and four men of the towns gave attendance; but when the regal authority was fully extended over the whole island, the witenagemot became of greater dignity. It was held at the three great festivals of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. The king sat on his throne with the crown on his head and a sceptre in each hand, surrounded by his officers of state. The vassal Cymric and Celtic princes were summoned to it, as also were the prelates and the earls and great thanes of the realm. Laws here were enacted, taxes imposed, grants made or confirmed, state criminals tried. The choice of a successor to the throne (but restricted to the royal line) was made by the Witan on the death of the king.*

* [It is a fact worthy of particular attention, as showing the independence and love of liberty which, from the earliest times, animated our Saxon ancestors, that the crown of England was always *elective* not only before but after the accession of William the Norman. Even at the present day the *form* is retained, although the destruction of all substantial royal prerogative and power renders the actual exercise of the constitutional elective right a matter of no importance. This interesting point of constitutional history appears to have escaped Mr. Keightley's notice. It has, however, been clearly established by the researches of Sir Harris Nicolas and others. See "Chronology of History," p. 272, and, also, "Comparative View of Ancient History and Explanation of Chronological Eras," by the editor of this work, p. 66, note. — J. T. S.]

Of the crimes tried in these various courts some were *bote-los*, or inexcusable, and were punished with death. Such were treason, murder, desertion in war, housebreaking, and open robbery. Others were redeemable by a *were*, that is, a fine or damages. Of these the most remarkable was manslaughter, as the *weres* of the different classes of society were exactly apportioned. Thus the *were* of a Ceorl or Twi-handman, as he was named, was 200 shillings, while that of an Earl or Twelf-handman was 1200; an intermediate class, the Six-handman, whose *were* was 600 shillings, are also named, and these are supposed with probability to be the Sitheundmen. The *were* of the Ealdorman was twice, that of the Atheling three times, that of the king six times as much as that of the Earl.

Compurgation was another feature of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. As circumstantial evidence was never admitted, every cause was decided on oath or by the ordeal. If a man was accused of a crime and there was not proof positive against him, he was allowed to clear himself by the ordeal of boiling water or red-hot iron, or he might swear to his innocence and bring forward, as his compurgators, a certain number of his relatives and neighbors, who would swear to their belief of the truth of his assertion. The gradations of rank were of influence in this case also; the oath of a king's thane, for instance, was equivalent to those of six ceorls.

The Anglo-Saxon system of police, named Freeborgh or Frankpledge, is also deserving of notice, but it is involved in much obscurity. It appears to have been of two kinds: the seignorial, by which the lord was bound to produce his vassal when any charge was made against him; and the collective, by which the ceorls in their *tithings* were *borghs* or security for each other. These tithings were of different extent in different places, the smallest number of persons in one of them being *ten*, whence they derived their name. The tithing was directed by its principal member, who was named the Borges-ealder, (corruptly *Borsholder*.) The system of frankpledge was by no means universal throughout England. It became of more importance after the Conquest than in the Anglo-Saxon times, being found to be a good mode of securing the allegiance of the people.

The trial by jury formed no part of the Anglo-Saxon system, though the germ of it, as of so many other institutions of later times, may be found in it.

Bishops were appointed by the king and the witena-gemot

to which they were amenable, and by which they could be deposed and otherwise punished. The inferior clergy, if they committed secular offences, were tried and punished by the secular tribunals. The lands of the church were in general subject to the *trinoda necessitas*. The clergy were, however, held in high honor; the Mass-thane, as the priest was called, ranked in all respects with the World's-thane or gentleman. In doctrine the Anglo-Saxon church agreed with that of Rome, and, as we have seen, it had its full share of errors, false miracles, and pious frauds. We have, however, abundant evidence to show that whatever might be the private opinions of some of the clergy, the revolting absurdity of transubstantiation formed no part of its system of belief.

From this very slight sketch of their constitution, it will, we believe, appear that our Saxon forefathers were a *free* people. The rights of every one were secured by law, and could be maintained in the various courts of justice; the aristocracy was strong, but not oppressive; the crown was hereditary,* and had its recognized rights; in a word, the framework of that wonderful political phenomenon, the actual British constitution, was there. We are of opinion that political like natural constitutions are of gradual growth and development, and that as in the child we may see the future man, so in the earliest form of a state we may discern its mature condition. As far as experience has gone, it seems a nearly hopeless attempt for one people to try to imitate or adopt the institutions of another.†

* [In a limited degree only; see *note*, p. 57, and the references there made.—J. T. S.]

† The reader, desirous of fuller information on this subject, is referred to Palgrave's valuable work already quoted, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, and Allen's *Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England*

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM I. (THE CONQUEROR.)

. 1066—1087.

AFTER his victory at Hastings, the duke of Normandy led his troops eastwards along the coast, spoiling and ravaging on his way. As the people of Romney had attacked and defeated some Normans who had landed there, he burned the town and massacred the inhabitants; he then advanced to Dover, which town was likewise partly burned and the castle forced to surrender. After a delay of eight days, on account of the dysentery which prevailed among his troops, he directed his march toward London; on his way he was met by a deputation of the Kentishmen, offering to submit on his engaging to respect their liberties and rights.

The Witan and the citizens of London had meantime placed the Atheling Edgar on the vacant throne, and on account of his incapacity the direction of affairs was committed to Stigand the primate and the earls Edwin and Morcar; but disunion prevailed in their councils, and many of the higher clergy, it is said, swayed by the authority of the pope, or hoping advantage from it, were for submission to the Norman, who had now reached Southwark, which suburb he burned, after routing those who came out to oppose him; he then turned, and having plundered Surrey, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, whence he moved to Berkhamstead. Bucks and Herts were now laid waste; the supplies were cut off from Lon

don; Edwin and Morcar had retired home. Resistance seeming hopeless, Stigand and deputies on the part of the clergy and people entered his camp and swore fealty to him. The following Christmas was appointed for his coronation; he meanwhile encamped a few miles from the city till a fortress (the origin of the present Tower) should have been raised for his security. On the appointed day (Dec. 25) he proceeded to Westminster Abbey, where the ceremony was to be performed by the archbishop of York, (Stigand being under a sentence of suspension.) A guard of Norman horse surrounded the abbey, in which the English were already assembled. William entered with his nobles; the ceremony began; the bishop of Constance asked the Normans in French if they would have their duke crowned king of England; a similar question was put to the English in Saxon by the prelate of York. Instantly a loud cry of assent arose from all parts of the edifice. The Normans outside, fancying, or pretending to do so, that the English were assailing those within, set fire to the neighboring houses; those who were in the church rushed out, the English to save their lives and property, the Normans to share in the plunder, and William was left alone with the archbishop and a few ecclesiastics of both nations. The trembling priests received from the monarch, whose terror nearly equalled their own, an oath to govern the English people as they had been governed by the best of their native kings.

William, who is henceforth named the Conqueror,* manifested a laudable anxiety to gain the affections of his new subjects; he granted new privileges to the citizens of London; he put down the bands of robbers which now infested the country; he protected travellers and merchants; he was accessible to all; he even made an attempt to learn the English language. At Barking, whither he retired after his coronation, he was waited on by Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Coxo, and a crowd of other nobles and thanes, who did him homage and were confirmed in their estates and honors. He then made a progress through the neighboring counties to gain the people by his affability and courtesy.

To reward his followers he confiscated the estates of those who had fought against him at Hastings, affecting to regard them as traitors. By these foreigners, who thus settled in England, numerous castles were erected to secure

* *Conquisitor*. It simply means *acquirer*—he claimed the crown by legal right.

their possessions, and in each town the king raised a fortress in which he placed a Norman garrison. These measures occupied his attention during the early part of the year, (1067;) in the month of March, in compliance with the desires of his Norman subjects, he prepared to revisit Normandy; and having committed the direction of affairs in England to Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his uterine brother, and William Fitz-Osbern, he led such of his troops as were returning home to Pevensy, where, having distributed rich presents among them, he embarked, taking with him Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Stigand, and other English of note, under the pretext of doing them honor, but in reality that they might serve as hostages for the obedience of the people. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by his native subjects, who were amazed at the quantity of wealth he had acquired, and who gazed in surprise at the magnificence displayed by his English followers. To the monasteries which had put up prayers for his success he made costly offerings; to the pope he sent the banner of Harold and a large quantity of gold and silver.

While William was thus displaying his liberality in Normandy, those whom he had left behind in England were driving the people to desperation by their tyranny and oppression, and it was in vain that redress was sought from the regents, who gave no heed to their complaints. Resistance therefore began to be made in various parts; the people of Kent invited over Eustace count of Boulogne to their aid, offering to put him in possession of Dover. He landed and was joined by the neighboring people, but failing to take the castle by assault, he lost courage, and reëmbarked his troops with some loss. In Hereford, the English, under the command of a chief named Edric the Wild, and aided by the Welsh, drove the Normans out of the country. A general confederacy against the strangers was organized; the nobles who had submitted were secretly invited to put themselves at the head of it, and Coxo was actually assassinated for persisting in his fidelity to the Conqueror.

When intelligence of what was going on came to the ears of William, he returned to England without delay, although it was now mid-winter; he kept his Christmas at London, where he lavished his caresses on the English prelates and nobles who appeared at court, and issued a proclamation to the citizens, assuring them of his intentions to govern them according to their ancient laws, and to secure them in their property. Having thus soothed the people of London, he set

out (1068) with his troops for Devon, where the people were in arms, and laid siege to Exeter. As he approached, a deputation met him, offering to pay as tribute a sum equal to what they had paid their former kings, but declining to swear allegiance; he refused to listen to these terms; his troops advanced to the assault, the English being placed in front; ere the assault was made, the magistrates came forth, sued for peace, and gave hostages; but on their return the citizens refused to ratify the peace, closed the gates and prepared for defence. William then put out the eyes of one of the hostages in their view, and invested the town; the siege lasted eighteen days, with great loss on the part of the besiegers; at length the walls were undermined, and the city was forced to surrender. The whole of Devonshire and the adjoining British Cornwall were speedily reduced; about the same time Somerset and Gloucester were also subdued, and the land seized and divided.

Those who were dispossessed of their lands, and the lovers of liberty in general, gradually retired to the north, whither the Normans had not as yet penetrated. Edwin, Morcar, and other chiefs secretly repaired thither; an alliance was formed with the Welsh and with Malcolm king of Scotland, (at whose court Edgar had taken refuge, and who had married Edgar's sister Margaret,) and an extensive plan of resistance to the Normans was formed. It is said that in the conquered country a secret plan for assassinating the Normans (like the Danes in the time of Ethelred) on a festival, when they would be without arms, was projected, but it was discovered, and those most deeply engaged in it had to seek safety in flight. William, resolving to strike the first blow, led his troops northwards; he took Oxford by assault, massacred the inhabitants, and burned a great part of the town. The same was the fate of Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby; Lincoln was forced to capitulate, and William then crossed the Humber. The English and their confederates gave him battle; they were routed and fled to York; that city also was taken by assault, and all in it massacred without distinction; a fortress was erected there and strongly garrisoned to keep the surrounding country in awe. It does not appear that the king marched much farther north, for the Normans were grown weary of the service, and desirous of returning to their wives and families.

The next year (1069) Edmund and Godwin, the sons of Harold, came with some ships from Ireland, and made descents in Somerset and Devon, where the people rose against the Normans; but their efforts were crushed by the troops

(chiefly English) sent against them, and the sons of Harold were forced to retire. The people of Cheshire and the adjoining country also rose, but the king marched in person against them, and one battle crushed their hopes. But though the English no longer made head in the field, their irregular bands did the Normans great mischief, and frequent ambuscades kept the enemy in terror. The governor of York wrote to the king to say that unless reinforced he could not hold out; William hastened thither and found the castle actually besieged; he speedily dispersed the assailants, and then commenced the erection of a second castle, and being resolved to extend his dominion, he sent Robert de Comines or Cumin with twelve hundred horsemen and a large number of footmen to occupy the city of Durham. As Cumin approached that town, the bishop came to meet him, and warned him of his danger; but he treated the warning with contempt, and having put some of the inhabitants to death, he took up his quarters in the bishop's house. In the night beacons flamed on all the adjacent heights, and at dawn the gates of the town were forced, and the English poured in and slaughtered the Normans; the bishop's house was set on fire, and Cumin and all in it perished. Troops were ordered from York and elsewhere to avenge this massacre, but the soldiers on reaching Northallerton refused to advance.

The people of the north and east of England ceased not to solicit their kinsmen of Denmark to come to their aid against the Normans; William, on his part, sent his most adroit bishops with rich presents to Sweyn king of Denmark to induce him to remain at peace. But the Danish monarch, urged by his subjects, sent this year a fleet of two hundred and forty ships under his brother and his two sons, which entered the Humber in the autumn: the people rose to join them; Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, and the other exiles hastened from Scotland, and their united forces advanced joyfully and confidently to the attack of York. The towns-people aided the invaders; the castles were carried by assault, the garrisons slaughtered, the governors led prisoners to the Danish fleet, and the castles razed. The Danes then stationed their fleet for the winter in the Humber, Ouse, and Trent.

This invasion of the Danes, and the capture of York, caused William great concern. To secure the obedience of the English of the south, he restrained the insolence of his soldiers, and made some slight concessions, but he best succeeded in weakening his enemies by prevailing on the uncle of the Danish princes, by the promise of a large sum of money

to induce them to depart at the end of winter. He then (1070) set out for York, at the head of his best troops, and carried the city by assault. Edgar and the other chiefs fled to Scotland; the Normans spread over Northumberland, burning towns and villages, and slaughtering men and cattle alike; and from the Humber to the Tyne there did not remain an inhabited town or a field in cultivation; all was one desert covered with ruins of towns, houses, and convents; the lands of St. John of Beverley alone escaped the general calamity, owing, says the legend, to the visible interposition of the saint. On the banks of the Tees, Edgar, Edwin, Morcar, Waltheof, and other chiefs entered the camp of the conqueror and made their submissions anew, and Waltheof received the hand of his niece Judith, and the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton. William then had the regalia brought to York, where he kept his Christmas in great pomp. But meantime famine preyed on the wretched country, and more than one hundred thousand persons perished north of the Humber.

All England was now subdued under the Normans. The inferior people, in general, submitted to the yoke they could not avoid; the higher classes had partly fallen in the field, or by the sentence of military tribunals; some had fled to Scotland, some to the north; a band of daring spirits, led by Siward earl of Gloucester, went by sea to Constantinople, where the emperors had long kept a body-guard of Scandinavians, named Varangs, (Warriors,) and entered into this service, and others soon followed their example. Others again took to the woods at home, whence they issued and attacked the Normans on the highways, and plundered those who had submitted to them. The chief seat of these outlaws, as they were named, were the isles of Ely and Thorney, in the fens of Cambridgeshire; their Camp of Refuge, as it was called, was secured by defences of earth and wood, and several nobles and spiritual dignitaries gradually repaired to it.

William now (1071) proceeded, in concert with the pope, who sent three legates for the purpose, to depose, under various pretexts, the principal Saxon prelates and abbots, and give their places to strangers. Stigand was deprived of Canterbury, and that see given to Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, and Thomas, one of the king's chaplains, obtained that of York, the ancient claims of which to equality with Canterbury he was forced to resign, and Lanfranc was now styled the primate and father of all the churches in England. Many of these new dignitaries lived in a state of continued

hostility with the clergy under them, whom they insulted, persecuted, robbed, and sometimes even murdered.

The Camp of Refuge, meantime, continued to be the retreat of the independent English; Stigand and other deposed prelates and abbots were there, and Edwin and Morcar also fled thither; but the latter, induced by the promises of the king, having left it to return to the court, was seized as he came out, and sent a prisoner to Normandy. Edwin also left the camp, and having spent six months in collecting men and supplies in England, Scotland, and Wales, was returning to it when he was betrayed to the Normans, and he fell fighting bravely; their sister Lucy was given in marriage with all the possessions of their house to an Angevin, named Ivo Taille-bois, who fixed his abode at Spalding, in Lincolnshire, where he exercised the utmost tyranny and oppression over his English vassals.

There was at this time living in Flanders an Englishman named Hereward: hearing from the exiles that his father was dead, his heritage given to a Norman, and his mother in great distress, he set out for England, and assembling a troop of his relations, he attacked and expelled the intruder. Necessity obliging him to maintain by force what he had seized by force, he was engaged in ceaseless conflicts with the Normans, and as he was mostly victorious, his fame spread far and wide, and his deeds were the theme of the popular ballads; his lands lying at Brunn (Bourne) near Croyland, his exploits were well known to those in the Camp of Refuge, and at their request he went thither and took the chief command.

The efforts of Taille-bois, and Turauld the Norman abbot of Peterborough, to reduce the outlaws proving fruitless, the king took the field in person against them. To reach their retreat he found it necessary to construct a causeway three miles in length over the marshes. Hereward, by his sorties, so impeded the work, that the Normans fancied he was aided by the evil one, and to fight him at his own weapons Taille-bois brought a sorceress and placed her in a wooden tower, in advance of the works, to perform her incantations. But Hereward made a sudden sally, set fire to the reeds, and burnt the sorceress and most of the soldiers that were at work. At length, treachery effected what force could not achieve; the monks of a convent in the Isle of Ely, weary of privation, sent to say to the king, that if he pledged himself to leave them their property, they would enable his troops to en-

ter the isle unperceived.* This offer was accepted; the camp was suddenly assailed; many were slain, the rest forced to surrender. Hereward and a few other brave men made their escape through the marshes, and he continued to be, as before, the terror of the Normans. At length, if we may trust the very dubious authority of a metrical history, a Saxon lady named Alfrud, who had large possessions, charmed with his valor, gave him her hand, and at her desire he made his peace with the king. But the Normans, who dreaded him, gave him no rest; and one day, as he was sleeping in the open air after his dinner, he was fallen on by a troop of armed men; with only a short lance and his sword he killed, says the rhymers, sixteen of the assailants before he fell.† It became a common saying, that if England had had three more like him, it had never been conquered. The treacherous monks of Ely suffered (and no one can pity them) for their treason to their country; a party of Norman soldiers was quartered on them; they had to pay 1000 marks; their plate and ornaments were seized, and their lands divided into military fiefs for the Normans. Having made an expedition to the north, and obliged the king of Scotland to do him homage for his kingdom, William collected (1073) an army of English, and passed over to the continent to take advantage of a dispute between the count of Maine and his subjects. The mingled valor and ferocity of the English could not be withstood; the whole province submitted to William, who led his troops laden with booty back to Normandy.

While William was absent, a rebellion, headed by Norman nobles, broke out in England. Roger earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz-Osbern, had engaged his sister Emma to Raulf de Guader, a Breton, earl of Norfolk. The king, it is not known why, sent to forbid the match, but heedless of the royal mandate, Roger conducted his sister to Norwich, and the wedding feast, to which Norman, Saxon, and Welsh nobles and prelates were invited, was held. When heated with wine, the guests gave a loose to their tongues against the king, abusing his birth, and declaiming against his avarice and his ingratitude. The two earls then proposed to Waltheof, who was of the party, to join in an insurrection against William, who, they said, would never return, adding, that then one of them should be king, and the other two rule under him;

* Dr. Lingard, of course, takes no notice of this transaction.

† Ingulf simply says that he made his peace with the king, ended his days in tranquillity, and was buried with his wife at Croyland.

Waltheof, though he did not assent, promised secrecy; bishops and barons, knights and warriors, swore to be faithful to the cause, and Roger went home without delay to make the needful preparations. The conspiracy, however, was easily crushed; earl Roger was defeated and taken before he could pass the Severn, and Guader and his troops were routed by bishop Odo and William de Warrenne. The victors cut off the right foot of all their prisoners. Guader fled to Brittany; his bride defended the castle of Norwich till forced by famine to surrender. The estates of both the earls were confiscated, and Roger was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The fate of Waltheof was more severe. He had only been guilty of what is called misprision of treason; but his wife Judith had fixed her affections on another, and Ivo de Taillebois and others coveted his lands. The royal council were divided in their sentiments, and the earl lay a prisoner at Winchester during an entire year. At length his enemies prevailed, sentence of death was passed, and early in the morning, while the people of Winchester were in their beds, (lest they might attempt a rescue,) he was led to an eminence without the town, and there beheaded. By the English he was regarded as a martyr, and miracles, it was believed, were wrought at his tomb in the abbey of Croyland. His faithless wife, however, was punished. The king ordered her to marry a knight named Simon of Senlis; she refused, as Simon was lame and deformed; the king then gave Simon the eldest daughter and the estates of Waltheof, and Judith passed the remainder of her days in poverty and contempt.

The last English earl was now gone, and William next proceeded to depose the last English prelate. Wulfstan of Worcester was summoned (1076) before a council at Westminster, and ordered by the king and Lanfranc to resign his staff and ring, because, as he could not speak French, he could not, it was alleged, discharge episcopal functions in England. Wulfstan, says the legend, stood up, walked to the tomb of king Edward, and said, "Edward, thou gavest me this pastoral staff; to thee then I commit it." Then turning round he cried, "A better than thou gave it to me; pluck it away if thou canst." He struck it into the solid tomb, whence no one could extract it till the sentence was revoked; it then yielded to the touch of the Saxon prelate.*

Family dissensions now came to disturb the peace of the

* Lingard omits this also; he merely says that Wulfstan was not molested.

king of England. He had three sons, Robert named Gamberon, or Curthose, from the shortness of his legs; William, called Rufus, or the Red, from the color of his hair; and Henry, for whom his love of letters gained the title of Beauclerc. Robert had the nominal government of Normandy, under his mother Matilda, and the Norman barons had been allowed to do him homage. When he grew up he claimed to be put in possession of the duchy, but met with a flat refusal. An accident occurred to augment his discontent. The king being at a place named L'Aigle with his three sons, William and Henry, who were opposed to Robert, came to where he lodged, and going into an upper room, began to play at dice, making a great noise, and even poured water down on him as he was walking before the door. Robert in a rage drew his sword, and ran up stairs to slay them; the alarm was given; the king hastened to the spot, and with difficulty appeased the tumult. But that very night Robert set out with his partisans, and attempted to surprise the castle of Rouen. Failing in his project he was obliged to leave Normandy, and he spent five years in rambling through France and Germany, making his complaints to princes and nobles, and soliciting aid, but all the money he got he gave away to loose women and buffoons. At length (1079) he fixed himself at the castle of Gerberoy on the frontiers of Normandy. The king came in person and besieged the castle; one day, in a sortie, Robert wounded and unhorsed a knight. At the voice of the fallen man he recognized his father, and he instantly alighted and helped him to his horse. The remonstrances of the prelates and barons, and the tears and entreaties of the queen, produced a new reconciliation, but soon after Robert went away again, and did not return during his father's lifetime.

After the death of Waltheof, the king had committed the government of the country between the Tweed and Tyne to Walcher bishop of Durham, a native of Lorraine, who exercised the most intolerable oppression over the people; his officers, among other violent acts, put to death a Saxon, named Alf, who had retired to Durham when deprived of his property, and who was dear to his countrymen. The spirit of the people was roused, a secret conspiracy was organized, and it was agreed that they should bring their arms concealed with them to the county court that was to be held at Goat's-head (Gateshead) on the banks of the Tyne. At the court they claimed reparation for the various acts of injustice that had been committed. The bishop demanded previously four hundred pounds of good money; the spokesman, retiring at

if to confer with the rest, cried out to them in their own language, "Short rede, good rede, slea ye the bishoppe!" They drew their weapons, and the bishop and one hundred of his followers were slain. The insurrection extended, but the bishop of Bayeux marched with an army to the north, ravaged the country, pillaged the cathedral of Durham, and slaughtered and mutilated the people without any distinction.

This tyrannical prelate's fall was at hand. Inflated with his rank and wealth he aspired to the papacy; he sent large sums of money to Rome, where he had purchased a house, and was proceeding thither himself with a numerous train of barons and knights whom he had persuaded to accompany him, when the king, who had been informed of his plans, and who did not desire to see him on the papal throne, met him on the high sea, off the Isle of Wight, and brought him back to that island, where, before an assembly of the nobles, he accused him of various acts of oppression and treason. "Consider now," said he, "and say how I should act toward such a brother?" All were silent. "Seize him, and confine him," then cried the king. None venturing to lay hands on the prelate, the king himself seized him. "I am a clerk and a minister of the Lord," cried Odo. "I condemn not a clerk or a priest, but my count whom I set over my kingdom," replied the monarch. Odo was then sent a prisoner to a castle in Normandy.

The Northmen, who had so often deceived the hopes of the English, at length (1085) prepared to attempt their liberation from the yoke of the Normans; Canute of Denmark, aided by Olave of Norway and Robert earl of Flanders, had collected a great fleet and army for the purpose. William assembled a large army to oppose them; he re-imposed the Dane-gelt; he obliged the English to assume the Norman habit that they might not be distinguishable; he laid waste the whole of the north-east coast, and he hired such a number of mercenaries on the continent, "that," says the Saxon Chronicle, "men wondered how the land might feed them all." The expedition, however, never sailed; various causes, among which are enumerated the bribes of the king of England, detained it for more than a year, and at length a mutiny broke out in which Canute was slain by his own soldiers, and the hopes of the English expired with him.

The following year (1087) William quitted England laden with the curses of the people. He staid at Rouen, whence he carried on negotiations with the king of France relative to the territory of Vexin, and by the advice of his physicians

he kept his bed, in order to reduce his excessive corpulence. One day the king of France said, joking, "By my faith the king of England is a long time lying-in! There will be great doings at his churching." This being reported to William, he flew into a rage, and, swearing his most solemn oaths, by the splendor and by the birth of God, that when he got up from his lying-in, he would light a thousand tapers * in France, he assembled his troops, entered the Vexin, (Aug. 10,) and destroyed the standing corn, the vines, and fruit-trees; he set the town of Mantes on fire, and as, in his rage and impatience, he galloped through the ruins, his horse, chancing to tread on some hot embers, threw him forward on the pommel of the saddle. A dangerous rupture ensued; he was conveyed to a monastery near Rouen, where he languished for six weeks. As he felt the approach of death, his conscience smote him; he sent money to rebuild the churches at Mantes, and to the convents and the poor of England, and at the desire of his prelates and barons he ordered the state prisoners, both English and Norman, to be set at liberty. Aware of the turbulent character of his brother Odo, he long refused to include him; but he yielded at length to the entreaties of his friends. He made his will, leaving Normandy to his son Robert, and England to William. "And, father," said Henry, "what will you give me?" "I give you 5000*l.* out of my treasure." "But of what use is it if I have no place of abode?" "Trust in God, my son; let thy elders precede thee; thy time will come after theirs." Henry went off to receive the money, which he had accurately weighed, and got a strong chest to keep it in. William, by his father's directions, set out for England, and the king was left with only his servants.

At sunrise, on the 10th of September, the king was awakened by the ringing of a bell. On inquiry he was told that it was for primes at the church of St. Mary; he raised his hands, saying, "I commend myself to my lady Mary the holy mother of God, that by her prayers she may reconcile me to her son, my Lord Jesus Christ," and immediately expired. Instantly his physicians and other attendants mounted their horses, and went home in haste to protect their houses and property; the servants then pillaged the royal abode, carrying off arms, clothes, and every thing of value, and the corpse lay for some hours nearly naked on the floor, for the people of

* Women, when being churched, used to bear a lighted taper in their hand.

the town were nearly beside themselves with terror of what might happen now that the check of the royal authority was removed. At length some of the clergy, having recovered their senses, came with tapers and censers, and prayed for the soul of the departed. The archbishop of Rouen directed that the corpse should be conveyed to Caen, to be interred in the church of St. Stephen, which the king had founded; but none would take the charge till a knight, named Herluin, moved by compassion, brought it thither at his own expense. The monks of St. Stephen's and many of the clergy and laity came forth to receive it, but a fire just then breaking out in the town, they all ran to extinguish it, leaving the monks alone.

On the day of the burial the Norman prelates and abbots, and a great multitude of people, were assembled in the church; the mass was said, and the corpse was about to be lowered into the grave before the altar, when a voice from the crowd cried out, "Clerks and bishops, this ground is mine; it is the site of my father's house; the man you are praying for took it from me to build his church; on the part of God I forbid the body of the despoiler to be covered with my mould." The speaker was Asselin Fitz-Arthur, to whom William had often denied justice; the bishops, finding his demand just, paid him sixty shillings for the grave, and promised him the full value of the rest of the land. The ceremony then proceeded, but the grave proving too narrow, as they tried to force down the body, which was in the royal robes, and without a coffin, the belly burst, and the stench was so great as to drive the assistants out of the church.

The Conqueror was doubtless a man of very great ability, superior to all the princes of his time. "He was," says the Saxon Chronicle, "a very wise man, and very rich, and more splendid and stronger than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men that loved God, (the clergy,) and beyond all measure severe to the men that gainsayed his will. So stern was he and wrathful, that one durst not do any thing against his will. In his time had men much distress, and very many sorrows. Castles he let men build, and miserably swink the poor. The king was very stern, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, that he took with right and with great unright from his people for little need. He was fallen into covetousness, and greediness he loved withal. He made great deer-parks, and therewith made laws that whoso killed a hart or a hind that man should be blinded. He forbade (to touch) the harts,

so also the boars; he loved the tall deer as if he were their father. He also set by the hares and they must go free. His rich men mourned and the poor men shuddered at it; but he was so stern that he recked not all their hatred, for they must follow all the king's will if they would live or have land or even his peace."

In this character, drawn by a contemporary and one who lived at his court, we discern the imperious ruler, the man of mental energy sufficient to hold in check the haughty companions of his victories; and to this energy he united that vulpine artifice for which the Normans were at that time noted all over Europe. In his person the Conqueror was of middle stature; his countenance was stern; his strength prodigious. He was religious after the fashion of the time; he heard mass daily, he founded churches and monasteries, he treated the clergy with respect; but he steadily refused to do homage for his kingdom to pope Gregory VII., and he asserted his royal supremacy over the clergy of England. In domestic life he was an affectionate husband and a sufficiently indulgent father.

The passion of this monarch for the chase was, as the chronicler says, inordinate. Not content with the sixty-eight royal forests, besides chases and parks in various parts, he laid waste a tract of thirty square leagues in Hampshire, (burning villages, cottages, and churches, and expelling the inhabitants,) to form the New Forest, as it still is called. To preserve the game in these forests a particular code of laws, most iniquitous and oppressive in their provisions, were framed, and courts instituted for carrying them into effect. No part of the royal despotism was so galling to the subjects of both races as these forest-laws, and they were a continued subject of complaint. From them are descended the modern game-laws, and the violators of them, the deer-stealers, were the predecessors of the modern poachers.

The great survey of the kingdom contained in what is called the Domesday * book was made in the latter part of the reign of the Conqueror. From it we learn the relative state of the landed property in his time and in that of the Confessor, and thus see how total the transfer had been from the hands of the English to those of the Normans.

* Two derivations were given of this name, the one from *Dooms day*, the last judgment, which it was said to resemble in its certainty and authority, the other from the *Domus Dei*, as the treasury in which it was kept at Winchester was named. This last seems to be the more probable origin.

A law of police which directed all fires to be put out at the tolling of a bell called the Curfew (*Couvre feu*) bell is by later chroniclers ascribed to William, but without any countenance from the early writers.

The Norman conquest, as we have seen, caused great individual suffering in England; but as evil, no more than good, is never unmixed in this world, we naturally are led to inquire what were its advantages. These seem to have been, a more efficient police; in the days of the Conqueror, according to the chronicler, a girl laden with gold might have gone safely all over the kingdom; security against invasions from Denmark, which were never renewed after his reign; more extended intercourse with the continent, and thence a greater polish of manners, more magnificence in architecture, and greater learning in the clergy. We are, however, far from saying that all these combined — and some are only problematic benefits — at all compensated for the miseries inflicted by the conquest.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM II. (RUFUS.)

1087—1100.

WILLIAM's first care on arriving in England was to secure the fortresses of Dover, Hastings, and Pevensey, and to get possession of the royal treasure at Winchester. Lanfranc, who had educated and knighted him, as was then the usage, was naturally disposed in his favor, and he crowned him at Westminster (Sept. 26) without hesitation. Robert, who was at Abbeville at the time of his father's death, took peaceable possession of his duchy, and the two brothers might have remained at unity, but for the restless bishop Odo and some of the leading nobles who possessed estates in both countries, and who felt it to be their interest that they should be under the one ruler. Deeming the easy, indolent character of the duke more for their purpose, and perhaps regarding his right to all the dominions of his father to be clear, they declared in his favor, and retired to their castles until he should land with the army which, at the instigation of Odo, he was levying for the invasion of England.

WILLIAM II.

William, thus deserted by the Normans, resolved to appeal to the English. He convened their leading men, and making them many fair promises, particularly of a relaxation of the forest-laws, engaged them to declare in his favor; and with an army of Englishmen he besieged and took the castles of Rochester and Pevensey, which were held by bishop Odo and his brother the earl of Mortaigne. He granted their lives to his uncles, and let them depart, but he confiscated their estates. He then detached the potent earl of Shrewsbury from the confederacy; and as his fleet, manned by English, prevented the arrival of succors from Normandy, he speedily reduced the other barons, some of whom he pardoned, but most he attainted, dividing their lands among those Normans who had remained faithful to him. As for his promises to the English, he thought no longer on them, and the former oppression continued.

William at length (1091) felt himself strong enough to attempt the acquisition of Normandy, where the lax administration of Robert had caused much discontent. Having bribed the barons who held the fortresses of St. Vallery and Albemarle to put them into his hands, he embarked with a large force, and landed in Normandy. Robert, on his part, assembled troops, and matters were likely to come to extremities, when the principal men on each side interfered, and made them come to an accommodation. Robert agreed to give his brother possession of Eu and of the towns of Albemarle, Feschamp, and some others, on condition of his aiding him in the reduction of Maine, and restoring his partisans to their estates in England. It was further agreed that on the death of either brother without issue, the survivor should succeed to all his dominions. According to the usage of the time, when the nobles were so powerful and independent, twelve of the greatest barons on each side swore to exert themselves to have this treaty carried into effect.

As prince Henry, to whom Robert had sold the territory of the Cotentin for 3000 marks, was an object of suspicion and disquiet to both brothers, they joined their forces and besieged him in the fort of Mount St. Michael. Want of water had nearly obliged him to surrender, when Robert, hearing of his distress, gave him permission to supply himself, and even sent him wine for his table. When reproached by William for this ill-timed generosity, the good-hearted duke replied, "What! should I let my own brother die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" The king himself, as he was riding one day alone to view the fortress, was fallen

on by two of Henry's men, and unhorsed. One of them was preparing to slay him, when he cried out, "Hold! knave, I am the king of England." The soldier dropped his sword, and raised him with every mark of respect. The king gave him a reward, and took him into his service. Henry was soon forced to capitulate, and he continued for some years to wander about, oftentimes in great distress.

While the king was in Normandy, Malcolm of Scotland again made an incursion into England. William hastened home, led his troops against him, and made him renew his homage. Two years after (1093) Malcolm made another irruption into the north, but he was surprised and slain by a party of the troops of earl Mowbray, and confusion prevailed for some years in the royal house of Scotland. William meanwhile kept his eye on Normandy, where he instigated the refractory barons to rebellion. In 1094 he went over to their aid, having ordered a force of twenty thousand men to be levied in England, and marched to the coast as if to embark. But here the king's minister exacted ten shillings apiece from them, and dismissed them; and William employed the money so well that he was in a fair way to become master of the duchy when he was recalled by an irruption of the Welsh, which was succeeded (1095) by a conspiracy of Robert de Mowbray, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacy, and several other barons, to dethrone him and give the crown to his cousin Stephen count of Albemarle. But the king's celerity disconcerted them. Mowbray was taken and cast into prison, where he languished for thirty years, and the others were punished in various ways.

It was now the season when the eloquence of Peter the Hermit and of the supreme pontiff was rousing the warriors of Europe to march in arms to Asia, and free the sepulchre of Christ from the thralldom of the rude fanatic Turks, who held the Holy City and insulted and abused the pious pilgrims of Christendom who resorted thither to perform their devotions. At the call of the Holy Father, thousands and tens of thousands placed a cross on their right shoulder, and pledged themselves to war against the enemies of Christ. Princes caught the infection equally with the inferior people; devotion inspired some, the love of adventure others, and there were some who pleased their imagination with the prospect of rich lordships and fair domains in the fertile regions of Asia.* Among the princes who assumed the

* The details of these romantic expeditions will be found in a work by the present author, named 'The Crusaders,' in 2 vols. sm 8vo

cross, and than whom few were actuated by purer motives, was the gallant, generous, but imprudent duke of Normandy. Being, as usual, without money, in order to obtain the means of appearing suitable to his rank, he agreed to transfer the duchy during the term of his absence to the king of England, for the sum of 10,000 marks. William raised the money by extortion on all his subjects, the very convents being obliged to melt down their plate to supply him. Robert then (1096) set forth in gallant array with the martial pilgrims, and his brother took possession of his duchy.

After the death of Lanfranc in the year 1089, the king, urged by his profligate and rapacious minister Ralph, nicknamed Flambard, (*Firebrand*), a Norman priest, held in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury and of such other sees as fell vacant, heedless of the remonstrances or complaints of the clergy; but a severe fit of illness (1093) having terrified him, he made many fair promises of amendment of life and rule, and consented to fill up the vacant sees. The person selected for the primacy was Anselm, a native of Piedmont, at that time abbot of Bec in Normandy, a man of great learning and piety. Anselm, it is said, fell on his knees, wept, and implored the king not to require him to accept the dignity; and when this availed not, he clinched his right hand so fast that it was by main force that the pastoral staff was placed in it. But if Anselm was firm in refusing his high office, he was equally firm in maintaining its rights against the crown. William, on his recovery, forgot all his good resolutions; and went on in his old course of tyranny and oppression; he sold spiritual dignities as before, and still held the revenues of the church, and among them a great part of those of Canterbury. This caused disputes between him and the primate; another cause of disunion was the schism in the papacy, there being now two rival popes, Urban and Clement; and Anselm, who had already acknowledged the former, resolved to have his authority recognized in England, while William, like his father, would have no pope acknowledged there whom he had not himself received. Both king and primate were resolute: the former at length summoned a synod to Rockingham in order to have Anselm deposed, but the bishops declaring themselves incompetent, he gave up the attempt, and other motives afterwards having induced him to acknowledge Urban, the contest thus ended. But when (1097) the king was about to make an inroad into Wales, and he called on the primate to furnish his proportion of troops, as he was bound, Anselm sent them in such bad con-

dition as to be quite useless ; the king threatened to prosecute him ; the primate demanded the restoration of his revenues, and appealed to Rome, and at length, not thinking himself safe in England, he asked and obtained permission to return to the continent ; he then repaired to Rome, where he was received with great respect by Urban, as a sufferer in the cause of the church ; the king meantime seized on all the revenues of his see.

After enduring great hardships, and suffering a fearful diminution of their numbers by famine, disease, and the sword, the Crusaders at length (1099) saw themselves in possession of the tomb of their Lord. The news of their success stimulated those who had remained behind, and William duke of Guienne and earl of Poitiers assembled a large body of pilgrims to lead to the Holy Land. It would appear that he had proposed to mortgage, like the duke of Normandy, his dominions to the king of England, now the wealthiest monarch in Europe, for William spoke of spending his Christmas (1100) in Poitiers ; but his end was now at hand. As he was at Winchester, (Aug. 2,) having had unpleasant dreams the night before, and being told of the visions of a certain monk, which, though he affected to despise them, made an impression on his mind, he gave up the thoughts he had had of hunting that day ; but, having eaten and drunk heartily at dinner, his spirits revived, and he rode out into the New Forest ; his attendants dispersed in quest of the game ; in the evening some colliers, passing through the forest, found the king lying dead, with an arrow stuck in his breast, and bleeding copiously ; they laid the body on their cart, and conveyed it to Winchester.*

It is doubtful how the king was slain : the common report was that a French knight, Walter Tyrrel, having shot at a stag, his arrow glanced from a tree and hit the king. Walter, seeing the unintentional crime he had committed, gave spurs to his horse, went to the coast, passed over to France, and joined a body of pilgrims for the Holy Land. But the abbot Suger assures us that Tyrrell had often after, when he had nothing to hope or fear from it, asserted on oath that he had not even seen the king that day in the forest. The fact of the king's death therefore alone is certain ; the agent and the motive are alike unknown.

* The New Forest was fatal to the family of the Conqueror ; it had already witnessed the death of his son Richard and his nephew William.

Such then was the end of the Red King in the twelfth year of his reign. As he had the misfortune to be on ill terms with the clergy, the dispensers of fame in those times, his character has been transmitted to us in the most odious colors. Making, however, all due allowances, we must still regard him as an odious, rapacious tyrant, yet as a man very richly endowed by nature, and capable of better things, had he been placed in circumstances more favorable to virtue.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC.)

1110—1135.

PRINCE HENRY was also hunting in the New Forest when the death of his brother occurred. On learning that event he hastened to Winchester to secure the royal treasure. William de Breteuil, who had charge of it, also hastened thither and opposed him, alleging the right of his elder brother to the crown and treasure; but Henry drew his sword, and threatened to slay him, and so many took the prince's part that De Breteuil was forced to give way. Henry then proceeded without delay to London, and caused himself to be crowned, by the bishop of that see, on the third day after his brother's death, (Aug. 5.)

Aware that on the return of his elder brother he should have a struggle for his usurped crown, Henry resolved to secure, if possible, the affections of all classes of his subjects. He promised the clergy that he would not hold the temporalities of any vacant see; he engaged to his barons to mitigate all the feudal burdens, and he concluded his charter in these words, which applied to his English subjects particularly: "I restore to you the laws of king Edward with my father's amendments." He invited Anselm, who was now at Lyons, to return and resume his dignities, and on that prelate's arrival he engaged him to act in a matter of some delicacy. Henry, as a means of securing the affections of his English subjects, wished to espouse Matilda, daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and of Margaret "the good queen, king Edward's kinswoman, and of the right royal kin of England." But this lady, who was residing in the at bey of

Rumsey, over which her aunt presided, had taken the veil, though not the vows. A council of prelates and nobles was held at Lambeth, before which Matilda was examined by Anselm, and she declared that her only motive for assuming the veil had been to secure her honor from the brutal violence of the Norman nobles, against which the religious habit alone was a protection.* The council, aware that such had been a common practice with the English ladies since the conquest, pronounced her free to marry, and Anselm joined her forthwith in matrimony with the king, and anointed and crowned her queen, to the great joy of the English nation, who looked on this as a return to their ancient line of princes.

As he expected, Henry had soon to contend for his crown. Robert, who had acquired great fame in the east, had left the Holy Land soon after the conquest of Jerusalem. On his way home through Apulia, he became enamored of Sibylla, the lovely, virtuous and prudent daughter of one of the Norman barons of that country. He sought and obtained her hand, and, detained by her charms and those of the climate, he lingered so long in Italy that he did not reach Normandy till his brother had been a month dead. He took possession of his duchy without opposition, and then made preparations for asserting his right to the English crown. Many of the principal Norman nobles, such as Robert de Belesme earl of Shrewsbury, William de Warrenne earl of Surrey, Arnulf de Montgomery, Robert de Pontefract, Ivo de Gretnesnil, and others, sent inviting him to come over, promising to join him with all their powers; for the same motives operated now as in the time of his contest with the late king, and moreover justice was clearly on his side; so much so that the very seamen of the fleet which was assembled to oppose his landing, carried a large part of it over to him. Robert embarked his troops and landed at Portsmouth, and his partisans repaired to his standard. Henry, who was supported by the primate, to whom he paid the greatest court, and by several puissant barons, also assembled a large force, and advanced to oppose the invader. The two armies lay opposite each other for some days, their leaders fearing the

* "I do not deny," said she, "that I have worn the veil; for when I was a child my aunt Christina put a black cloth on my head to preserve me from outrage; and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches. Sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence, but as soon as I could get out of sight I always threw it on the ground and trampled it under my feet." Eadmer, p. 57.

result of a conflict. Anselm and the leading men then mediated a peace, Robert resigning his claim on England for an annual pension of 3000 marks; each prince engaging to restore and pardon the adherents of the other; and each being to succeed to the dominions of the other in case of his dying without issue. Robert then departed, and Henry soon took occasion to prosecute the earl of Shrewsbury and his other supporters under various pretences, and when (1103) Robert ventured over to England to remonstrate against this breach of treaty, he ran some hazard of losing his own liberty; he found it necessary to resign his pension, of which, to save appearances, he made a present to the queen, who was his god-daughter.

But nothing less than the possession of Normandy would content the ambition of Henry. Affecting to view in the conduct of Robert, who had taken the outlaw Belesme into his service, a breach of treaty, he landed with an army in Normandy. Several of the prelates and barons (probably secretly gained by him) besought him to take the government on him. "Your brother," said they, "is not our governor; his people have no protection from his power. He dissipates all his wealth in follies, and often fasts till noon for want of bread; often he cannot leave his bed for want of clothes; when he is intoxicated, strumpets and buffoons strip him of his garments and boast of their robbery." This may all have been true, and Robert may also, by his remissness, have, as was added, suffered his barons to make war on each other and inflict great misery on the country; yet it is difficult to believe that pity for the afflicted people was the motive which actuated the king of England, who, when Robert declined his modest proposal of resigning the government to him, commenced military operations. The first campaign produced no event of importance; but in the second, (1106,) in an engagement before the castle of Tinchebrai, (Sept. 23.) Robert was utterly defeated, and himself and some of his barons, 400 knights and 10,000 men, were made captives after an immense slaughter of his troops. All Normandy then submitted to Henry.

The fate of Robert, the only Norman prince who has a claim on our sympathy, was a hard one. His captivity at first was light, but, having attempted to make his escape, his eyes, it is said,* were put out by command of his unnatural

* Westminster, Paris, Wikes, Malmsbury, however, who was a contemporary, says, "To the day of his death he was held in free cus-

brother, according to the barbarous practice of the age, and, during a term of thirty years, he was transferred from castle to castle, and he breathed his last in that of Cardiff in the eightieth year of his age. His lovely wife, whose prudence might have averted his misfortunes, had died some years before the battle of Tinchebrai; his only son William, a boy of five years of age, was taken at Falaise. When led before his uncle he sobbed and cried for mercy. Henry made a sudden effort, as if to rid himself of evil thoughts, and directed him to be removed. He was committed to the care of a baron named Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, by whom he was carefully nurtured.

Among the captives at Tinchebrai was Edgar Atheling, whom some slight similarity of character had attached to Robert's fortune. He was personally brave, but so mean were his talents that Henry, like his father, could venture to assume the appearance of magnanimity toward him. He gave him his liberty and a small pension; and the last male of the line of Cerdic thus vanishes from history.

Henry soon began to repent of his liberality towards his nephew, and he sent a trusty messenger to the castle of Helie de St. Saen to get possession of him. Helie was absent at the time, but his servants conveyed away the sleeping child and placed him in safety, and Helie on his return abandoned his property and went with his helpless charge from court to court. When William grew up, and displayed talents and virtues worthy of his race, he interested various princes in his favor. Louis le Gros king of France, the feudal superior of Normandy, a brave and generous prince, aware of the danger of letting the king of England become too powerful, joined with the counts of Anjou and Flanders in supporting the cause of William, and a petty, indecisive war was kept up for some years. Henry detached the count of Anjou from the confederacy by contracting his eldest son to the count's daughter, and the death of the count of Flanders who was slain in a skirmish near Eu, further weakened the cause of young William. King Louis tried to engage the church in his favor by taking him to a council at Rheims, (1119,) over which pope Calixtus II. personally presided; but the arts and the gifts of Henry easily overcame the just

today by the laudable affection of his brother, suffering no evil but solitude, if that can be called solitude where there was great attention on the part of his keepers, and no want of amusements or of dainties.

claims of his nephew, and shortly after a peace was concluded between him and the king of France.

But fortune soon offered another chance to young William. King Henry, when his eldest son, also named William, had attained his eighteenth year, took him over to Normandy (1120) to have him recognized as his successor. On their return from the port of Barileur, the king's ship, having a fair wind, was soon out of sight, but that of the prince having been detained by an accident, the sailors and their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, got drunk, and when they set sail, they ran the ship on a rock, where she foundered. The prince had gotten into the boat, and was now clear of the ship and out of danger, when he heard the cries of the countess of Perche, his natural sister. He made the seamen put back to save her, but, when the boat approached the ship, such numbers crowded into it that it went down and all perished. About a hundred and forty young noblemen were lost on this occasion; the only person who escaped was a butcher of Rouen, who clung to the mast. Fitz-Stephens also grasped it, but on being informed that the prince was lost, he said he would not survive, and let go his hold. The king, when assured of the calamity, fainted away and never regained his cheerfulness.

The death of this prince was a misfortune to England, inasmuch as it gave occasion to the civil wars which ensued; but had he survived he would probably have been as great a tyrant as any of his race, for he often declared that if ever he came to govern England he would yoke the Saxons to the plough like oxen. Queen Matilda had died two years before her son, (1118.)

As the prince had left no issue, and he had no legitimate son remaining, the king resolved to marry again. His choice fell on Adelais, daughter of the duke of Louvain and niece of pope Calixtus, (1120.) But Adelais brought him no children, and young William, having again gained the count of Anjou to his side, was able to keep Normandy in a state of disturbance for some years. Henry, however, again (1127) detached the earl of Anjou by a marriage. His only remaining legitimate child, a daughter named Matilda or Maud, had been married to the emperor Henry V. She was now a widow, and he offered her hand to Geoffrey, the count's eldest son. The marriage took place, though contrary to the inclination of the empress, who regarded it as a degradation, and opposed by several of the barons of England and Normandy, and Matilda was recognized as heiress of all his

dominions. The king of France still continued his support of William Fitz-Robert; and when Henry, by his influence with the church, had succeeded in having that prince divorced from the daughter of the count of Anjou on the plea of consanguinity, Louis gave him (1124) in marriage his queen's sister, and on the death of the earl of Flanders, who was assassinated (1128) when at church, he invested him with that county. But William, doomed to be the sport of fortune, did not long enjoy his dignity. In consequence of his having taken severe vengeance on the murderers of his predecessor, a plot was laid by their friends and relatives to assassinate him when retiring from the apartment of his mistress late in the night. This lady, who was privy to the design, could not refrain from letting tears drop on his head while bathing it according to the fashion of those times. William's suspicions were awakened; he pressed her, and she told him the whole truth. He thus escaped this danger, but he shortly afterwards died of a wound received in battle at Alost against the count of Alsatia.

Henry was now free from uneasiness; his daughter the empress was delivered of a son and heir, (1132,) and two more sons born to her seemed to render the succession secure. He made the nobility renew their oath of fealty to her and her eldest son in a council held at Oxford. He spent the latter years of his reign chiefly in Normandy, to be near his daughter, for whom he had a strong affection. An incursion of the Welsh having taken place, (1135,) he was preparing to return to England, when having eaten too heartily of lampreys, a food he was often cautioned against, he got a surfeit, and died (Dec. 1) in the sixty-seventh year of his age; his body was brought over to England and interred at Reading.

Henry I. was a monarch of superior ability; the Conqueror alone of his family equalled him in talent. He showed great spirit in his dealings with the church; he caused justice to be rigidly executed. "A good man was he, and mickle dread was there of him," says the Saxon Chronicle. "Peace made he for man and beast, whoso bare his burthen of gold and silver no man durst say to him aught but good." But he set at nought his charters and his promises, and he taxed his people without mercy; he increased the rigor of the forest laws, and enlarged the forests; he punished him who killed a stag as him who murdered a man; he made all the dogs near the forests be mutilated; men were even in some cases prohibited from hunting on their own lands, a great grievance in those days. Henry was more addicted to literature than

was usual among princes and nobles at that time, whence he obtained the appellation of Beauclerc, or Fine-scholar. His treatment of his brother and nephew violated all the principles of nature and justice; but when there is uncontrolled power, and a kingdom is the prize, these principles have been set at nought in all ages of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

STEPHEN.

1135—1154.

IN a regularly ordered state the succession of Matilda would have followed as a matter of course, as no one else had even the shadow of a claim to the crown; but Henry himself had, by his usurpation, shown how a crown might be acquired without right, and there was one, whom, perhaps, he little suspected, ready to tread in his footsteps.

Adela, daughter of the Conqueror, had been married to the count of Blois, to whom she bore a numerous offspring; two of her sons had been invited over to England by king Henry, and he made one of them, Henry, who was in holy orders, abbot of Glastonbury, and afterwards bishop of Winchester; for Stephen, the other, he obtained in marriage the daughter and heiress of the count of Boulogne, who had also large estates in England; he moreover conferred on him extensive domains in both England and Normandy. Stephen always affected great gratitude towards his uncle, and he had been forward in taking the oath of fealty to the empress in 1131.* By his valor, liberality, and affable manners he had gained great favor with both barons and people in England, and the citizens of London were especially devoted to him.

On the death of his uncle, Stephen resolved to make a bold effort for the crown; he passed over to England, and hastened to London, where he was received with acclamations by the

* On that occasion the king of Scots first took the oath of fealty in virtue of his rank; Stephen and Robert of Gloucester, the king's natural son, contended for the second place. It may be, as Dr. Lingard says, that they had both designs on the throne, but the subsequent conduct of Robert contradicts this supposition.

populace. His brother and the bishop of Salisbury endeavored to prevail on the primate to crown him; and to overcome that prelate's scruples they produced Hugh Bigod, a servant of the late king, who made oath that when on his death-bed he had declared his intention of making the count of Boulogne his heir. The primate was, or affected to be, convinced, and he performed the ceremony of the coronation at Westminster, (Dec. 22.)

Stephen, imitating his predecessor, issued a charter exactly similar to his, with probably as little intention of observing it; he further, still following his uncle's example, lost no time in getting possession of the royal treasure of 100,000*l.* which lay at Winchester, and with this money he took into his pay a large body of mercenary soldiers from the continent, and procured a recognition of his title at Rome.

The Norman barons, moved by hereditary animosity to the Angevins, and also by the motives which had always made them desire the union of their duchy with England, readily submitted to Stephen; and the king of France, Louis the Young, received the homage of his son Eustace for that province, and gave him his sister in marriage. Geoffrey of Anjou was obliged to make a truce for two years with Stephen, on condition of being paid 5000 marks a year during that period. Robert earl of Gloucester, the natural brother of the empress, to whom he was much attached, was the person whom Stephen had most to dread. This nobleman would do him homage only on conditions which would give him a pretext for revolt whenever he pleased, and the king was obliged to consent. The clergy made similar reservations in their oaths; the barons extorted the right of fortifying their castles, and soon fortresses rose on all sides, filled with a brutal and ferocious soldiery. A contest for the crown soon commenced between Stephen and Matilda, and the miseries which ensued are thus vividly described by one who witnessed them.

"In this king's time," says the contemporary Saxon Chronicle, "was all dissension, and evil, and rapine: for against him soon arose the rich (*i. e.* great) men that were traitors; when they found that he was a mild man, and soft and good, and did no justice, (execution,) then did they do all wonders. They had done him homage and sworn oaths, but they held no truth; they were all forsworn and heeded not their troth; for every rich man built his castles, and they held them against him, and they filled the land full of castles. They sorely oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works, and when the castles were made they filled them with devils

and evil men; then took they the men that they weened had any goods, both by night and by day, peasant men and women, and put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with tortures not to be told, for never were any martyrs so tortured as they were; some they hung up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke; some they hung by the thumbs or by the head, and hung coats of mail at their feet; to some they put knotted strings round their head and twisted them till it went to the brains; they put them into dungeons where there were adders, and snakes, and toads, and killed them so; some they put in the crucet-house, that is, in a chest that was short, and narrow and not deep, and put sharp stones in it, and forced the man in, and so broke all his limbs. In many of the castles were things loathly and grim that were called *Sachenteges*, of which two or three men had enough to do to carry one that was so made, that is fastened to a beam, and they put a sharp iron about the man's throat and neck that he might on no side sit or lie, or sleep, but bear all that iron. Many thousands did they kill with hunger. I cannot and may not tell all the wounds and all the pains that they gave to wretched men in this land, and that lasted for the nineteen winters that Stephen was king, and still it was worse and worse. They laid guilds (taxes) evermore on the towns, and called it *tensezie*; when the wretched men had no more to give they robbed and burned all the towns; that well thou mightest go a whole day's journey and shouldest never find a man sitting (dwelling) in a town or land tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land. Wretched men died of hunger; some took to alms who were one time rich men; some fled out of the land; never yet was more wretchedness in the land, and never did heathen men worse than they did; for after a time they spared neither church nor church-yard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burned church and all together; neither did they spare bishop's land, nor abbot's, nor priest's, but robbed monks and clerks, and every man who was able another; if two or three men came riding to a town all the township fled before them, weening that they were robbers. The bishops and learned men cursed them evermore, but nought thereof came on them, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and abandoned. It was the sea men tilled; the earth bare no corn, for the land was all destroyed with such deeds, and they said openly that Christ slept and his saints. Such and more than we can say we tholed nineteen winters for our sins."

After this faithful picture, drawn by the hand of one who described what he beheld, of the horrors of feudalism, and the misery caused by the usurpation of Stephen, it seems hardly necessary to go into details; we will, however, narrate succinctly the principal events of the contest for the crown.

In the first year of Stephen's reign the earl of Exeter took arms against him, and David king of Scotland invaded England in the cause of his niece the empress; but the earl was forced to submit, and the Scottish king agreed to an accommodation. David again invaded England, (1138;) the ravages committed by his wild, ferocious followers are described as exceeding the usual limits of atrocity, and the earl of Albemarle and the other barons of these parts lost no time in collecting their troops to oppose them. The armies encountered at North-Allerton, (Aug. 22,) and in the battle called that of the Standard, from a large crucifix on a wain used by the English as a standard, the Scots were totally defeated.

Earl Robert, having matured his plans in favor of his sister, pretended that Stephen had violated the conditions made with him, renounced his allegiance, and withdrew to the continent, (1139.) As Stephen had now embroiled himself also with the church, by forcing the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln to deliver up the castles they had erected, Robert advised the empress to appear in England to head her party. She landed (Sept. 22) with him and one hundred and forty knights in Sussex, was received by the queen dowager Adelais in her castle of Arundel, and thence proceeded to her brother's castle of Bristol; Geoffrey Talbot, William Mohun, Ralph Lovel, and several other barons declared for her, and her cause gradually gained ground; battles and skirmishes occurred in various parts all through the following year; at length (Feb. 2. 1141) Stephen and the earl of Gloucester came to an engagement near Lincoln, and the king was defeated and led a captive to Gloucester, where he was treated with great rigor. The barons of Stephen's party all submitted; the bishop of Winchester, who was invested with legantine authority, and had been on ill terms with his brother on account of the affair of the two bishops, was now induced to come to an agreement with Matilda; to gain the clergy more effectually she consented to receive the crown from their hands, and in a synod summoned by the legate, at which the Londoners were the only laymen present, she was proclaimed queen of England. Her authority was generally acknowledged, but tranquillity did not long remain; besides the disadvantage of her sex, she was of a haughty, imperious temper; she rejected in

the most ungracious manner the petition of Stephen's queen and several of the nobility for his release, though they engaged that he should renounce the crown ; that of the legate, that his nephew Eustace might be allowed to retain his patrimonial estates ; and that of the Londoners, for the laws of king Edward.

The Londoners were greatly offended, and the legate, who had probably never been sincere in the cause of Matilda, fanning their wrath, they conspired to seize her ; she fled to Oxford, and thence to Winchester, where she was besieged by the Londoners, Stephen's mercenaries, and the legate's vassals ; being hard pressed she was obliged to attempt an escape, which she effected with difficulty, but her brother Robert was taken prisoner, and he was of so much importance to the cause that her party were glad to give Stephen in exchange for him. The war was now renewed, and was carried on for some years with various success ; at length in the severe winter of 1142 the empress was closely besieged by Stephen in the castle of Oxford. When her stock of provisions was exhausted, she dressed herself and three knights in white, as the ground was covered with snow ; a sentinel who had been bribed conducted them through the enemy's post ; they crossed the Thames on the ice, proceeded to Abingdon on foot, and thence, having procured horses, rode to Wallingford. This escape was a matter of astonishment to her enemies, while her friends viewed it as little less than miraculous.

At length (1146) the death of her brother Robert and of some of her other friends convinced the empress of the uncertainty of the event, and she withdrew to Normandy (1147) to watch the progress of affairs ; her departure, however, brought little tranquillity to Stephen.

Stephen soon alienated many of his partisans by requiring the surrender of their castles ; the legantine power also had been transferred by the new pope Eugenius to the primate Theobald, the enemy of the late legate ; and moreover the pope, as Stephen resisted one of his encroachments, had laid his party under an interdict.

There was, however, a cessation of hostilities for two years after the departure of the empress. In 1149 her son Henry, who had now reached his sixteenth year, being desirous of receiving knighthood from the king of Scotland, passed through England with a large retinue, and raised the hopes of his partisans. On his return, (1150,) after having spent some time in the Scottish court, his

mother resigned Normandy to him, and on the death of his father he inherited Anjou. The following year (1151) he greatly increased his power by a marriage with Eleanor of Guienne and Poitou. This princess had been married to the French king Louis the Young; she was the companion of his crusade to the Holy Land, (1148,) and her conduct in the East had been so reprehensible that Louis, on his return, yielding to the suggestions of delicacy rather than of prudence, had divorced her. The young count of Anjou, less fastidious, immediately paid his addresses to her, and espoused her within six weeks after the divorce; and his dominions now extended from the confines of Flanders to the Pyrenees, while his superior lord Louis did not rule over more than a tenth of France. Louis, incensed at this conduct of the count of Anjou, aided Stephen's son Eustace to overrun Normandy; but Henry speedily drove them out of it, and then, as Stephen was now besieging Wallingford, which was held by his partisans, he passed over to their aid. To draw Stephen away he laid siege to Malmsbury, and having taken that town marched to the relief of Wallingford. The two armies lay in sight of each other, divided by the river Thames. Meantime the prelates and nobles on each side, weary of civil discord, proposed an accommodation, the earl of Arundel boldly saying "that it was not reasonable to prolong the calamities of a whole kingdom on account of the ambition of two princes;" and Henry and Stephen, having conversed across a narrow part of the river, agreed to a truce for that purpose. Stephen's son Eustace, a turbulent youth, abused his father openly for concluding this truce, and, withdrawing from the camp with his followers, began to ravage Cambridgeshire: he fixed his abode at the stately abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, but he took a fever as he sat at a banquet there, and died. This obstacle being removed, a council was held at Winchester, (Nov. 1153,) in which it was agreed that Stephen should retain the crown of England for his life, on condition of his adopting Henry, who was to be his successor; that Stephen's son William should inherit all his father had possessed before he usurped the crown; that the adherents on both sides should sustain no injury; that all grants of the crown lands made by Stephen should be revoked, and all castles built by his permission be demolished.

These terms being sworn to, Henry returned to Normandy. Stephen did not long retain his dignity; he died the following year, (Oct. 25,) after a boisterous and unquiet reign of nineteen years. He was a prince possessed of many noble

and estimable qualities, and would have probably made an excellent king if he had acquired his crown in a legal manner.

Having thus brought the Anglo-Norman period of our history to its close, we will make a few remarks on the condition of the nation at this time.

An erroneous opinion has long prevailed that the Norman conquest swept, like a moral deluge, over the country, carrying away its ancient and venerable institutions, and leaving in their place such as had been hitherto unknown in England.

We are told that the Conqueror had even formed a plan for fixing on the English nation the ultimate badge of conquest by abolishing their native dialect, and forcing them to assume that of their masters, for which purpose he ordered that the French language should be taught in all the schools, be employed in pleadings in the high court of justice, (*Curia Regis*), and be used in laws and charters. The whole of this theory, however, rests only on authority of the most dubious character; * the Conqueror and his son Henry I. re-enacted, as we have seen, the laws of the Confessor; the English language (never the French) was employed by them in their charters, and though the latter was probably much used in the *Curia Regis*, the members of which were mostly Normans, it was a matter of convenience rather than obligation. Finally, the county and other courts continued in use little altered.

The great changes introduced by the Norman conquest were, the almost total transfer of landed property; the change of the hierarchy in the church; the development of the feudal system; the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. Of these the first two have been already sufficiently noticed; we will therefore proceed to explain the two last.

The more inquiry into the Middle Ages advances, the more we recognize the influence of Rome, and the imitative habits of the tribes which overturned her empire. It was long the fashion to regard the feudal system as an original, regular plan formed by the Barbarians for the preservation of the conquests they had made; more accurate inquiries make it probable that the system in its main points lay ready to their hands.

* Namely, that of Ingulf. See Palgrave.

The colonists of ancient Rome were bound to military service when called on by the state, and in the latter days of the republic they were soldiers alone who thus were rewarded by their victorious general. The emperor Alexander Severus extended this system as the means of defending the frontiers of the empire. Lands were given to those who were named the Limitanean and Ripuarian soldiery, — from their location on the marches (*limites*) and the banks (*ripas*, of the great frontier rivers, — and their heirs, without a power of alienation, on the express condition of military service. At a subsequent period lands, denominated *Latic**, were given, in the interior of the provinces, to large bodies of the Barbarians on similar conditions. We thus find the system of the tenure of land by military service completely formed; and the other great characteristic of the feudal system, the personal relation of Lord and Vassal, may, perhaps, be as safely deduced from that of Patron and Client at Rome (its similarity to which has often been observed) as from the antecedent usages of the Celtic or German tribes.

All the elements of feudalism prevailed among the Anglo-Saxons, but the peculiar circumstances in which the Normans were placed, caused it to attain a more perfect form, and the ingenuity of Norman lawyers drew such consequences from it as made it a system of absolute slavery.

In the feudal system of England the king was regarded as the original proprietor of all the lands in the kingdom; those who held them were his vassals, and were obliged to swear fealty, that is, fidelity, to him, and do him homage, or become his *men*. The vassal who thus held by military service was bound to serve his lord in war, and to attend or do suit to his court in peace, in order to answer for any offences he might have himself committed, and to assist in the trial of others. In war the vassal was required to attend his lord in arms for a space of forty days at his own expense.

The lands of England were divided by the Conqueror into about 60,000 feuds, fiefs, or knights' fees: he who held an entire fee was bound to serve for forty days; he who had half a one for twenty, and so on; the lord who held several fees furnished men in proportion. A vassal of the crown, or tenant *in capite*, or *in chief*, as he was called, might subenfeudate his lands, and have vassals bound to himself as he was to his superior lord; but these were also regarded as vassals of the crown, and bound by allegiance.

* From the Germanic *Leod*, *leute*, people.

The incidents of the Anglo-Norman feudalism were as follows:

Aids. — These were sums of money paid to ransom the lord if made a prisoner; to supply the means of making his eldest son a knight, a ceremony attended with no little expense; to portion his eldest daughter.

Reliefs. — The relief was a composition paid by the heir for permission to enter on the fief which had lapsed to the superior lord by the death of the last possessor.

Primer Seisin. — This was an increased relief paid to the king by the heir of a tenant in chief, if of full age; it usually consisted of a year's profit of the lands.

Wardship. — If, at the death of a tenant, his heir was under the age of twenty-one, or his heiress under that of fourteen, the lord became guardian in chivalry, and he had the custody of the person and lands (without being accountable for the profits) till the former attained the age of twenty-one, the latter of sixteen years. The heir *in capite*, on coming of age, was bound to take knighthood or pay a fine to the king.

Marriage. — During the minority the lord had the power of disposing of his ward in matrimony, provided the match was not one of disparagement; and if he or she refused it, they forfeited the value of the marriage, that is, the sum that any one would have given for it to the guardian. If the male ward married without the consent of his guardian he forfeited double the value of the marriage.

If a tenant in chief transferred his land, a fine for alienation was due to the king. If he died without heirs of his blood, or was attainted for treason or felony, the land reverted to the lord.

Such were the main features of feudalism in England, and when we consider the wardships and marriages, (both peculiar to English feudalism,) and the arbitrary nature of reliefs and aids, we may fairly look upon it as a system of slavery and oppression.

We are now to consider the condition of the church at this time, for which purpose we must sketch the vast project of sacerdotal dominion formed by the aspiring mind of pope Gregory VII.

In consequence chiefly of the imbecile superstition of the kings of France, the episcopal order had made great advances toward the acquisition of a power similar to that of the ancient Druids. From the earliest times, in consequence of the rank of the city over which he presided, a kind of supremacy had been generally conceded to the bishop of

Rome, and this notion of his superiority gradually extended through the discontent of prelates, who appealed to him against their metropolitans, and he thus was imperceptibly drawing to himself the power acquired by the episcopal order. In the latter part of the eighth century a work, purporting to be a collection of decrees of former pontiffs, appeared under the name of one Isidore. This forgery (as it has been long known to be) was calculated to extend the papal authority and diminish that of the metropolitans, by enjoining appeals to Rome and forbidding to hold national councils without the permission of the pontiff. The bishops gladly acquiesced in them, and the papal power rapidly advanced; its strength was also increased by the more rigorous imposition of celibacy on the clergy, and by the spreading of the rule of St. Benedict — points on which we have already touched.

Such was the state of the papacy when the celebrated Hildebrand became its animating spirit. His daring mind conceived the project not merely of freeing the church from all subordination to the temporal power, but of making it supreme over it. The subject of investitures, or the conferring of spiritual dignities by lay princes, was that with which he opened the contest when, under the name of Gregory VII., he ascended the papal throne. From the earliest times bishops had been elected by the clergy and people; the form still continued, but princes easily managed to have the real appointment; and in England we have seen the direct nomination by the crown. Gross simony of course prevailed, for what was valuable would be naturally the subject of bargain and sale, and the temporalities attached to the spiritual dignities were in most places considerable. These temporalities, mostly the grants of former kings, were regarded in the light of fiefs. The new bishop therefore was required to swear fealty, and to do homage to the lord who invested him by the delivery of a ring and crosier. Gregory issued a decree against this practice; and thus commenced a contest with the emperor Henry IV., which lasted throughout their lives, and was kept up by their successors for nearly half a century. It was terminated by a compromise with the emperor Henry V., the monarch recognizing the freedom of elections, and resigning the right of conferring the spiritual dignity, (by the ring and crosier,) but retaining that of delivering the temporalities by the sceptre. A similar arrangement was made with Henry I. of England, who had vigorously contested this point with the papacy and its uncompromising advocate

archbishop Anselm. Each party thus gave up something, the real gain seems to have been on the side of the crown.*

In the disputes on this subject we discern the influence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, ignorant and superstitious as the preceding ages had been, was not yet established by the pontifical authority. At the council of Bari (1096) it was declared to be abominable that pure hands which could create God, and offer him up in sacrifice for the sins of the world, should (in the act of homage) be placed between hands polluted with rapine and bloodshed, and defiled by contact with the other sex. The abomination, however, was suffered to remain.

To extend the papal power over the prelacy, it was decreed that no bishop should exercise his function till he had been confirmed by the Holy See. Bishops were cited to Rome on the most frivolous pretexts; archbishops were obliged by Gregory to go thither in person to receive their consecrated *pallium*. A further hardship was the constant sending of special ministers, legatés *à latere*. Hitherto a metropolitan of the country (in England, the archbishop of Canterbury) had held a perpetual legantine authority as the pope's lieutenant or representative; but now special legates were continually coming, who assumed high authority, held councils, deposed bishops, framed canons, and, at the same time, lived in great splendor at the expense of the prelates, whose pride was galled by the circumstance of the legate often being but a simple deacon.

To maintain their power the popes had two most efficacious weapons, excommunication and interdict. The first had been originally nothing more than the power which every society has of expelling its own unruly members; but the church had gradually managed to invest it with terrors, and use it as a weapon of offence and vengeance. Those excommunicate were cursed, with a fiendish minuteness of detail, in soul and body, limbs and joints, in their goings-out and comings-in, in all times and all places; † they were cut off from society like the leprous; any communication with them became morally infectious; when they died the rites

* This contest affords a proof that the popes and clergy were often actuated by a sense of justice and duty in the apparently most dubious cases. Paschal II. actually signed an agreement with Henry V., by which the prelates were to resign all the lands, &c., they held in fief of the emperor, provided he gave up the right of investiture.

† See Southey, *Book of the Church*, i. 190, 191. The entire form may be seen in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*.

of sepulture were denied them. This sentence, however only affected those who brought it on themselves by opposition to the church: interdict fell often on the innocent. When a prince or noble had offended the church, and the milder sentence did not prove efficacious, his dominions were laid under interdict, that is, religious offices were *interdicted* in them. No service was performed in the churches; no bells were tolled; no sacraments administered, save the first and the last, baptism and extreme unction; the dead lay unburied; a moral gloom overspread the land. It was Gregory that first employed these spiritual weapons with advantage. In the plenitude of his power he dared to excommunicate the emperor Henry, and even to issue against him a sentence of deposition from the throne, releasing thereby his subjects from their allegiance.

In England the usurpations of the church were greatly forwarded by the separation, in the time of the Conqueror, of the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. The clergy claimed now a total exemption from trial before lay-tribunals, however great their crimes might be; and as the church inflicted no higher penalty than stripes, sacerdotal murderers and robbers (of whom the number was not trifling) thus escaped the punishment justly due to their crimes. The struggle between the crown and church on this head is soon to occupy our attention.

As we have observed, the local courts continued in the Anglo-Norman period; but paramount to them was the King's Court, (*Curia Regis*), which was held wherever the king was residing. It was composed of the justiciary,* chancellor, treasurer, and the other great officers, with any others whom the king might appoint; it served to collect and manage the revenue, to despatch public business, and to decide private suits. No suit could be brought before it without paying a fine to the king, and unfortunately the justice of the Anglo-Norman monarchs was scandalously venal.

The revenues of the crown in this period were chiefly derived from the immense royal demesnes which were let out to farm, and from the feudal aids, reliefs, etc. To these are to be added the customs on the import and export of merchandise, and the tallages, (*cuttings*), that is, taxes arbitrarily imposed on the royal towns and demesnes; the inferior

* This was the highest office in the kingdom. The justiciary resided in the king's court, and he was by his office regent in the absence of the king.

ords had also the right of imposing tallages on their own towns and demesnes. Escuage or scutage, that is, commutation for personal service in war by paying a certain sum on each knight's fee, commenced in the reign of Henry I., but it was not often resorted to in this period.

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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY II. (PLANTAGENET.)

1154—1189.

ON the death of Stephen, (1154,) the English nation, weary of civil contention, cheerfully acquiesced in the accession of Henry Plantagenet. The new monarch, now only in his twenty-first year, exceeded all the princes of his time in extent of dominion. In right of his mother, he ruled England, Normandy, and Maine; from his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine, while his union with Eleanor gave him the provinces thence to the Pyrenees, with Perigord, Limousin, and Auvergne. He thus possessed a third of France; a vassal far more powerful than the monarch to whom he owed his homage.

After a delay of six weeks, chiefly caused by inclement weather, Henry landed in England, (Dec. 3,) and shortly after, (Dec. 19,) he and his queen were crowned at Winchester with unwonted magnificence. His first care, after the festivities were over, was to reform the abuses which had arisen during the civil contests of the late reign. He obliged all Stephen's mercenaries to quit the kingdom, and with them their leader William of Ypres, whom that king had made earl of Kent; he revoked all the grants made on either side during the late reign; he reformed the coin, which had been adulterated; he forced all those who had obtained possession of the royal castles to resign them, and

he insisted on the demolition of those which had been erected by individual nobles.

Having settled the affairs of England, Henry returned to France (1156) to oppose his brother Geoffrey, who had set up a claim to Anjou and Maine, and had invaded these provinces. He forced him to resign his pretensions, and the appanage left him by his father, for an annual pension of 1000*l*. The people of Nantes, in Brittany, who had just expelled their count Hoel, invited Geoffrey to be their ruler: he gave, of course, a ready consent, but he enjoyed his dignity only for two years: on his death (1158) the king of England claimed Nantes as his heir, and moreover as feudal superior of Brittany. Conan, the duke of that country, had already entered on it; but Henry having gained king Louis to his side by a contract of marriage between his eldest son Henry, now five years of age, and the daughter of that monarch, who was yet in her cradle, soon ended the pretensions of the Breton prince; and Conan moreover, to secure Henry's aid against his unruly subjects, affianced his daughter and only child, an infant, to Henry's third son, Geoffrey, also an infant. On the death of Conan, (1165,) Henry, as guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, took possession of Brittany.

As soon as he had made good his claim to Nantes, the ambitious king of England cast his eyes on one of the largest and wealthiest provinces of France. Queen Eleanor's grandfather had married the only daughter of William count of Toulouse, but William had mortgaged or sold his dominions to his brother Raymond, who on his death quietly entered on them, and they continued in his family, though the duke of Guienne had asserted a claim in 1098, and Louis in right of Eleanor in 1145. These last pretensions were now advanced by Henry, and forming an alliance with Berenger count of Barcelona, and Trincaval lord of Nismes, he prepared to assert them. Raymond of Toulouse, on the other hand, called on his superior lord king Louis, to whose sister Constance he was married, and Louis, now fully aware of the dangerous ambition of the king of England, prepared to oppose the very claim he had himself advanced some years before. Henry, sensible of the unwieldy nature of a feudal militia, followed the example of his grandfather, and in lieu of service imposed a tax of 3*l*. on every knight's fee in England, and forty Angevin shillings on those of Normandy, and with the produce of

this *scutage*, as it was named, which amounted to 180,000*l* he took large bodies of mercenaries into pay.

The war, however, was productive of no event of much importance. Henry was unable to make his claim good, and the pope finally mediated a peace between him and the king of France.

During the anarchy of the late reign the church had gone on emancipating itself from secular control. Holy orders were conferred by the bishops without discrimination; and as all who had received the tonsure were members of the sacerdotal body, and "the bishops," the historian says, "were more vigilant to defend the liberties and dignity of their order than to correct its faults, and thought they did their duty to God and the church if they protected the guilty clergy from public punishment," rapines, thefts, and homicides were frequently committed by these "tonsured demons," as they are styled by Becket's biographer. The king was assured that not less than one hundred homicides had been committed with impunity by the clergy since his accession. To this Henry was resolved to put a stop, and, knowing the importance of having the primacy filled by a person from whom he would not have opposition to apprehend, on the death of archbishop Theobald (1161) he resolved to bestow the vacant dignity on his favorite and chancellor Thomas à Becket.

This extraordinary man was the son of a respectable citizen of London named Gilbert à Becket. According to a romantic tradition his mother was the daughter of a Saracen emir. Gilbert, it is said, being on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had become a captive to the emir, by whom he was treated kindly and admitted to his society. The emir's daughter saw and loved him; she made occasions of conversing with him, in which she learned his name and that he was from London in England. She told him her love, and her desire to become a Christian. An opportunity for escape, however, having presented itself, Gilbert, heedless of the fair Saracen, embraced it and returned to England. She resolved to pursue him, and, quitting her father's abode in disguise, she proceeded to the coast. She knew but two English words, London and Gilbert; by pronouncing the first she found a ship bound for England, and when she landed she reached by means of it the capital. There she went about the streets crying out Gilbert. Her strange manner and garb drew a crowd after her, and as she hap-

pened to go through the street in which Gilbert dwelt, the noise attracted the attention of his servant Richard, and he went out to see the cause of it. Richard, who had shared his master's captivity in the East, at once recognized the fair Saracen. He told his master; they brought her in, and then placed her in a nunnery till Gilbert had consulted the prelates who were sitting at St. Paul's. It was their opinion that he should marry her, as she was desirous of becoming a Christian: she was accordingly baptized by the name of Matilda, and made the wife of her beloved Gilbert.*

The fruit of the union of Gilbert and Matilda was a son named Thomas. As the child showed talent he was carefully educated at the schools of Merton, London, and finally Paris. When he grew up he was admitted into the family of the primate Theobald; he felt his inferiority to those whom he met there in learning, but the grace of his manners and his natural talents made up for the deficiency; though twice, by the arts of his rivals, expelled from the palace, he contrived to reinstate himself in the favor of the primate, by whom he was even employed on a negotiation at Rome, which he executed with such ability as to be rewarded with some preferments in the church. With his patron's permission he then went and attended lectures on the canon and civil law, first at Bologna and afterwards at Auxerre. On his return the provostship of Beverley, and soon after the wealthy archdeaconry of Canterbury, were bestowed on him by the primate, and when Henry II. came to the throne, Becket, then thirty-seven years of age, was by Theobald's influence raised to the high office of chancellor. He speedily won the favor of the young monarch; the education of prince Henry was confided to him; he was made warden of the Tower, and had the custody of the castle of Berkhamstead and the honor of Eye, with the services of one hundred and forty knights.

Becket was of a vain, ostentatious temper; his soul was superior to the love of money, and he spent his large revenues with princely magnificence. He kept a splendid table, which the king often honored with his presence, and at which numerous noble guests sat each day. Numbers of knights entered his service, reserving their fealty to the king, and many barons sent their sons to serve him, as to the best

* This tale rests on the single authority of Bromton, that collector and embellisher of romantic legends. It *may* be true, but Becket's biographers seem to have known nothing of it.

school of chivalry. Becket hunted, hawked, and played at chess. His clothing was of the richest quality; his retinue was numerous and splendid. Though his style of living was thus unbecoming an ecclesiastic, still no charge has been made against his morals in private life.

Becket was sent to Paris (1158) to settle some disputes between Henry and the French king, and to negotiate a marriage between their children. Nothing could exceed the pomp in which he travelled; the people as he passed cried, "What must the king of England be when his chancellor travels in such state!" In the war of Toulouse Becket appeared at the head of seven hundred knights paid by himself. He was foremost in every enterprise, and, when Louis threw himself into Toulouse, Becket was the man to urge an immediate assault, and to make light of Henry's scruples about attacking his superior lord. When the king retired he left the chancellor in command, and the warlike churchman reduced three castles, and, in single combat, gallantly unhorsed a French knight.

Such was the man whom Henry had fixed on for the primacy, never doubting but that the primate would be as compliant to his will as the chancellor had been. He had been hitherto so little of a churchman that, when the king's intentions were made known, the empress, his mother, remonstrated, the people exclaimed, and the clergy expressed their grief and dismay at such an appointment.* Becket himself is said, when the king mentioned to him his intention, to have regarded his gay apparel with a smile, and, saying that he did not look very like an archbishop, to have told him plainly that this appointment would probably cause him to lose his favor. He is also said to have expressed the same apprehension to his friends in private. Still he did not, like Anselm, steadfastly decline the high office, and, as his smile might have appeared to belie the words that succeeded it, the king persisted, and, after the primacy had lain vacant for thirteen months, Becket passed over to England with the royal mandate, and, having been previously ordained a priest, was consecrated at Canterbury by Henry bishop of

* So the clergy of England assert in their letter to Becket. His reply is not satisfactory. If the empress, says he, dissuaded, it never came to the public ear; he heard the acclamation, not the exclamation of the people; only those of the clergy who were envious made any objection, and he appeals to the unanimity that prevailed at his election. (*Epist. Divi Thomæ, Lib. i. Ep. 108, 126, 127.*) Might not a great change have been wrought by royal influence in the course of thirteen months?

Winchester, in the presence of prince Henry and a numerous assemblage of the nobility and higher clergy.

The sudden change which now took place in Becket's mode of life is ascribed by his friend and biographer to an immediate unction of the Holy Ghost at his consecration; many late writers see in it nothing but hypocrisy. To us the truth seems to be as follows: Becket was, as we have seen, covetous of fame, and of it alone; he had now attained an eminence which left nothing higher to aspire to; and, as versed in the canon law, he was probably a firm believer in the validity of the rights to which the church laid claim. These, in pursuit of the objects of worldly ambition, he had hitherto made light of, but now glory of a high order lay within his grasp; he had only to stand forward as the champion of the church, to forfeit his royal master's favor, to brave his enmity, and even to offer up his life in sacrifice for the rights of the church, and undying fame awaited him. And all this was Becket prepared to do. We must then admire his magnanimity and daring spirit, while we condemn the duplicity which made him take an office which he knew was given for a far different purpose. But on this, as on so many other occasions, the end was held to sanctify the means.

Nothing gives a spiritual leader more influence over the minds of the people than the appearance of extreme sanctity and contempt of the world and its vain pleasures. With this then Becket resolved to begin. He dismissed his squire, did train and retrenched the luxury of his table. He who had vied with the gayest of the nobles in richness of apparel, now wore next his skin sackcloth filled with dirt and vermin; his food was of the coarsest kind; his drink water in which the bitter herb fennel had been infused; his naked back was frequently subjected to the discipline; he washed each day on his bended knees in his cell the feet of thirteen poor persons, whom he then dismissed with food and money. He was constant in reading the Scriptures, in prayer, and in ministering at the altar; he walked in meditation, his face suffused with tears, in the cloister; he visited and comforted the sick monks. When religious men came to visit him he received them as if they were angels from heaven.

By way of intimation, as it were, to the king to prepare for the contest, Becket sent in his resignation of the chancellorship, under the pretext that he felt himself hardly equal to the duties of one office, much less of two. This irritated the king, and when the primate came to meet him.

on his landing at Southampton, he received him coldly, and soon after called on him to resign his archdeaconry also. Becket refused, we know not on what grounds, certainly, we may say, not out of avarice; but he was obliged to yield. Shortly after he obtained the royal license to attend a council held at Tours by pope Alexander III. He presented to the council a book of the life and miracles of archbishop Anselm, for whom he solicited canonization; thus intimating his purpose of treading in that prelate's footprints. As Alexander did not wish to irritate Henry, he declined for the present to confer that honor.

One of the canons of this council was directed against all those who detained or usurped church property; this Becket on his return proceeded to put in force, asserting that no time can avail against the rights of the church. He required the king to surrender the town and castle of Rochester; Richard de Clare, one of the most powerful of the barons, was called on to resign the castle of Tunbridge, and other nobles other possessions, which the primate maintained had originally belonged to his see. While the king and the nobility were in a ferment at this proceeding, the undaunted primate went a step further, and asserted his right to present to all benefices within his diocese. A living falling vacant, of which one William de Eynesford was patron, the primate presented to it; Eynesford expelled the clerk by force; the primate excommunicated him; Henry, as he was a tenant in chief of the crown, required that the sentence should be withdrawn; Becket haughtily replied, that it was not for the king to dictate to him whom to absolve and whom to excommunicate. As, however, the law was explicit on the subject, he was finally obliged to give way.

The contest had thus gone on for nearly two years, when an atrocity committed by a person in orders set the king and the primate fully at issue,* (1163.) This man, having seduced a young lady in Worcestershire, murdered her father that their guilty commerce might not be interrupted. The public indignation at this horrible deed was high; the king demanded that the clerk should be given up to be tried before the ordinary tribunal; the primate, to save him, had him placed in the prison of the bishop. Henry then summoned the bishops to meet him at Westminster, and after

* Becket's friend and biographer, Fitz-Stephen, expressly says that this was the occasion of the breach between the king and primate. Yet Dr. Lingard, who, when it suits his purpose, sets such value on contemporary biography, takes no notice of it whatever.

complaining of the corruption of their courts, by which he said they levied more money off the kingdom within the year than *he* did, required that clerks, in future, if found guilty of a crime before the bishop, should be degraded and then handed over to the civil power. The prelates were disposed to assent, till Becket took them aside and engaged them to refuse on the pretext of its not being just that a man should be tried twice for the same offence. The king demanded if they would obey the ancient customs of the realm; one assented, the rest followed Becket in saying "saving my order." Henry, who knew that this reservation would include whatever they pleased, left the hall in a rage, and next day he deprived the primate of the custody of the royal castles which he still held. For this Becket cared nought, but the other prelates were terrified and counselled submission, in which they were joined by the pope's almoner, who alleged his instructions from the pontiff to that effect. The primate at length waited on the king at Woodstock, and promised to observe the customs of the realm, omitting the obnoxious clause. The king treated him with civility, and a great council was summoned to meet after Christmas at the castle of Clarendon near Salisbury.

When the council met (1164) the bishops were called on to fulfil their promise. Becket required that it should be made with the aforesaid reservation. His breach of faith incensed the king; he menaced him with exile, and even with death; two of the prelates with tears implored him to submit; the earls of Leicester and Cornwall assured him they had orders to employ force, and conjured him not to make it necessary; the Master of the Temple and one of his knights fell on their knees, entreating him to have pity on the clergy; the door of an adjoining room was thrown open, and armed men were seen with their clothes tucked up and their swords and battle-axes ready for conflict. The primate was incapable of fear for himself, but he felt a generous anxiety for the safety of others, and he yielded. Those who best knew these customs were then required to put them in writing, and at Becket's desire the assembly was prorogued to the following day.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, as the customs now reduced to writing were named, were in number sixteen, of which the following are some of the most important: clerks, if accused of crimes, shall be tried in the civil courts; no churchman of any rank shall quit the realm without the king's permission; all causes not strictly ecclesiastical shall

be tried in the king's courts; all prelates and other spiritual dignitaries who are the king's tenants *in capite* shall be subject to the feudal burdens, and attend in the king's courts; the king shall hold all vacant sees and receive their revenues till the vacancy is filled; the election shall take place in the king's presence, and the person elected shall do homage, and swear fealty to the king as his liege lord.

Three copies were made of the Constitutions, to which the prelates affixed their seals according to usage, with the king and barons. The primate refused, but it is probable that in this case also his obstinacy gave way. He went home, and as it were to punish his weakness he abstained from the service of the altar for forty days. The pope, at his desire, gave him absolution for that sin, at the same time counselling moderation. Soon after he went to Woodstock and solicited an audience of the king, but Henry refused to see him. He then, like Anselm, attempted to escape to France; but the sailors of Romney would not expose themselves for him to the indignation of the king, and he was obliged to return. He now began to set the Constitutions openly at nought; and the king, on the other side, was stimulated to exertion by those about him, who looked forward to a confiscation of church property and a share in the plunder.

The primate was cited to a great council at Nottingham. When he arrived (Oct. 13) the king refused him the kiss of peace; a charge of high treason was made against him, and his goods and chattels were declared forfeited. Though the composition in such cases in Kent was but forty shillings, a sum of 500*l.* was required from him, for which he gave security. Next day he was called on for a sum of 300*l.*, which he had received as warden of the king's castles; he declared that the whole sum had been laid out in repairs, but added that that should be no cause of quarrel between him and the king. A further demand was then made of 500*l.*, which Henry said he had lent him. Becket replied (as doubtless was the truth) that the money had been a gift; his word was not allowed to balance the king's, and he gave security for that sum also. On the third day he was required to account for all the moneys he had received when chancellor, and to pay the balance. He replied that at his consecration he had been discharged of all demands by prince Henry and the justiciary in the king's name. He asked permission, however, to retire and consult with the other prelates. In these proceedings the king was plainly acting

from a mean, paltry spirit of vengeance, and was seeking to crush the man who, he saw, preferred what he deemed his duty to his own favor. The claim now made amounted to the enormous sum of 44,000 marks, and though, in honor, the primate stood discharged, he, by the advice of his brethren offered 2000, which were of course refused. Some then advised him to resign the primacy; Henry of Winchester alone encouraged him to resolution. As this was Saturday, he craved a respite till Monday to make his answer.

Strong as was the primate's mind, his body gave way under his mental agitation, and he fell so ill as not to be able to leave his bed on Monday morning. His resolution too almost failed, and he even had thoughts of going barefoot to the king, and throwing himself at his feet, and praying him to be reconciled. But pride and a sense of duty came to his aid, and, when some of the bishops came and recommended submission, he rebuked them in the severest terms. He had taken his final resolution, and that was to brave the royal indignation to the uttermost. He rose, went into the church, and, at the altar of St. Stephen, performed the mass for that martyr's day, which begins with "Princes sat and spake against me," and he directed to be sung the verse of the Psalms, "The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and his anointed." Then, providing himself with a *host* to have in case of extremity, he moved on toward the council; at the door he took from his chaplain the silver cross he was bearing before him, and carried it himself. The bishops came forth to meet him, and remonstrated with him on this conduct; he heeded them not; he entered the hall, from which the king had retired to an inner apartment with his nobles, and sat down, holding the cross before him. The king's rage at being thus braved became ungovernable, and the prelates trembled for their primate's life. They then asked and obtained the royal leave to appeal to Rome against him for his perjury. They went out, and, taxing him with his breach of faith, renounced their obedience to him, and cited him to answer their charges before the pope. The primate, who saw clearly the advantage he had now gained, calmly replied, "I hear what you say." They sat down on the opposite side of the hall; the earl of Leicester came out and summoned him to come and hear the sentence passed on him by the temporal peers. He denied with dignity and composure their right to judge him, and cited both their and the

prelates to appear before the pope. He rose to depart; a cry of "Perjured traitor!" met his ear; he looked round fiercely, and said with a loud voice, that but for his holy orders he would defend himself with arms against those who thus dared to insult him. He returned to the monastery where he abode, followed by the populace and the poorer clergy. He then sent to ask permission to leave the kingdom: the king took till next day to consider; but in the night the primate quitted the abbey in disguise, and having wandered about for some time effected his escape to Flanders.

The king of France, a superstitious man, forgetting, in his jealousy of Henry, that the latter's was the common cause of kings, took the part of Becket, and applied to the pope in his favor. The pontiff gave a cool reception to a splendid embassy which Henry sent to him at Sens, where he was residing, and when Becket came thither he received him with every mark of distinction. Henry then sequestered the revenues of the see of Canterbury, and, with the cruelty and injustice common in that age, banished the kingdom all Becket's relations and domestics, to the number of nearly four hundred persons, making them swear that they would join without delay the primate, whom he thus hoped to reduce to need. But the pope frustrated his design by absolving them from their oath, and distributing them in the convents of France and Flanders. The Cistercian abbey of Pontigny was assigned as the residence of Becket, who now set no bounds to his spiritual insolence; he declared that "Christ was *in this case* again tried before a lay tribunal, and once more crucified in the person of his servant," taking it for granted, according to the spiritual logic then usually employed, that his cause was the cause of God. At length (1166) he ventured in the most solemn manner to excommunicate all concerned in drawing up or supporting the Constitutions of Clarendon, and all who had laid or should lay hands on the goods of the church. Many persons were mentioned by name in this impious sentence, and threats of the same treatment were uttered against the king himself.

Henry, with all his vigor of character, was superstitious, and he feared while he hated Becket; he was also aware of the effect which the censures of the church might have on the minds of his people. He gave orders to watch the ports most strictly, that no letters of interdict might be brought in, and he threatened with the severest penalties those who should bring them or publish them. Meantime he prosecuted with vigor the appeal which he had been induced to

make to Rome; his agents there employed effectually those golden arguments which, as one of Becket's friends writes, "Rome never despised," (that Rome which Becket himself says was prostituted like a harlot for hire,) and two cardinals were despatched to hear and determine the whole affair. Becket's arts and obstinacy, however, rendered their efforts ineffectual. At length, (1169,) when the petty warfare which had continued for some years between Henry and Louis was terminated by a peace and the marriage of their children, this last monarch sought to reconcile Becket and his sovereign. They met in the presence of Louis. Becket humbly knelt before his king, but unyielding as ever, he persisted in saving his order when promising to obey the customs of the realm. Henry in a rage reproached him with his pride and ingratitude; then turning to Louis, "Mark, my liege," said he, "whatever displeases him he says is against the honor of God; but that I may not be thought to act against that honor I make him this offer. There have been many kings of England before me, some who had greater, some who had less power than I. There have been many archbishops of Canterbury before him, great and holy men. What the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did for the least of mine, let him do for me, and I shall be content." The whole assembly declared that he had condescended sufficiently. Louis asked Becket what he could say to this; he still persisted; his friends then took him away by force. Louis treated him with neglect, and apparently was about to withdraw his protection; but his enmity to Henry and his unmanly superstition finally prevailed, and he fell at Becket's feet and with tears implored his forgiveness. When Henry sent to complain of his still protecting him, he replied with an appearance of magnanimity, "If the king of England will thus cling to what he calls the customs of his fathers respecting the church, he must let me adhere to those of mine, which ever were to protect the exile and the fugitive."

At length (1170) the contest was brought to a termination. It was agreed to elude the chief subject of dispute, and Becket was to be restored to his see to hold it as it had been holden by his predecessors. But a new difficulty arose; the primate required, according to the custom of the age, to be saluted with the kiss of peace: the king declared that he had bound himself by a vow never to kiss Becket. The pope sent Henry a dispensation, but he would not depart

from his resolution. The difficulty was, however, at length got over, and the treaty concluded.

While the terror of excommunication was suspended over the head of Henry, and he knew not what its effect might be on the minds of his superstitious subjects, he had used the precaution of having his eldest son, prince Henry, crowned by the archbishop of York. Though it was done in secrecy, Becket heard of it, and he prevailed on the pope to suspend the archbishop, and excommunicate the bishops who had assisted at it. On his arrival in England, where he was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the clergy and people, he proceeded to launch his spiritual thunder against those who had assisted at the coronation or persecuted the exiled clergy, and seemed bent on renewing the war with the king. When this intelligence reached the ears of Henry, he was greatly moved at the prospect of a renewed contest; the archbishop of York, who was now with him, told him the plain truth, that he could never hope to enjoy peace while Becket lived, and the king, strongly excited, cried out before all his court, "To what a miserable state am I reduced, when I cannot be at rest in my own realm by reason of one single priest! Is there no one to deliver me out of my troubles?" Four barons, named William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitz-Urse, who heard these words, bound themselves by a secret oath to make the primate revoke his censures, or to carry him out of the kingdom, or put him to death. They secretly left the court, and landing near Dover, went to the castle of Ranulf de Broc, a man whom the primate had just excommunicated, who supplied them with soldiers. They entered Canterbury in small parties, and were received into the monastery by the abbot, who was on the king's side.

It was now the third day after Christmas. On that festival the primate himself had celebrated mass and preached to the people, and in his sermon he told them that his dissolution was at hand, and that as one of their archbishops had been a martyr, they possibly might have another. He then thundered forth his invectives against the king's friends, and excommunicated De Broc and his brother by name.

On the morning after their arrival (Dec. 29) the four barons, attended by twelve knights, entered the primate's bed-chamber. It was after ten o'clock, but he had dined, and was conversing with his friends. They sat down on the ground opposite him, and after a pause Fitz-Urse required

him to absolve the prelates; he made an evasive reply; both parties grew warm; the barons desired him then to leave the kingdom; he replied with his wonted spirit; they left the room, ordering the monks to guard him; he followed them to the outer door, telling them he valued not their threats. "We will do more than threaten," they replied. In the court-yard they then began to arm themselves. The primate's servants barred the gate, and his friends, not without difficulty, prevailed on him to retire through the cloisters into the cathedral, where vespers had now begun. He proceeded thither slowly, the silver cross borne before him; when they would secure the doors he forbade them, saying, "You ought not to make a castle of the church." He was ascending the steps of the choir, when the barons, who, after vainly assaying the palace-gate, had got in at a window and searched it all over, entered the cathedral. It was now dusk, and he might probably have escaped if he would, but his heroic soul, which aspired to the glory of martyrdom, spurned at the thoughts of flight. They rushed forward, crying, "Where is Thomas à Becket? Where is that traitor to the king and kingdom?" No reply was made. In a louder tone they then cried, "Where is the archbishop?" He advanced, saying, "Here am I, no traitor, but a priest, ready to suffer in the name of Him who redeemed me." They required him again to absolve the prelates, and again he refused. They told him then he must die, and Fitz-Urse, laying hold of his robe, bade him get out from thence or die. He said he would not move. "Fly then," said Fitz-Urse. "Nor that neither," replied the undaunted primate; "if it is my blood you want, I am ready to die that the church may have peace; only in the name of God I forbid you to hurt any of my people." One struck him with the flat of his sword between the shoulders, saying, "Fly! or you are dead." They attempted to drag him out; he clung to one of the pillars; he nearly threw Tracy down, and he flung Fitz-Urse off, calling him pimp. Stung by this insult, the knight made a blow of his sword at him; a monk named Edward Grimes interposed his arm, which was nearly cut off, and Becket himself was wounded in the crown of the head as he was bent in prayer. "To God," said he, "to St. Mary and the Saints, the patrons of this church, and to St. Denis I commend myself and the church's cause." A second blow brought him to the ground before St. Benedict's altar. He settled his robe about him, joined his hands in prayer, and expired beneath repeated blows. Brito clove his skull, and the sub-deacon Hugh of

Horsea, justly named the Ill Clerk, with the impotent malignity of a savage, scattered the brains about with the point of his sword.

Thus perished, in the fifty-third year of his age, this extraordinary man, a martyr in the cause of the monstrous usurpations of the church, but actuated, we believe, by a sincere sense of duty; and fair might be his fame, and honoured by all might be his memory, if he had not, in pursuit of his object, like but too many other saints of his church, trodden in the tortuous paths of bad faith and duplicity.

The murderers of the archbishop retired to the castle of De Moreville at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, not venturing to appear before the king. Nothing in fact could exceed Henry's consternation when he heard of the bloody deed. He saw an abyss yawning before him, as all the feelings of justice, and compassion, and honest indignation would be on the side of the church. The king of France and other princes called on the pope to avenge the cause of religion. The embassy, headed by the archbishop of Rouen, which he sent to Rome, found the pope highly incensed, and about to lay England under an interdict. But, as Henry was really guiltless, and the pontiff deemed it wiser to husband his sacred power than run the risk of seeing it exhausted, he contented himself with a general excommunication of the murderers and their abettors. Two legates were sent to Normandy to examine the cause.

While Henry was thus seeking to appease the pontiff, some adventurers, his subjects, were extending his dominion and gaining for him a nominal kingdom. The island of Ireland was inhabited by a portion of the Celtic race, but as they had never been subdued by the Romans, they remained in their primitive barbarism. Christianity had been introduced among them in the fifth century by Patricius, a native of Britain, and the superstition characteristic of the Celtic race had led to the foundation of numerous monasteries, which offered some glimpses of culture and tranquillity amidst the incessant feuds which prevailed among the native tribes, and the endless succession of murders, abductions, and similar crimes, that were of daily occurrence. Even in the twelfth century the native Irish seem to have been but little advanced beyond the Britons in the days of Cæsar. They lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of their cattle; they had little tillage and few arts. The Northmen had invaded and ravaged this island like England and France, with this difference, that they were here the superiors in knowledge

and culture: they founded towns along the coast, and all the trade of the island was in their hands.

Henry II. had long cast an eye of cupidity on this fertile island. In the very commencement of his reign, (1156,) while Adrian IV. (Breakspear,) an Englishman by birth, occupied the papal throne, he obtained a bull, authorizing him to invade and reduce that barbarous island. For, as the Irish had been converted before the see of Rome had put forth her monstrous pretensions, and Ireland was in a great measure separate from the world, the Irish clergy followed the simpler doctrines of their first teachers, and did not acknowledge subjection to Rome. Adrian therefore, assuming that all islands on which the Gospel light had shone, belonged to Christ's viceregent on earth, in the plenitude of his power authorized and exhorted the king to invade Ireland, destroy the vice and wickedness of the natives, and oblige them to pay a penny yearly from each house to the see of Rome. The Irish were commanded to submit; the enterprise being for the glory of God, and the salvation of the souls of men.

Henry thus sought to gratify an unjust and grasping ambition by sanctioning a claim against which he was, in his own case, so soon to contend with all his energy. Various matters, however, prevented him for some years from taking advantage of the pontiff's generosity. At length a feud among the barbarous natives themselves called his attention toward Ireland. Besides their minor division into septs or clans, the Irish nation formed five kingdoms, Desmond, Thomond, Connaught, Ulster, and Leinster, and of the five sovereigns one was usually lord paramount of the whole. The supremacy lay now with Connaught. Dermot MacMorrough, king of Leinster, was in love with the wife of O'Ruark, chief of Breffney, (Leitrim and Sligo,) and taking advantage of her husband's absence, he carried her off from an island in a bog, where she had been placed for security. O'Ruark complained to Roderic O'Connor, the lord paramount: their united forces invaded Leinster, and Dermot, who was hated by his subjects, was forced to seek safety in flight. He repaired to king Henry, who was at that time (1167) in Guienne, and offered to hold his kingdom in vassalage of him if restored by his arms. Henry accepted the offer, but, as the state of his affairs did not allow him then to engage in the enterprise, he gave Dermot letters patent to his English subjects, authorizing them to assist him. The Irish prince came to Bristol, and he soon after made an agreement with Richard de Clare, surnamed

Strongbow, earl of Strigul or Pembroke, a man who, having impaired his fortune, was ready for any desperate adventure. Strongbow, for his aid, was to have the hand of Dermot's daughter Eva, and be declared heir to his dominions. Dermot also engaged two other ruined knights of South Wales, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. He then returned to Ireland, and lay concealed in the monastery of Ferns, of which he was the founder.

In the spring, (1169,) Fitz-Stephen, who was first ready, set sail with a small force of thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, and landed at Bannow, not far from the town of Wexford. He was followed by Maurice Prendergast with ten knights and sixty archers, and with this small force they ventured to march against Wexford, which was surrendered to them by the Ostmen*, who inhabited it. Fitz-Gerald next arrived with ten knights, thirty esquires, and a hundred archers; and such was the advantage their superior arms and military skill gave the invaders, that no force the Irish could bring together was able to resist them. Dermot, not satisfied with recovering his own kingdom, aspired to extend his odious sway. He sent a messenger urging Strongbow to make haste and perform his promise, and the earl, having obtained a reluctant consent from Henry, to whom he repaired in Normandy, quickened his preparations. He first sent over Raymond le Gros with ten knights and seventy archers, and this petty force, we are assured, defeated a body of three thousand Irish who came to oppose them when they landed near Waterford. Strongbow himself now came with two hundred knights and esquires, and a good body of archers. Waterford surrendered; Dublin was taken. Strongbow married the Irish princess, and Dermot dying shortly after, he became sovereign of Leinster, and aimed at the conquest of the whole island. Roderic, a weak, inert prince, was roused at last, and with thirty thousand men he came and laid siege to Dublin; but Strongbow made a sally at the head of but ninety knights and their followers, and routed this tumultuous rabble with great slaughter.

The news of the extraordinary success of these adventurers was by no means agreeable to king Henry, who feared they might cease to conduct themselves as subjects. He sent orders for them to return, and forbade any supplies to be sent to them; he finally resolved to pass over himself to

* That is, Eastmen, as the Nor'men called themselves in Ireland.

Ireland. He sailed from Milford (1172) with a fleet of four hundred sail, and landed near Waterford. All the Irish princes, except Roderic and a few others, repaired to him, and acknowledged themselves his vassals. He proceeded thence to Dublin, where he held a great council, at which the Irish princes attended, for regulating the state, and soon after the clergy met in synod at Cashel to reduce the church to due order. He kept his Christmas in Dublin, at which he entertained the Irish kings and chiefs, and the following Easter (1173) he returned to England, leaving Hugh de Lacy justice of Ireland. Strongbow, though deprived of his kingdom, retained great possessions; the conquerors dwelt intermixed with the Irish through Leinster, and gradually extended themselves into the remainder of the island. The two races, separated by origin, language, and manners, never coalesced. Ireland continued as before to be the theatre of anarchy and bloodshed. The injustice of conquest and the evils it produces were not here, as in other cases, compensated by increased civilization, for the English settlers degenerated, while the Irish remained nearly stationary. The scanty annals of the following three centuries in Ireland offer one black tissue of ferocity, vice, and crime, with hardly a gleam of virtue and humanity to break the gloom. The earnest entreaties of the native Irish for the benefits of English law were constantly rejected through the influence of their Anglo-Irish countrymen, who found it more easy to plunder and oppress them while they were separate in law and in language. Ireland (politically speaking) should either not have been invaded, or it should have been conquered, as England had been by the Saxons and Normans.

The fame which Henry gained by this nominal conquest of Ireland enabled him to treat on advantageous terms with the pope. In the month of September he met the papal legates at Avranches; and having made a solemn oath that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop, and promised to allow that prelate's friends to return, and to restore the possessions of the see, to acknowledge Alexander, and permit appeals to Rome, he received absolution and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland. Becket's zeal was rewarded by the pontiff with canonization as a martyr; numerous miracles (the number stated is two hundred and seventy) were said to have taken place at his tomb, to which vast crowds of pilgrims resorted every year, and rich offerings were made at it. Becket's murderers

being only liable to the censure of the church, (as the clergy by refusing to submit to the civil law had forfeited its protection,) remained some time at Knaresborough unmolested. At length, finding themselves generally shunned as excommunicated persons, they went to Rome to implore the pontiff's forgiveness. He enjoined them as a penance to visit the Holy Land, and they died while there, and were buried at the gate of the Temple.

Henry, now the most powerful monarch of his time, having ended his contest with the church, looked forward to the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity in future. But the king of France, always jealous of him, sought to raise up enmity against him in his own family. Henry had by his queen Eleanor four sons : Henry, whom he had caused to be crowned as his associate in the throne, and for whom he intended England, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard, who was to have Poitou and Guienne; Geoffrey, who would have Brittany in right of his wife; and John, named Lackland, but for whom he destined the lordship of Ireland. Prince Henry, excited by his father-in-law king Louis, now insisted on his father's resigning either England or Normandy to him, and on the king's refusal he fled to Paris. Queen Eleanor, whose own frailties had not made her indulgent to those of others, offended by the repeated infidelities of the king, stirred up her sons Richard and Geoffrey to make demands similar to that of their brother, and persuaded them when denied to fly also to the court of France. Eleanor herself absconded but she fell soon after into the hands of her husband, by whom she was kept confined for the remainder of his reign. Kings and princes were not ashamed to aid these three undutiful boys* against their indulgent parent. An extensive confederacy was formed; William the Lion, king of Scotland, was induced to join by the promise of Northumberland; the earl of Flanders by that of Kent; the earls of Blois and Boulogne were to have rewards of the same kind. Many of Henry's continental barons, weary of the strictness of his government, declared for the young princes, their future rulers. Even in England the earls of Leicester and Chester openly took arms against their sovereign. A simultaneous invasion of his dominions was proposed by the confederates.

Henry first applied to the pope, who readily excommuni-

* Henry was but eighteen, Richard sixteen, and Geoffrey fifteen years old.

cated his enemies for him. But this spiritual weapon proving of little avail, he took into his pay a body of twenty thousand Brabançons, with whom and with his faithful subjects he prepared to make head against his enemies. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne invaded Normandy on the east, king Louis entered it on the south; the former took the town of Aumale, the latter that of Verneuil. The Bretons rose under the earl of Chester and Ralph de Fougeres; but the king defeated them near Dol, and then forced their leaders to surrender in that town. A conference followed between the two kings, in which Henry, only stipulating to hold the sovereignty for his life, offered half the revenues of England, or of Normandy and Anjou, to his son Henry, half those of Guienne to Richard, and promised to resign Brittany to Geoffrey. But the insolence of the earl of Leicester broke off the negotiation, for this rebel had the audacity to revile and insult his sovereign, and even to lay his hand on his sword as if to draw it on him.

The king of Scots had meantime entered Northumberland, and his barbarous hordes committed their usual excesses. But Richard de Lucy, whom Henry had left guardian of the realm, defeated him and forced him to make a truce and retire. Lucy then marched southwards to engage Leicester, who had landed in Suffolk with a large body of Flemings, and, being joined by Hugh Bigod of Framlingham, was about to push on for the heart of the kingdom. The guardian met him with an inferior force at Farnham in Suffolk. Ten thousand Flemings fell in the action, and Leicester himself was made a prisoner.

The following year (1174) a number of the English barons rose in arms, and the king of Scots made an irruption at the head of eighty thousand of his ferocious subjects. The guardian, ably supported by the bishop of Lincoln, the king's natural son, a gallant man, took the field against him, but was very hard pressed, and Henry found his own presence requisite in England. He landed at Southampton, (July 10, and, being either influenced by superstition or resolved to call it to his aid, he proceeded to Canterbury to worship at the tomb of the new saint. When he came within sight of the church he alighted from his horse and walked to it barefoot: he prostrated himself before the shrine of the martyr, fasted and prayed during the entire day, and watched that night alone in the church. In the morning he assembled the monks, and, placing a scourge in the hand of each, bared his back and submitted to the discipline

which they inflicted. Next day, having received absolution, he set out for London, where intelligence soon arrived of the defeat and capture of the king of Scots at Alnwick by Ralph de Glanville, the famous justiciary, and the northern barons; and as this victory was said to have been gained on the very day (July 12) that the king had received absolution, it was regarded as a proof of his being reconciled with Heaven and the blessed martyr. Henry was too politic not to take advantage of this opinion, and professed to rejoice in the renewed friendship of the saint. He speedily reduced the English rebels, and returning to Normandy, relieved the town of Rouen, which Louis was besieging. A truce was then made; a conference followed at Tours, and an accommodation was effected, Henry giving his sons far less advantageous terms than he had offered them before. He, however, consented to pardon their adherents.

The Scottish king had to pay dearly for his share in this unjust enterprise. He himself, his bishops and barons, were obliged to come to York (Aug. 10, 1175,) and in the cathedral do homage to king Henry, acknowledging him and his successors for their superior lord, and ceding to him the fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh in perpetuity.

Having thus terminated the contest in which he had been engaged with his family and neighbors, Henry, for some years, turned his thoughts to the improvement of the laws and police of his kingdom.

The turbulence of his sons, however, again (1183) disturbed his peace. He had required Richard to do homage for Guienne to his brother Henry. This violent youth refused, and a ferocious war, in which no quarter was given, commenced between the brothers. The king with some difficulty made up the difference, but immediately his son Henry began to plot against him. A fever, however, seized this young prince and carried him off, (June 11.) When dying he was filled with remorse, and sent to entreat his father to visit him; the king, fearing treachery, refused, but sent him his ring by a prelate in token of forgiveness. The dying prince pressed it to his lips; then, ordering the bishops who were present to lay him on a bed of ashes, he in that position received the sacraments and expired.

As Richard was now heir apparent, the king called on him to resign Guienne to his brother John. Richard, however, refused, and was preparing to have recourse to arms, but, on the appearance of his mother in Guienne he

quietly gave it up to her. Scarcely was this feud ended when Geoffrey demanded that Anjou should be annexed to Brittany, and, meeting with a refusal, he fled to the court of France and began to levy troops. He was killed, however, soon after at a tournament, (1185,) leaving his widow pregnant of a son, who when born was named Arthur, and was acknowledged duke of Brittany.

The Christian dominion in the East was now at an end. The great sultan Saladin had utterly defeated the Christians at Hittin, or Tiberias, and reduced the Holy City and all the towns except a few on the coast. All Europe was filled with grief and indignation; a new crusade, in which the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the kings of France and England were to be the leaders, was preached, (1188.) But while the preparations were going forward the French king excited the restless Richard to invade the territories of the count of Toulouse, and then, under pretext of defending the count, his vassal, he made an irruption into some of king Henry's provinces. The French nobles, however, would not stand by their lord in such manifest injustice, and a conference was held to treat of peace. But Philip required that Richard should be crowned king of England, be put in immediate possession of the French provinces, and marry his sister Alice, who had been already sent to England as his affianced bride. Henry, who was suspected of carrying on an illicit commerce with that princess, refused. Richard then revolted and did homage to the king of France, and the war was renewed. In vain the papal legates used their spiritual weapons on the side of Henry; his barons rebelled, town after town surrendered to his enemies, and he was obliged to yield to all the demands of the French king. To complete his grief, when he demanded a list of the barons whom, as usual, he was to pardon, the name of his favorite son John appeared at the head of it. In the anguish of his soul he cursed the day on which he was born, and pronounced a malediction on his children, which he never would revoke. He fell into a lingering fever, of which he died, (July 6, 1189,) at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur; his last moments being cheered alone by the presence of his natural son Geoffrey. As soon as he expired the barons and prelates departed; and the attendants stripped the corpse and carried off every thing of value. A few days after king Henry was buried without much pomp at the abbey of Fontevrault, his son Richard and a few prelates and barons attending his obsequies

Henry Plantagenet was handsome in person and polished in manners. He was eloquent, affable, and courteous, a lover of justice and a friend to learning. He was abstemious in his diet, and used a prodigious deal of exercise in order to keep down his tendency to corpulence. He was an indulgent parent and a kind master. On the other hand he was faithless to the marriage bed; passionate, vindictive, false, and regardless of his oaths and promises. The extreme caution of his temper was often more injurious to his interests than the opposite defect would have been, and cupidity was the moving cause of some of his most beneficial measures. On the whole, however, he was possessed of most of the best qualities of his race, and was one of the ablest princes that have occupied the throne of England.

Of his sons by queen Eleanor two alone, Richard and John, survived him; his three daughters were married to the kings of Castile and Sicily, and Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony. The best known of his natural children were Geoffrey, who was first made bishop of Lincoln, and then archbishop of York, and William surnamed Longespé, or Longsword, who espoused Ela the heiress of Salisbury, and obtained with her that earldom and its estates. The mother of one or both of these sons was the Fair Rosamond, daughter of lord Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire.*

It is to the reign of Henry II. that most of the changes usually ascribed to the Norman conquest are to be referred. The origin of the Common Law may, it is thought, be placed in this reign. Itinerant justices, (Justices in Eyre,) for example, were appointed with six circuits, (nearly corresponding to the present ones,) which they usually went every year. For this institution, which has proved of such inestimable value, we are, however, less indebted to the king's love of justice than to his avarice; for the chief business of these judges was to look after the royal revenue, and see that the crown lost none of its rights by fraud or neglect. It was also in this reign that trial by jury began to assume its present form; for originally the jurors were sworn witnesses of facts, and not, as now, judges of them. But the measure for which Henry was most famed was that of allowing trial by Grand Assize, that is, by jury in civil suits, instead of the wager of battle, or single combat,

* See Appendix (H.)

which the Normans had introduced in addition to the Anglo-Saxon ordeals of fire and water. This mode, from its superior reasonableness and equity, was generally received, and led the way to other important innovations. It was at this time also that Latin became, instead of Anglo-Saxon, the language of writs and charters.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD I. (CŒUR DE LION.)

1189—1199.

THE title of Richard to the crown of England was so clear that he remained for more than a month in France after the death of his father, during which time the orders which he sent over to England were punctually obeyed. His first act was to direct the liberation of his mother queen Eleanor from the prison in which she had lain for some years, and he gave her permission to set at liberty such other prisoners as she chose. To those who had been faithful and loyal servants and subjects to his father he manifested the utmost favor, while those who had aided him in his own rebellion were forbidden even to appear in his presence. Having received the ducal crown of Normandy and done homage to king Philip, he at length sailed for England, and landing at Portsmouth, (Aug. 13,) proceeded to London in order to be there crowned.

On the 3d of September king Richard was consecrated in the abbey of Westminster, by Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury. He thence proceeded to the hall to hold his feast. Some of the leading Jews, as deputies from their afflicted race, (though, fearful of their magic arts, the king had forbidden their presence by proclamation,) ventured to enter the hall bearing gifts after the manner of the East. A Christian struck one of them at the door; the courtiers then fell on them, robbed them, and drove them out; the word flew that the king had given orders for the massacre of the Jews; they were slaughtered in the streets, their houses were burnt, their women and children cast into the flames. The king directed a judicial inquiry

to be made, and a few of the ringleaders were taken and hanged; but so many of the principal citizens had been implicated, that it was not deemed prudent to search too closely into the matter.

Richard had taken the cross, and his martial ardor and chivalrous spirit of religion urged him to lead to the East an army worthy the magnitude of his dominions. To raise the needful funds was now his care. In his father's coffers he found 100,000 marks, besides plate and jewels. He sold the manors and other domains of the crown; he put the offices of the state to sale; the bishop of Durham purchased the office of justiciary for 1000 marks; the same prelate also bought the earldom of Northumberland from the needy king, who jestingly observed that he had made a young earl of an old bishop; for the sum of 10,000 marks he restored to his Scottish vassal the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, and released him from all agreements which the late king had "extorted by new charters and by means of his captivity."* To those who remonstrated with him, the king replied that he would sell the city of London if he could find a purchaser. All these modes of raising money not sufficing, he, with the pope's permission, took money in lieu of service from those who, having assumed the cross, preferred remaining at home: he borrowed large sums from his wealthy subjects, and he made those who had committed offences pay dearly for impunity.

Richard appointed the bishop of Durham, and William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the chancellor and papal legate, to govern the kingdom during his absence in the East. He sought to secure the fidelity of his brother John by heaping on him wealth and honors; he gave him eight castles with their lands, and made him earl of not less than six counties, and he married him to Alisa the heiress of the wealthy earl of Gloucester. For greater security he exacted from him and his natural brother Geoffrey, now archbishop of York, an oath to remain in Normandy till his return; from which, however, he imprudently released them before his departure.

Ere the king set out, the zeal of the warriors of the Cross in England once more directed itself against the ill-fated

* This was no renunciation of feudal superiority, as has been erroneously supposed, for it is added, "So, however, that he shall fully and entirely perform to us whatever his brother Malcolm king of Scotland did of right perform, and of right ought to perform to our predecessors."

people of Israel. At Norwich, Stamford, and elsewhere many of them were butchered; at York they fled into the castle for refuge after the wives and children of many had been massacred before their eyes. When the governor, who was absent, arrived, they declined admitting him, alleging their necessity. He broke out into a rage, and cheered on the populace to the assault; the priests also urged them; a hermit clad in white led them on, and the castle was besieged for some days. Seeing the hopelessness of resistance, a rabbi advised his brethren to make a voluntary surrender of their lives to their God rather than fall into the hands of their cruel foes. A few only dissented; the rest collected and destroyed their jewels and other articles of value; they then set fire to the castle, and while it burned, Jocen, the most honorable man among them, cut the throat of his wife; his example was followed by all; Jocen then destroyed himself, and the others did likewise. The few who shrank from voluntary death met their doom next morning from the people. All the bonds of Christians to Jews which were deposited in the cathedral were taken and burnt. Glanville the great justiciary was sent to inquire into the affair, but three persons only were punished.

Our limits do not permit us to enter into the details of king Richard's crusade. In the end of June, 1190, he and the king of France reviewed their troops, 100,000 in number, on the plains of Vezelay. They thence marched to embark at different ports, and they met again at Messina in Sicily. The sister of Richard had been married to the late king of this island, but his natural uncle Tancred, who had usurped the throne, had refused to pay the queen her dowry, and had even cast her into prison. Honor and natural affection urged Richard to demand justice for his sister. Tancred sought to sow enmity between him and king Philip; but after a good deal of altercation Richard became reconciled to Tancred, who yielded to all his demands, and to whose daughter he engaged his nephew Arthur in marriage. When Philip called on him to perform his marriage with the princess Alice, he gave a positive refusal, offering to prove that she had borne a child to his father; and Philip, probably aware of the truth of what he alleged, forbore to press him. Shortly after queen Eleanor arrived, leading with her Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, whom he had wooed while he was residing in Guienne, and Philip gave his consent to the marriage

Richard sailed from Messina, taking with him his wife and sister. On his way to Syria he made the conquest of the isle of Cyprus; he found the king of France and the other Christian princes with a numerous army of pilgrims beleaguering the city of Acre, while sultan Saladin lay close at hand with his forces. In about a month after the arrival of the English king the garrison surrendered, two thousand five hundred of them being to remain as hostages till the sultan should release an equal number of Christian prisoners and pay a sum of 200,000 byzants. The king of France then went home, leaving a part of his troops behind, and some difficulty or delay arising about the payment of the ransom, king Richard had his prisoners brought out and coolly massacred in view of the sultan's camp. He then led his army along the coast toward Jaffa. Near Arsoof he defeated the troops of Saladin, who then destroyed Ascalon at his approach. Negotiations for peace were carried on; a marriage between the queen of Sicily and Malek-el-Adel, the sultan's brother, was proposed, but no treaty could be effected; the Christian army came within view of Jerusalem, and then retired, owing to dissensions among their chiefs. At length a truce for three years was made with the sultan, and, the pilgrims having visited the Holy City, the king of England embarked with a small retinue at Acre (Oct. 9, 1192) to return to his dominions. During the sixteen months of his abode in the East he had performed such feats of personal valor that his name long continued to be a word of terror among the Saracens, but the waywardness and inconsistency of his character had prevented him from gaining the esteem or respect of any.

We must now take a view of what was passing meantime in England. Soon after the king's departure, Longchamp arrested his colleague the bishop of Durham, and forced him to resign his earldom and his other dignities. He assumed the greatest pomp and state, treated the kingdom as if it were his own, bestowed all places in church and state on his relations and dependants. In his progresses through the kingdom he was attended by a guard of one thousand five hundred mercenaries, and nobles and knights appeared in his train. The king, hearing of this conduct while he was at Messina, appointed the archbishop of Rouen, the earl of Strigul, and three other knights to be his counsellors, in order to restrain him; but such was their dread of Longchamp that they did not even venture to show him their commission. At length he dared to drag

Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, from the sanctuary of a church, and cast him into prison; and while the general indignation was strong against him for this act, prince John summoned a great council at Reading, before which he was cited to appear. He shut himself up in the tower of London, but want of provisions forcing him to surrender he was deprived of his offices, and fearing to remain he made his escape to France in the dress of a woman. The office of justiciary was now conferred on the archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of great moderation and virtue. Longchamp, whose legantine commission had been renewed, kept threatening to lay the kingdom under interdict; and the king of France, who was now returned, though he had sought in vain to prevail on the pope to release him from the oath which he had made to Richard not to make any attempt on his dominions during his absence, was preparing to invade Normandy. The refusal of his nobles to aid him in so unjust an enterprise obliging him to desist, he tried to gain over prince John by the offer of the hand of his sister Alice and the possession of king Richard's dominions in France; but the influence of his mother and the menaces of the English council retained that prince, though unwillingly, in his allegiance.

News now arrived that king Richard lay a captive in Germany. Having suffered shipwreck in the Adriatic, he was proceeding under an assumed name through Germany, when (Dec. 20) he was discovered and arrested at an inn in a small town near Vienna, by the duke of Austria, whom he had grossly insulted when in Syria. The duke lost no time in informing the emperor Henry VI. of his prize, and at Christmas he proceeded with his captive to Ratisbon, where the emperor kept that festival, and engaged to give him up to him at the ensuing Easter. The emperor sent forthwith to inform the king of France, who now resolved to take every advantage of Richard's calamity. He offered the emperor a large sum of money to detain him in captivity; by insisting on a calumnious tale of Richard's having procured the murder of the marquess of Montferrat in the East, and even plotted against his own life; he induced his nobles to join in an invasion of Normandy; and having held a conference with prince John, he engaged him to aid in stripping his captive brother and benefactor of his dominions. Their iniquitous project, however, failed: Philip, after making himself master of a part of Normandy, was forced to raise the siege of Rouen, and conclude a truce

with the English regency. John, whose scene of operation was England, having seized the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, proceeded to London to claim the crown, asserting that his brother was dead; but the nobles rejected his claim with contempt, knowing what he said to be false; and the justiciary, having assembled an army, forced him to beg a truce; not thinking himself safe in England, he fled to his ally the king of France.

When the English nobles heard of the captivity of their king, they assembled in council at Oxford, (Feb. 28, 1193,) and resolved that the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert should proceed to Germany to learn his situation. The abbots met the king in Bavaria on his way to Mentz,* where he was given up (March 23) to the emperor by the duke of Austria. In the mean while Richard's wife and sister, who were at Rome, were urgent with the pope to use his power in his behalf; queen Eleanor also wrote pressing letters to him in favor of her son. By her advice Richard offered to hold his crown in fee of the emperor and to pay him 5000*l.* a-year as tribute.

At Easter Henry brought the king of England before the diet of the empire, and there accused him: of aiding his enemy Tancred of Sicily; of having deposed the king of Cyprus, a relative of the emperor; of having caused the marquess Conrad, a vassal of the empire, to be assassinated; of having ill-treated German pilgrims, insulted the banner of the duke of Austria, betrayed the Holy Land to Saladin, and committed sundry acts of disloyalty against his liege the king of France. From all these charges Richard defended himself with spirit and dignity; his eloquence drew tears from some of those who were present, and the emperor embracing him promised him his friendship. He was assigned an abode at Mentz befitting his rank, and on the 29th of June his ransom was agreed on. He was to pay down 100,000 marks of silver, and give sixty hostages to the emperor and seven to the duke for the payment of a further sum of 50,000, of which 20,000 were to go to the duke, to whose son he was to give his niece Eleanor of Brittany in marriage. To raise the money a scutage of twenty shillings was imposed on every knight's fee in England, a tallage was laid on the towns, and the clergy gave their plate, and otherwise contributed largely. Before Christmas, queen Eleanor and the bishop of Rouen

* See Appendix (L)

set out with the money for Germany; but new difficulties were raised by the emperor, to whom the king of France and prince John had made the most lavish promises to induce him to detain his captive for another year. But Eleanor appealed to the princes of the empire, and on the 4th of February, 1194, after more than a year's captivity, king Richard was set at liberty, and on the 13th of March he landed at Sandwich in his own dominions. When the king of France heard of his liberation he wrote to prince John in these words—"Take care of yourself; the devil is unchained."

On king Richard's entrance into London, the citizens, we are told, made such a display of their wealth to testify their joy, that one of the Germans who were with him could not help saying, "If our emperor had known the riches of England, thy ransom, O king, would have been far greater." After passing but three days in London, Richard went to lay siege to prince John's castle of Nottingham; and on its surrender he held there a great council, in which all prince John's possessions were declared to be forfeited if he did not appear within forty days to justify himself. It was further resolved, that to wipe off as it were the stain of captivity, the king should be crowned anew. The ceremony was performed at Winchester, (April 17.) Richard then embarked his troops on board one hundred ships for the war against the king of France, and landed at Barfleur.

The war, like most of those of the time, consisted merely of skirmishes and taking of castles on both sides. Prince John, who was at Evreux, resolved to throw himself on his brother's mercy. Ever base and treacherous, he invited the officers of the French garrison to dinner, and massacred them while at the entertainment, then with the aid of the townsmen he fell on and slaughtered the garrison. He threw himself at his brother's feet imploring forgiveness; queen Eleanor interceded, and Richard pardoned him, saying, "I forgive him, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will my pardon." He did not, however, as yet restore him his possessions.

The war was terminated by a truce, (July 23d,) on the expiration of which it was again resumed, and during the short remnant of king Richard's reign it was only occasionally intermitted. That monarch's death occurred in the following manner: Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, who was his vassal, having found a treasure of ancient coins, sent the king a part as a present; but Richard, as superior

lord, claimed the whole, and, on the viscount's refusal to surrender it, he placed himself at the head of a body of Brabançons, and laid siege to his castle of Chaluz. As he and Marcadee, the leader of his mercenaries, were one day taking a view of the castle, one of the garrison, named Bertram de Gourdon, discharged a bolt from his crossbow which hit the king in the left shoulder. Richard returned to his tent and gave orders for the assault; the castle was taken, and, as the king had menaced, all its defenders were hanged except Gourdon, who was probably reserved for a more cruel fate. But the want of skill of his surgeon had rendered the king's wound mortal, and feeling the approach of death he summoned Gourdon to his presence. "Wretch!" said he, "what have I ever done to thee, that thou shouldst seek my life?" "You have killed," replied he, "with your own hands my father and two brothers, and you intended to hang me; I am now in your power, and you may torment me as you will, but I shall endure with joy, happy in having rid the world of such a pest." The king, struck with his reply, ordered him a sum of money and his liberty; but Marcadee, unknown to him, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died on the tenth day, expressing great penitence for his vices, and having undergone a severe flagellation at his own desire from the clergy who attended him.

The epithet of Lion-heart (*Cœur de Lion*) which his courage procured for him, has apparently been the cause of investing this prince with qualities to which he had little claim; as we (erroneously we believe) couple magnanimity and generosity with an idea of the courage of the monarch of the woods. But Richard was in reality selfish, passionate, cruel, revengeful, and capricious; he had all his father's bad, and few of his good qualities. Like him, however, he had a fondness for the Gay Science, or lyric poetry of the South of France, and he even practised that art himself; and like him too he had a ready wit, and could express himself with eloquence.* No monarch drew larger sums from his subjects' purses, and for this purpose he scrupled at neither violence nor meanness.

In the latter part of this king's reign (1196) a riot took

* In his war with the king of France, the bishop of Beauvais, who fought against him, was made a prisoner. The pope wrote requiring him to pity his dear son. Richard sent him the prelate's coat of mail, with these words, "Lo! this we found; see if this be thy son's coat or not." "No, not my son's," said the pontiff, "but of some son of Mars, who may deliver him if he can."

place in London excited by one William Fitz-Osbert, surnamed Longbeard, "the patriarch," says Hallam, "of a long line of city-demagogues," styling himself the advocate of the people. The cause was the heavy taxes imposed by the king for his war in France, which Longbeard asserted to be necessary, but maintained that they were eluded by the rich and great, and thrown entirely on the poor. He went over to France to the king; on his return he resumed his agitation, and so inflamed the people by his speeches from St. Paul's Cross, that no less than 52,000 persons bound themselves to obey his orders. Archbishop Hubert, however, assembled the citizens, and prevailed on them to give him hostages. Fitz-Osbert clove with an axe the head of the officer sent to arrest him, and then took refuge in the tower of the church of St. Mary le Bow; but the church was set on fire, and as he attempted to escape he was stabbed by the son of the man whom he had slain, and was then dragged to Tyburn, and there hung from the Elms. Miracles were, as usual, said by his partisans to have been wrought at his grave.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN (LACKLAND.)

1199—1216.

KING Richard, it is said, left his dominions to his brother John, though Arthur duke of Brittany, as representative of his father Geoffrey, was, by the feudal law, the next heir, and had already been regarded as such by the king his uncle. But, as we have seen, the principles of primogeniture and representation had been hitherto little attended to in the Anglo-Norman line, and Richard may have thought his nephew (who was but twelve years of age) too young, or, as is more probable, he may have been influenced by queen Eleanor, who hated Constance, the mother of Arthur, and feared the power she might acquire during the minority.

To secure England John sent thither his fast friends, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl-marshal William earl of Strigul, and he induced Robert de Turnham, who held the castle of Chinon, where the late king's treasure was deposited, to yield it up to him. Normandy, Poitou, and

Guienne submitted, but Anjou, Maine, and Touraine declared for Arthur, whose side the king of France also took, with the design of embarrassing John, and he sent the young duke to Paris to be brought up with his own son Louis. Meantime the primate and the earl-marshal had held a conference with the English nobility and clergy, and by presents and by promises of good government had prevailed on them to swear allegiance to John. On his arrival he was crowned (May 27) by the primate at Westminster, and shortly after he recrossed the sea to carry on the war against the king of France.

The war, as usual, consisted in the taking of castles, and the making of truces. William des Roches, the governor of the young duke of Brittany, perceiving that Philip was making the cause of that prince merely the stalking-horse to his own ambition, carried him and his mother away, and reconciled them with king John. Erelong, however, Constance, fearing for the life of her son, fled with him to Angers. As John, by an alliance with the emperor of Germany and the earl of Flanders, was now too powerful for king Philip, who was also embroiled with the pope, the latter gladly consented to a peace. Louis, son to the French king, espoused Blanche of Castile, the English king's niece, whom queen Eleanor conducted out of Spain for the purpose. He was to receive Berri and Auvergne, and a dowry of 20,000 marks with her. Philip, on his part, abandoned the cause of prince Arthur, who lost, in consequence, the provinces he claimed, and had, moreover, to do homage to his uncle for Brittany.

Being now secure in his dominions, John, who never knew a moral or religious restraint, proceeded by his disregard of justice to raise up new enemies for himself. He fell in love with Isabel, the beautiful daughter of his vassal the count of Angoulême, and though she was actually betrothed to the count of La Marche, and his own wife the heiress of Gloucester was living, he resolved to espouse her. He therefore made the discovery that himself and his wife were too near akin; and the archbishop of Bordeaux and two other prelates, to whom the pope committed the inquiry, declared the marriage void. Her father having meantime stolen away Isabel from the count of La Marche, the bishop of Bordeaux performed the marriage ceremony. John conducted his bride into England, where she was crowned with him at Westminster, (Oct. 8, 1200.) The count of La Marche, though John was his superior lord, would not tamely brook the affront thus offered to him. Aided by his brother the count d'Eu, and

secretly encouraged by the king of France, he induced the Poitevins to revolt. John summoned his English barons to cross the sea and reduce the rebels; they refused, unless he engaged to restore and respect their privileges. They were, however, forced to yield, and either serve or pay him two marks for every knight's fee. Soon after his landing he had an interview with the king of France, in which they renewed their treaty of amity, and at the desire of the latter, John and his young queen went and passed a few days at Paris, where Philip resigned his own palace to them. John then proceeded against the rebels, but instead of attacking them he entered into negotiations, promising them justice; and having thus pacified them a little, he returned to Rouen, where he spent the rest of the year in festivity.

The Poitevin barons, wearied with the duplicity of John, appealed to Philip as the superior lord, (1202;) and this prince being now on good terms with the church, flung off the mask and declared himself their protector. He also espoused the cause of Arthur, (whose mother Constance had lately died,) and knighted him and gave him his daughter Mary in marriage. At an interview between the two kings, Philip required that John should resign to his nephew his French provinces, and make sufficient satisfaction to the count of La Marche. John refused these terms, and a war ensued. Philip rapidly made himself master of several towns and fortresses in Normandy. The young duke of Brittany put himself at the head of two hundred lances and set out for Poitou. On his way, hearing that his enemy queen Eleanor was at a castle named Mirebeau, and but slenderly guarded, he resolved to endeavor to secure her person. He carried by assault the lower part of the castle, and was hard pressing the queen, when John, who, on learning the danger of his mother, had advanced rapidly with some troops to her aid, was seen approaching. Arthur, who had been joined by the count of La Marche and other nobles, advanced to give him battle, but they were defeated and driven back to Mirebeau, where they were miserably slaughtered, and Arthur, his sister Eleanor, the count of La Marche, the viscounts of Limoges, Thouars, and Lusignan, and two hundred knights were made prisoners. The latter were laden with irons, tied on carts drawn by oxen, and sent to different fortresses in England and Normandy; twenty-two of them were actually starved to death at Corfe Castle. The princess was shut up in a convent at Bristol, where she remained a captive for forty years; the young duke was confined for the present at Falaise. The

king of France, who was besieging Arques, retired on the news of this disaster.

The fate of Arthur is involved in mystery; the belief of the time respecting it seems to have been as follows: on his return to Normandy John repaired to Falaise, where he had an interview with his nephew, whom he required to renounce his alliance with the French king, and be reconciled to his uncle and natural friend. The gallant but imprudent youth replied with great spirit, demanding the cession, not alone of the French provinces, but of England, to him as the rightful heir. John retired, now fully resolved on his destruction. Some of John's counsellors suggested the ordinary expedient of blinding and mutilating him, but the king deemed death the surest course. He proposed his assassination to William de Bray, who replied that he was a gentleman, not a hangman, and refused. A ready agent was soon found and despatched to Falaise, but Hubert de Bourg, the governor of the castle, said he would execute the order himself, and then, to save the prince, spread a report of his death. John, however, was not to be cheated of his prey; he had the prince removed to the New Tower on the banks of the Seine at Rouen. One night (Apr. 3) Arthur was roused from his repose at midnight, and ordered to come out of the tower in which he lay. The king and his equerry Walter de Mauluc were seated in a small boat at the foot of the tower; the prince entered the boat; the lowering countenance of his uncle spoke his fate; he threw himself on his knees, and with floods of tears sued for mercy; in vain! he was seized by the hair, and a dagger pierced his bosom; but whether John himself or Mauluc (who received the heiress of Mulgref and her estates as his reward) was the actual assassin, remains in doubt. A stone was fastened to the body, which was then flung into the Seine.*

This murder lost John a third of his dominions. The Breton barons met at Vannes, and sent deputies to accuse him before his superior lord the king of France. Philip forthwith summoned him to appear and answer before his peers to the charge of having murdered an *arrière-vassal* of the crown of France, his own nephew and vassal, whom he was bound to protect, and who was son-in-law of the lord paramount to whom he owed honor as well as fealty. John sent requiring a safe conduct. Philip said, "Let him come

* The murder of Arthur is certain; the manner or the agent is of little importance.

in peace." "But," replied the envoys, "a safe conduct to return?" "Be it so," said he, "if the judgment of his peers allow it." They urged that their master was also king of England, and that his subjects there might not allow him thus to expose himself. "What is it to me?" said Philip; "is not the duke of Normandy my vassal? If he has chosen to gain a higher title, I am not thereby to lose my rights over him." As John did not appear, he was pronounced by the court to be contumacious, condemned to death, and declared to have forfeited all the territories he held of the king of France. Nothing could be more accordant with justice on feudal principles than was this sentence, though Philip in seeking it was probably actuated more by ambition than by a sense of equity. The following spring, (1203) Philip assembled an army to carry the sentence into effect, and aided by the remissness of John and the general horror which the murder of his nephew had caused, he speedily stripped him of all his continental dominions except Guienne. Queen Eleanor died during these events (1204) at an advanced age, having lived to witness the decline of the monarchy, to whose greatness she had so largely contributed. The question whether the Capetians or the Plantagenets were to predominate in France was now finally settled in favor of the former.

It was the misfortune of this most worthless prince that he always had to deal with enemies far superior to himself in ability, and to whom his vices and crimes gave a considerable advantage over him. Philip Augustus was perhaps the ablest man of the line of Capet that ever occupied the throne of France; but had not John basely murdered his nephew, he might never have found a pretext for stripping him of his transmarine dominions. In like manner the king's vices, by depriving him of the affections and support of his nobility, caused him to succumb in a contest with the Holy See, in which right was clearly on his side.

The papal throne was now filled by Innocent III., the ablest and most aspiring pontiff (Gregory VII. excepted) by whom it had ever been occupied. He had lately humbled the king of France and the emperor of Germany, and the death of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury now gave him an opportunity of trampling on the pusillanimous king of England. It had long been disputed between the suffragan bishops and the monks of St. Augustine, which had the right of electing to the primacy. On the death of Hubert, (1205,) the junior monks, anxious to anticipate the prelates, without even consulting their seniors, met at midnight in chapter, and con-

ferred the dignity on Reginald, their sub-prior, whom they instantly despatched to Rome to receive the papal confirmation, strictly charging him to keep the matter a most profound secret till he arrived at the Holy See. Reginald's vanity, however, got the better of his discretion; as soon as he reached Flanders he assumed the title and state of an archbishop; the news soon reached England; the king and the senior monks were incensed; the junior monks were ashamed, and to accommodate matters the chapter unanimously elected the bishop of Norwich. Fourteen of the monks were despatched to Rome to solicit the pontiff's approval; the suffragans also sent an agent to maintain their claims, and Reginald was now there in person. Innocent saw his opportunity for advancing the claim of the papacy to appoint to spiritual dignities. Setting aside the two elections as irregular, he ordered (1207) the monks to choose for their primate the cardinal Stephen Langton, who was an Englishman by birth, though educated abroad. They remonstrated, but in vain; they were forced to obey, one only, Elias de Brantefield, having the courage to persevere in his refusal.

To soothe the king, Innocent sent him a present of four gold rings set with precious stones, accompanied by a letter explaining their mystic meanings. He also wrote him a letter extolling, and with truth, the virtues and the learning of the new primate. John, however, was not to be soothed. Suspecting the monks of having played him false, he sent two of his knights to expel them from their monastery and seize their lands; and these knights, by threatening to burn their dwelling over their heads, forced them to depart and seek shelter in Flanders. John then wrote a very spirited and angry letter to the pontiff. Innocent replied in very bland terms, but hinting at the story of Thomas à Becket; and this was followed by an order to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to lay the kingdom under an interdict if John did not submit to the church. When they notified this to him, the other prelates with tears besought him to give way; but he swore by the teeth of God (his common oath) that if the pope did so he would send him the whole body of his clergy, bishops and all, and seize their estates to his own use, and that if in future he caught any Romans in his dominions he would put out their eyes and cut off their noses, as a mark by which they might be known. The pope and his adherents were, however, well aware that this was all idle vaunting; for John had so alienated the minds of his people by heavy and

arbitrary taxation, and of his nobles by seducing their wives and daughters, that he could not reckon on any aid from them. The interdict accordingly was pronounced, (1208.) John in return seized the estates of such of the clergy as obeyed it; he banished the prelates, and he confined the monks in their convents, giving them a mere pittance from their own revenues to support them. To gill the clergy still more, he cast into prison the concubines or inferior wives which they generally had, with the connivance of the Holy See, and required large sums as the price of their liberty. Such, we are assured, was the profligate desperation of John, that he sent two knights and a priest, named Robert of London, on a secret embassy to Malek-en-Nasir, the Almohade prince of Morocco, offering to hold his kingdom of him, and even, it is added, to embrace the faith of Islam, if he would aid him in the conflict for his crown which he foresaw. The Moslem, however, rejected the offer with contempt.*

After a year's trial of the effect of the interdict, the pontiff proceeded to the ultimate course of excommunication, (1209.) But the bishops to whom the publication of it was committed, feared the king too much to obey; and Innocent, having waited a little, sent two legates, Pandolf and Durand, to England, who, on John's spurning at the claim of the church to his obedience in things temporal as well as things spiritual, fulminated the sentence, (1211.) On the return of the legates (1212) Innocent pronounced a sentence of deposition against John, which he directed the king of France to execute, promising him as his reward the crown of England, and (what, perhaps, Philip valued less) the forgiveness of all his sins.

Philip, having summoned all his vassals to his standard, assembled a large army at Rouen, and a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels was collected to transport it to England. John, on his side, prepared for defence; he directed his sea-ports to send their shipping to Portsmouth, and he issued orders to all his vassals to appear in arms at Dover, for the defence of the realm. Such numbers came that provisions ran short; and the king, having selected sixty thousand of the best armed and appointed, dismissed the remainder. This army, though brave, could not, however, be relied on: its patriotism was chilled by superstition; it hated and despised the prince whose cause it sustained. The agents of the court of Rome (which wished to humble John rather than to

* The story is told by Paris, who had often heard Robert relating the particulars

aggrandize Philip) saw their advantage ; Pandolf, who was in France, sent two templars to John to propose a private interview ; the king agreed to it, and they met at Dover. The artful legate then so worked on his fears by exaggerating the power of Philip, and showing him the extent of the disaffection of his own barons, that John in his terror declared himself ready to submit on any terms to the church. Pandolf required that he should acknowledge Langton, restore the other bishops, and make good all the temporal losses and damages they and the clergy in general had sustained during the contest ; and he finally recommended and required that, as a means of securing his kingdom against Philip, he should put it under the protection of the Holy See, by becoming its vassal in due form. To all these demands John assented without hesitation ; he forthwith passed a charter, making a surrender of England and Ireland to God, St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors, and agreeing to hold them of the see of Rome by the annual payment of 1000 marks. He then, (May 15,) in the church of the templars, and surrounded by his prelates and nobles, paid his homage in the usual manner to the legate, laying at his feet a part of the tribute, on which the haughty priest insolently trampled ; and though all present were offended, the archbishop of Dublin alone dared to express his feelings.

Pandolf returned to France, and having congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise, commanded him to dismiss his army, and not to molest a vassal of the Holy See. Philip, seeing that he had been made, at a great cost to himself, the mere tool of the pontiff's ambition, remonstrated and complained, but to no purpose. He then appealed to his barons ; and their superstition yielding to loyalty, love of fame and interest, they vowed to aid him in his attempt on England. The earl of Flanders (a secret ally of John's) having refused, Philip, swearing that France should be Flanders or Flanders France, invaded that province. But Longsword earl of Salisbury, John's natural brother, went over with the English fleet of five hundred sail, and attacking that of the French as it was moving along the coast, destroyed one hundred and took three hundred ships. Philip, unable to save the rest, was obliged to burn them himself, and thus abandon all hopes of the conquest of Flanders:

The court of Rome removed her anathemas in order, as she had laid them on in order. The sentence of deposition was taken off by admitting John to do homage. When he went to meet Langton and the prelates at Winchester, on their

return, he threw himself on the ground before them, and with tears implored them to have pity on him and the realm. The primate then led him into the chapter-house; and, having administered to him an oath of obedience to the pope and of good government of his kingdom, gave him absolution and admitted him to dine with him, to the great joy of the people. The interdict, however, was kept on till satisfaction for their losses should have been made to the clergy; the bishop of Tusculum, who came over as legate on this account, partially relaxed it by allowing mass to be performed with a low voice in the churches. When inquiry was made, the clergy rated their losses at a sum which amazed the king; he offered one hundred thousand marks for a receipt in full; they refused, but the pope directed his legate to be content with forty thousand. The result was that the superior clergy were indemnified, while the claims of the inferior clergy were treated with neglect. The legate at length (June 29, 1214) took off the interdict, which had lain on the kingdom for upwards of six years.

An extensive confederacy against the king of France having been formed by the sovereigns of Germany and England, and the earls of Flanders, Toulouse, and other princes, John landed an army at La Rochelle and recovered Poitou. But the battle of Bouvines, (July 27,) in which Philip with a far inferior force defeated 150,000 Germans, Flemings, and English, dissipated all the prospects of John. On receiving the news of this disaster he reëmbarked his troops without delay, having obtained a five years' truce from the king of France.

In his contests with the pope and the king of France, John had met with nothing but loss, disgrace, and humiliation. It only remained for him to be humbled by his own subjects. The author and prime mover of the resistance to the arbitrary power of the crown, which laid the true foundation of English liberty, was the primate Langton; and since it is not given to us to read the heart of man, and we can only judge of his motives by his acts, we may not with justice deem the prelate to have been actuated by any motives but love of equity and sincere patriotism, and his name should therefore be always held in veneration by the lovers of their country.

Langton thus proceeded. In the oath which he administered to the king previous to his absolution, (July 20, 1213,) he made him swear to restore the good laws of king Edward. On the 4th of August following, in a council held at St

Albans under Fitz-Peters the justiciary, orders were given that the laws of Henry I. should be followed; and on the 25th of the same month, at a meeting of prelates and barons at St. Paul's in London, Langton showed them that monarch's charter, and explained to them its applicability to their grievances. John, on hearing of this, despatched an envoy with a large sum of money to Rome, and Innocent, deeming it to be for his interest to support his vassal against his barons, sent, as we have seen, the bishop of Tusculum to England. The affair of compensation to the clergy occupied the time till the king's expedition to France; and shortly after his return the barons held a large meeting at the abbey of St. Edmundsbury, (November 20, 1214,) where Langton again exerted his eloquence, and they swore on the high altar to make war on the king till he should confirm their liberties by a charter. On the festival of the Epiphany (Jan. 6, 1215) they repaired to the king at London and urged their demands, and he promised to give them his answer at Easter. In the interval he made some concessions to the church; he assumed the cross to secure to himself the privileges of a crusader, and he directed the sheriffs to make the freemen in their counties take the oath of allegiance. Both parties had sent to Rome, but the pontiff openly took the side of the king, and wrote a circular to the barons, enjoining them to cease from hostility.

In Easter week the barons, at the head of two thousand knights with their esquires and other attendants, met at Stamford, and on the Monday after (Apr. 27) advanced to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the king then lay. He sent the primate and the earls of Pembroke and Warrenne to ascertain their demands. They were the same as before; the king with an angry sneer cried, "And why do they not also demand my kingdom?" He then in a fury swore that he never would grant liberties which would make him a slave. He sent back the mediators with some offers, which the barons regarding as evasions would not hearken to. Pandolf and the bishop of Exeter insisted that the primate was bound to excommunicate the barons; he replied, that if the king did not dismiss his foreign troops, he should deem it his duty to excommunicate *them*. John finally sent, offering to leave all matters to the decision of the pope, and of eight persons to be chosen by the barons and himself. This also they refused; they proclaimed themselves to be the army of God and of Holy Church, appointed Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general, and commenced operations by investing

Northampton. After spending fifteen days before it, they raised the siege and advanced to Bedford, which Beauchamp, its governor, delivered up to them, and hither deputies came inviting them to London. They set out at once, marched all night, and reached that city in the morning, (May 24.) It being Sunday the citizens were in the churches, but the gate named Aldgate stood open to admit them, and they occupied the city without opposition.

They now summoned all those who adhered to the king, or had not yet declared themselves, to join them, under the penalty of being treated as public enemies. Numbers immediately flocked to them. "It is needless," say the writers, "to name the barons who composed the army of God and of Holy Church: they were the whole nobility of England." John, who was now at Odiham in Hampshire with a retinue of but seven knights, seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to dissemble. While he in secret wrote to excite the pope against them, he affected to yield to their demands with cheerfulness. At Merton (June 8) he granted a safe-conduct to the deputies of the barons, who were to meet him at Staines, and on Trinity Monday (June 15) both parties appeared on the mead named Runnymede, on the banks of the Thames, between Staines and Windsor. On the one side stood Fitz-Walter and the flower of the English nobility; on the other the king, attended by Pandolf the legate, eight bishops, and fifteen barons and knights. The barons presented in writing the heads of their grievances, and of the means of redress; these were, according to usage, reduced to the form of a charter, signed by the king, (June 19,) and issued as a royal grant, and copies were sent all through the kingdom. Aware of the king's perfidy, the barons further required that all foreign officers and their families should be sent out of the realm; the city and Tower of London be left in their hands till the 15th of August; and a committee of twenty-five barons be appointed as guardians of the charter, with power to make war on the king if he violated it. When the king had assented, the barons renewed their homage.

By the Great Charter, (*Magna Charta*), as it is named, the church was secured in its liberties and rights, the barons were relieved by the regulation of the feudal burdens of aids, scutages, wardships, etc., and their sub-vassals were assured the same advantages by their lords; London and the other cities and boroughs were guaranteed their ancient liberties and usages, and secured against arbitrary taxation; foreign merchants were protected; no man was to be imprisoned or

outlawed but "by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land." Again, says the king, "We will sell, delay, or deny justice to none;" and to regulate fines it is added, "A freeman shall be amerced according to his offence saving his freehold, a merchant saving his merchandise, and a villain saving his wagonage." The court of Common Pleas was to be stationary; the forest-laws were mitigated.

Such is a faint outline of this celebrated charter, the foundation on which the noble edifice of English liberty was raised; for it contains the germ of every subsequent improvement that has been made. The names of Langton, Fitz-Walter, and the other eminent men who forced it from a reluctant tyrant, must be held in everlasting honor; for they thought not of themselves alone; they cast the shield of protection over the rights and interests of all, even of the stranger. The blessings which have flowed from Magna Charta are hardly to be appreciated. To use the glowing words of a philosopher and an historian: * "To all mankind it set the first example of the progress of a great people for centuries, in blending their tumultuary democracy and haughty nobility with a fluctuating and vaguely-limited monarchy, so as at length to form from these discordant materials the only form of free government which experience had shown to be reconcilable with widely-extended dominions. Whoever, in any future age or unborn nation, may admire the felicity of the expedient which converted the power of taxation into the shield of liberty; by which discretionary and secret imprisonment was rendered impracticable; and portions of the people were trained to exercise a larger share of judicial power than was ever allotted to them in any other civilized state, in such a manner as to secure instead of endangering public tranquillity; — whoever exults at the spectacle of enlightened and independent assemblies, who, under the eye of a well-informed nation, discuss and determine the laws and policy likely to make communities great and happy; — whoever is capable of comprehending all the effects of such institutions, with all their possible improvements, upon the mind and genius of a people, is sacredly bound to speak with reverential gratitude of the authors of the Great Charter. To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind."

* Mackintosh, History of England, i. 221. See also Hallam's judicious remarks on this subject.

John had behaved to his barons with the utmost courtesy, and even signed the charter with a smile. But when they were gone, he gave vent to his smothered rage; he cursed the day of his birth, gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, gnawed sticks and straws, acting like a maniac. He then began to think on revenge; he sent to implore the aid of his liege lord at Rome, and he despatched some of his friends to hire for him bodies of the mercenaries now so numerous in France and Flanders. Meantime the barons, in the exultation of success, had appointed a splendid tournament to be holden at Stamford on the 2d of July; when, to their surprise, they learned that it was the king's intention to take advantage of their absence at it, to seize the city of London. They put off the tournament, and sent to the king at Winchester, who laughed at their suspicions. Various conferences were appointed; the king, who only sought to gain time, eluded them: at length (September 1) he went to Dover to meet the mercenaries, who now were flocking fast to his standard. The barons in alarm directed William d'Albini to occupy the castle of Rochester; the king forthwith laid siege to it: as the castle was unprovided with stores, Albini was obliged to surrender, (November 30.) John was about to hang the whole garrison, but the leader of his mercenaries, who feared retaliation, prevented him. However, though he spared the knights, he executed their followers.

While engaged in the siege of Rochester, John learned that, as he expected, the pontiff had declared in his favor, and absolved him from his oaths. As the barons took no heed of the Holy Father's mandates, he formally excommunicated them by name, (December 16,) declaring them to be worse than Saracens. The king, on his side, having divided his army at St. Alban's, sent his brother, the earl of Salisbury, with one part to ravage the eastern counties, while he marched in person with the remainder northwards. The northern barons at his approach (January, 1216) set fire to their houses and corn, and fled into Scotland, to whose king they did homage. John ravaged the country in a most dreadful manner; the inhabitants were tortured, massacred, and pillaged; castles, towns, and villages were burnt, the king usually giving the example by setting fire in the morning to the house in which he had passed the night. He penetrated to Edinburgh, wasting and destroying Scotland also. Similar atrocities were perpetrated by the earl of Salisbury and the hordes he commanded.

The barons, who were now at London, seeing the king at

the head of a force which they could not resist, their castles taken, and their lands granted away to the leaders of mercenaries, resolved, after some days' anxious deliberation, to call in foreign aid; and they sent to offer the crown to Louis, son of the king of France, the husband of the princess Blanche. Louis, setting at nought the anathema launched at him by the pontiff, sailed from Calais with a fleet of six hundred and eighty ships, and landed (May 30) at Sandwich. John, who lay with his army at Dover, had retired to Bristol, wasting the country on his way. Louis advanced to London, where he received (June 2) the homage of his new subjects. John's mercenaries now left him in great numbers; several of his barons went and did homage to Louis; among them was his brother, the earl of Salisbury, whose wife the tyrant had debauched. He also lost his main support, the pope, who died at this time, (July 16;) the legate Gualo, however, was strenuous in his cause, and he still held all the fortresses in the kingdom. Louis awakened the suspicions of the English barons by grants to his own followers, and it was whispered that he had a design to destroy them as traitors. John made lavish promises; many barons went over to him; his affairs were brightening, when, as he was crossing the Wash on his way from Lynn, the wagons containing his treasure were swallowed up by the tide and the stream of the Welland. He came with a heavy heart to the monastery of Swinestead, where he was seized by a fever, caused by anxiety or a surfeit, or as some said by poison; and four days after (October 19) he breathed his last at Newark, in the forty-ninth year of his age, leaving behind him a character equally odious, despicable, and atrocious, his numerous vices being unredeemed by a single good or great quality.

With respect to John's surrender of his kingdom to the pope, we must in justice observe that it derived much of the odium which attaches to it from his personal character, and from the future encroachments of the papal see. His nobles assented to it, and never made it a ground of reproach to him. His father had at one time offered to do the same, the king of Aragon had done it, so had the Norman monarchs of Naples and Sicily, and his brother Richard had declared himself a vassal of the empire. Vassalage, we must recollect, was no dishonor in those days, even to the highest

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY III. (OF WINCHESTER.)

1216—1272.

HENRY, called of Winchester, the place of his birth, the heir to the throne, was but ten years of age when his father died. The prelates and the barons of the royal party resolved on his immediate coronation, and the ceremony was performed at Gloucester (Oct. 28) in the presence of the legate; the young monarch at the same time doing homage and swearing fealty to the pontiff. On account of his tender years, the care of his person and the government of the realm were committed to the earl of Pembroke, earl-marshal, with the title of Guardian of the Kingdom.

Henry, though a child, was a more formidable rival to Louis than his father had been. His tender years inspired pity. "We have persecuted the father for evil demeanor, and worthily," said the marshal at the coronation; "but this young child whom ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he innocent of his father's doings." The marshal himself was a man of great probity, talent, and energy; the legate had directions to uphold the minor's cause with all his authority. The Great Charter was confirmed in a council holden at Bristol, (Nov. 12,) and their liberties were secured to all who should return to their allegiance; and soon the earl of Salisbury, William d'Albiny, and several knights came and ranged themselves beneath the royal banner.

By the surrender of two castles the regent obtained from Louis a truce till the following Easter. On its expiration, (April 30, 1217,) as the royalists had laid siege to the castle of Montsorel, the troops of Louis and the barons, numbering six hundred knights and twenty thousand men, marched from London to its relief, wasting and plundering the country on their way. The royalists retired at their approach; and they entered Lincoln in triumph, and laid siege to the castle, which was defended by a heroine named Nichola de Camville. Pembroke assembled an army at Newark and marched to her relief. Deceived by the apparent magnitude of his forces, the hostile army remained in the town; and while by way of bravado they were pressing the siege of the castle, the regent's troops burst open one of the gates and entered the town; a sally was at the same time made from

the castle: assailed on all sides they were forced to give way, the common men were massacred without mercy, three earls, eleven barons, and two thirds of the knights were made captives. The town was given up to pillage; the women and children had sought refuge on board of the boats in the river, but their weight sank them, and most of the fugitives perished.

This victory, named The Fair of Lincoln, secured the crown to Henry. The only hopes of Louis now lay in the troops which his wife was collecting for him in France. These troops embarked (Aug. 24) on board of a fleet of eighty large and a great number of small vessels at Calais; but Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, put to sea with but forty ships, and boldly attacking them, gave them so total a defeat that but fifteen escaped. Louis was now obliged to seek his safety in negotiation. A treaty was signed at Lambeth, (Sept. 11,) by which he and his foreign troops were allowed to depart, and an amnesty was granted to his English adherents. The barons all returned to their allegiance, and the Great Charter was again confirmed.

The death of the able and virtuous earl-marshal, which occurred the very next year, (1219,) was a general misfortune. The custody of the royal person was then committed to Peter des Roches, a Poitevin whom John had made bishop of Winchester; the exercise of the royal authority was intrusted to Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. These ministers were rivals; the one favored the native families, the other united himself with the foreigners whom John had introduced into the kingdom. Pandolf, who was returned as legate, held the balance between them.

As a means of recovering the crown lands and the royal castles from those who held them, the legate, at the desire of De Burgh and the council, declared the young king of age (1223) to dispose of his lands, castles, and wards. Hubert instantly required the surrender of the royal castles; the earl of Albemarle and some others resisted, but Hubert levied troops, the legate caused them to be excommunicated, and they were obliged to submit. One of John's foreign favorites, named Fawkes de Breauté, who held the castle of Bedford, having had several verdicts found against him for the violent expulsion of persons from their lands, had the audacity to seize one of the judges, and imprison him at Bedford. As he was a partisan of Des Roches, the justiciary resolved that he should not go unpunished. He led a force, in which the king was present in person, and besieged

the castle of Bedford. After a brave defence it was forced to surrender; and, to deter others, all in it but the archers were hanged. Fawkes, who was at Chester, was forced to give himself up to the king's mercy; he was stripped of his property, and banished the kingdom with his family. Shortly after the bishop of Winchester also withdrew, under pretext of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Hubert now ruled without control for several years, and he every day augmented his wealth by the grants which he obtained from the crown. At length the aspect of his affairs began to change; Des Roches returned and was received with great favor by the king; complaints of Hubert's avarice and ambition were poured into the royal ear, and finally, (1232,) when, on occasion of an inroad of the Welsh, the king complained of want of money, it was hinted to him that, by making Hubert and his relations disgorge their gains, his wants might easily be supplied. Hubert was forthwith called on to account for the wardships, royal rents, and other revenues which had passed through his hands since he had been made justiciary. Conscious of guilt, or despairing of justice, he took sanctuary at Merton; by the king's orders the mayor of London set out at the head of twenty thousand citizens to drag him from the sanctuary; but he changed his mind, and gave him five months to prepare his defence. Hubert took advantage of his liberty to go to visit his wife at Bury St. Edmund's; a body of three hundred horse was sent to fetch him back and place him in the Tower; Hubert, who was in bed when he heard of their approach, jumped up and fled undressed as he was to the nearest church, where he stood on the steps of the altar, holding the host in one hand and a cross in the other. But his pursuers seized him, placed him on a horse, with his legs tied under the belly, and thus led him to London. The king, however, in awe of the church, sent him back to his sanctuary, giving the sheriff of Essex strict charge to seize him if he attempted to escape. A ditch and paling were made round the church, and on the fortieth day Hubert was forced to surrender himself. He was placed in the Tower, and then brought to trial; he made no defence, throwing himself on the mercy of the king. He was sentenced to forfeit the greater part of his property and to be confined in the castle of Devizes. But the next year, (1233,) on occasion of a quarrel between the king and his barons, the charge of this castle being given to a retainer of the bishop of Winchester, Hubert, fearing for his life, let himself drop down one night into the moat, and then took

refuge in a church. Here he was instantly besieged by the sheriff; but in a few days a party of horse came, who drove off the sheriff and conveyed Hubert to the earl of Pembroke in Wales; the next year, (1234,) when peace was made between the king and the barons, Hubert was restored to his estates and honors. It does not appear that he ever again engaged in affairs of state.

The rising of the barons which restored Hubert to liberty was caused by the insolence of the bishop of Winchester, who now engrossed the king's favor. This prelate invited over vast numbers of his countrymen; the chief offices of state were conferred on them, and the royal revenues were employed to enrich them. The indignant barons refused to attend the king's council unless the foreigners were dismissed; adding that, if the king persisted in favoring them, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and put the crown on a head more worthy to wear it. The king and bishop, however, by detaching some of the leading members, broke up their confederacy. William, earl-marshal, having fled to Ireland, orders were sent to the lords justices there, to send him "dead or alive" to England. As the shorter mode, they engaged, it is said, a surgeon, who was called in to cure some of his old wounds, to cauterize them in such a manner as to cause his death. Peter des Roches now went on in his violent course, dreading no opposition; the influence before which he fell came from a quarter whence perhaps he least expected it. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, attended by several other prelates, came to the king, and having set before him the dangerous consequences, both to himself and his people, of the course which he was pursuing, insisted on the dismissal of the foreigners, menacing an excommunication, in case of refusal. The king was terrified and submitted, the foreigners were banished, and a ministry was formed, in which the primate, a man of great prudence and integrity, was included.

A celebrated historian, and one who cannot be suspected of an undue partiality to the clergy, has thus expressed himself on an occasion similar to the present; and their conduct in this and the preceding reign amply confirms the truth of his observation.

"It must be acknowledged that the influence of the prelates and the clergy was often of great service to the public. Though the religion of that age can merit no better name than that of superstition, it served to unite together a body of men who had great sway over the people, and who kept the

community from falling to pieces by the factions and independent power of the nobles. And, what was of great importance, it threw a mighty authority into the hands of men who by their profession were averse to arms and violence, who tempered by their mediation the general disposition towards military enterprises, and who still maintained amidst the shock of arms those secret links without which it is impossible for human society to subsist."

But the evil from which the primate had delivered the kingdom speedily re-appeared. In 1236 the king married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence. Nothing, we are assured, could exceed the splendor of the queen's coronation, and all ranks vied with each other in their demonstrations of joy and loyalty. But a large number of foreigners appeared in her train, and the weak, good-natured king soon began to shower his favors on them. Her uncle William, the bishop elect of Valence, became prime minister; Richard, another uncle, received the honor of Richmond and the rich wardship of earl Warrenne; and Boniface, a third uncle, was made, on the death of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. Young ladies were brought over from Provence and married to the king's wealthy wards. Henry's own mother Isabella, who had married her first lover the count of La Marche, sent over her children by him, that they might have their share of the good things that were going, and the soft-hearted Henry took care to provide for them all.

The throne of France was at this time occupied by Louis IX., the most just and upright of sovereigns. His father Louis VIII. had bound himself to restore Normandy and Anjou; but so far from doing so, he had invaded and conquered Poitou. The troubles of the early part of Henry's reign had prevented him from making any efforts to recover his dominions; in 1230 he landed in person at St. Malo, and advanced as far as Nantes, but nothing of any importance occurred. Twelve years after, (1242,) the count of La Marche, having done homage to Alphonse, whom his brother the king of France had made count of Poitou, was so stung by the reproaches of his wife, that he returned to Poitiers and bade defiance to Alphonse. A war was the natural result; Isabella applied to her son for aid. Henry summoned a great council and demanded a supply of men and money; the barons told him it was his duty to observe the truce while it was observed by the French king. Isabella still urged, asserting that his presence alone would suffice. Henry there-

fore embarked with his brother and his queen, taking with him three hundred knights and thirty casks of silver.

Henry landed at Royan on the Gironde, whither his Gascon vassals repaired to him, and with a force of twenty thousand men he advanced to the town of Taillebourg on the Charente. Louis, who had hastened from Paris, reached that place at the same time with a far superior force. The French with their usual impetuosity attacked and carried the bridge which the Gascons held, (July 19,) and passed over in great numbers. Henry's troops, however, maintained the fight bravely, till news came that a large body of the enemy had crossed the river lower down. Fearing to be cut off they then broke and fled for Saintes, and the king himself narrowly escaped captivity. Next morning the French appeared before that town; the count of La Marche sallied forth, and an indecisive action was fought. But the count now saw the danger of his situation, and he resolved to make terms for himself, if possible, with Louis. By means of his son he succeeded. Henry was just sitting down to table when he heard what the count had done, and at the same moment he learned that the townsmen had agreed to admit the French troops in the night. It was resolved to fly without delay to Blaye, and so rapid was the flight that the military chest and the costly ornaments of the king's chapel were left behind. Louis did not pursue, as a dysentery had begun to prevail in his army, and a truce for five years was made shortly afterwards. The conscientious Louis, doubting of the justice of the title by which he held the English possessions in France, was most anxious to obtain a renunciation of them from Henry, who on his side demanded an equivalent. At length, (1259,) after many years of negotiation, an arrangement was effected. Henry made the renunciation, receiving in return the Limousin, Perigord, and Quercy, and the reversion of the Agenois and part of Saintonge. He then did homage as duke of Guienne and a peer of France.

In all his difficulties at home and abroad the feeble king placed his chief reliance on the power and authority of the pope, to whose ambition and avarice he in return yielded himself as a ready instrument. This was in the main most advantageous to the cause of freedom, for the clergy, as sharers in the common evil, united with the barons in their opposition to the crown. The pope, who, in consequence of the contest which he had engaged in with the emperor Frederick II., was immersed in debt had recourse to every possible mode

of extracting money from the clergy. By appeals to their generosity and duty he obtained large sums; these not sufficing, he proceeded, in imitation of the temporal princes, to levy tallages on them. The frequency of these exhausted the patience of the English clergy; they remonstrated; the barons and even the king took part with them, but still the pope triumphed, and they were obliged to pay. Another grievance of the clergy was what were called Provisions, by which the pope, regardless of the rights of patrons, assumed the power of appointing to vacant benefices. In consequence of this, a large portion of the richest livings were in the hands of Italians, who, after providing at a small expense for the performance of the duty, drew the rest of the income out of the kingdom. The pope himself acknowledged that the benefices thus held amounted to 50,000 marks a year, a sum exceeding the revenues of the crown; and the fact that Mansel the king's chaplain held seven hundred livings, will give an idea of the extent to which pluralism was carried. An association, named the Commonalty of England, was formed to oppose the Provisions: its head was a knight named Robert Twinge, who had been deprived by a Provision of his right of nomination to a living. The principal of the barons and clergy secretly favored it, and though it did not number more than eighty members, it became very formidable to those against whom it was directed. The papal couriers were murdered; the foreign clergy were seized, thrown into private dungeons, and obliged to pay heavy ransoms; the produce of their farms was carried off and sold by auction or distributed among the poor. After this had continued for eight months, the king interfered. Twinge went to Rome to plead his cause; the pope acknowledged his right to nominate, and declared that Provisions should be in future confined to the benefices that were in the gift of spiritual bodies; thus artfully seeking to separate the interests of the laity from those of the clergy. In this, however, he did not quite succeed; the spirited conduct of Robert Grosseteste, the illustrious bishop of Lincoln, who (1253) absolutely refused to admit a Provision into his diocese, gave a check to the practice.

The pope soon made a new attempt on the property of the clergy and laity of England. At the time when the Normans made the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, they had subjected it as a fief to the Holy See. It had passed by marriage to the emperors of Germany, between whom and the pope there had long been unceasing enmity, open or concealed

On the death of Frederick II., the pope, as the superior lord, and urged by his hatred of the German princes, made an offer of the crown to Richard earl of Cornwall, king Henry's brother, esteemed the richest subject in Europe. The earl was too prudent to be caught by the dazzling offer; the pope then offered the crown to the king himself for his younger son Edmund, and the thoughtless Henry at once swallowed the glittering bait, (1254;) he engaged to land with an army in Italy, and bound himself to defray the whole expenses of the war. These soon became considerable, for success was uniformly on the side of Manfred, the natural son of Frederick, who now maintained the imperial cause. Henry applied to his barons to aid him, but they saw through the designs of the pope and refused to contribute a shilling. Pope and king then fell on the unfortunate clergy. The former granted the latter a tenth on all the benefices in England for five years, the goods of all the clergy who died intestate, and the revenues of all vacant benefices and of non-residents; he also placed at his disposal the proceeds of the crusade which he ordered to be preached against Manfred. The bishop of Hereford, who was at Rome, drew bills to the amount of 150,540 marks on the prelates and abbots of England in favor of some Italian bankers; and as it was expected that they would prove rather restive, the legate had orders to exert his authority to the utmost over them. When he called them together, and told them the pleasure of the pope and king, their surprise and indignation knew no bounds. The bishop of Worcester vowed he would sooner die than yield; the bishop of London declared that if the king and pope should take the mitre off his head, he would put a helmet in its place. The legate told them that all their benefices belonged to the pope, and he might dispose of them as he pleased. He finally menaced them with excommunication, and they were constrained to yield; all the favor they could obtain was the being allowed to deduct the amount of the bills out of the tenths they were to pay. Still the money did not suffice for the pope, and as Henry could raise no more, the pontiff transferred the crown to Charles of Anjou, brother to the king of France, who slew Manfred in battle, and gained the kingdom.

The high spirit of the English barons could ill brook the manner in which the numerous grants which they had been induced to give to their thoughtless monarch, had been squandered away in inglorious projects of ambition, or lavished on foreign favorites; and various attempts were made

to restrain the royal extravagance. In 1242, when about to grant a supply, they required that it should be placed in one of the king's castles, under the custody of four barons, to be appointed by the great council; and in 1244, on a similar occasion, they demanded that four barons should be declared conservators of the liberties of the nation, two of whom should always attend the king and watch over the expenditure, and control the administration of justice; and that the chancellor, the justiciary, two justices of the King's Bench, and two barons of the Exchequer should be chosen by the council, and hold their places independent of the crown. The king would only consent to renew the Great Charter, and when he got the supplies he thought no more of his word. In 1248, when he again demanded a supply, he met only with reproaches for his breach of faith and oppression of his people; money was positively refused.

Want of money again (1253) compelling him to beg a supply, he took the vow of a crusader, under the sanctity of which he deemed himself sure of some part of his subjects' money. The clergy deputed the primate and the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Carlisle to remonstrate with him on his oppression of both them and the people. Among other grievances they noticed the improper mode of appointing to vacant dignities: the king, who wanted not for wit, deficient as he was in good sense, replied, "It is true I have in this been somewhat to blame: I obtruded you, my lord of Canterbury, on your see: I employed both threats and promises, my lord of Winchester, to have you elected; I acted very irregularly, my lords of Salisbury and Carlisle, when I raised you from the lowest stations to your present dignities. But I will correct these abuses; and you too, to make the reform complete, ought to resign and try to be re-elected in a more regular manner." They said that the question was not to correct past errors, but to prevent their recurrence. The king promised as before; a supply was granted, but it was required that he should confirm the Charter in a more solemn manner than had yet been employed. The bishops and abbots all stood holding lighted tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read aloud: they pronounced the sentence of excommunication against whosoever should violate it; then casting their tapers on the ground, they exclaimed, "May the soul of him who incurs this sentence thus stink and corrupt in hell!" The king, who during the reading had stood with a calm and cheerful countenance, holding his hand on his heart, replied, "So help me God as

I shall observe and keep all these things, as I am a Christian man, as I am a knight, as I am a king crowned and anointed!" Yet, incapable of energy enough to keep a promise, he immediately returned to his old courses.

Hitherto Henry had been supported by the advice and influence of his brother the earl of Cornwall, a man of energy and talent far superior to his own: but he now lost that support. The earl, whose good sense had led him to reject the diadem of Naples, was not proof against the offer of that of Germany. He went to that country, taking with him his immense treasures, which he speedily squandered in pursuit of the splendid phantom; for though he was crowned king of the Romans (1257) he never was able to make his authority acknowledged. His absence from England left the king unsustained, and the barons confederated to limit and restrain the royal authority.

The most eminent man among the barons at this time was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a Frenchman by birth, and younger son to the cruel fanatic who headed the nefarious crusade which Innocent III. had preached against the sect of the Albigenses in the South of France.* De Montfort was married to the eldest sister of the earl of Leicester, on whose death without issue his estates went to his sisters. The title of Leicester fell of course to the sons of the countess de Montfort; and as the eldest would not for the sake of it give up the dignities he held in France, he resigned in favor of his brother Simon, who thus became earl of Leicester, and soon after (1238) espoused the king's sister, the dowager countess of Pembroke. The barons were highly indignant at this match, but the talents and address of Leicester were such that he rapidly won their affections and those of all orders of the people. Henry committed to him the government of Guienne, which he ruled for some years with great vigor. He was recalled to answer charges made against him by the archbishop of Bordeaux and some of the Gascon nobility. In the interview with the king, the latter, giving way to anger, called him a traitor. "Ha! traitor!" cried Leicester; "if you were not a king you should repent that insult." "I shall never," replied Henry, "repent any thing so much as having let you grow and fatten within my dominions." The efforts of mutual friends, however, reconciled them for the present.

* "A name," says Lingard, "celebrated in the annals of religious warfare." So gently are a series of some of the most bloody massacres in the annals of popery alluded to by the candid historian!

Leicester, who enjoyed a high degree of consideration with all orders of the people, formed at length, in conjunction with Humphrey de Bohun high constable, Roger Bigod earl-marshal, the earls of Warwick and Gloucester, and the other great barons, a regular confederacy for limiting the royal authority. When, in 1258, the king, in extreme want of money for his Sicilian war, summoned a great council to Westminster, the barons appeared at it in full armor. On the entrance of the king they laid aside their swords. "Am I then a prisoner?" cried Henry, in alarm. "No, Sir," replied the earl-marshal, "but by your prodigality and your partiality to foreigners the realm is plunged in misery. We therefore require that the powers of government be intrusted to a committee of prelates and barons, who may correct abuses and make good laws. After some dispute the king assented, and it was agreed that a great council should be holden at Oxford to make all the needful regulations.

The council, which from the consequences of its acts was afterwards named the Mad Parliament, met at Oxford on the 11th of June. The barons came attended by their vassals in arms, and as the king had no military force, he was obliged to submit to their dictation. A committee of twenty-four prelates and barons, one half selected from the king's council, the other half chosen by the barons, was appointed. Each twelve then selected two out of the other twelve, and these four had the selection of fifteen persons, who were to form the council of state. This council consisted of seven of each party, with Boniface the primate, the queen's uncle, at its head; the king's brother and nephew, who were of the twenty-four, were carefully excluded from it, so that the influence of the reformers was paramount. They forthwith removed the chancellor, the justiciary, the treasurer, and the governors of the principal royal castles, and replaced them by men devoted to the barons. They then commenced their measures of reform, which were as follows: the freeholders of each county were to choose four knights to inquire into the damages committed in it under the royal authority, and lay them before the council. The freeholders were also to choose a new high-sheriff for each county; the sheriffs and the great officers of state were to give in their accounts annually, and parliaments* to be holden thrice in each year. To secure the obedience of parliament, it was directed, under pretext of saving the members trouble and expense, that twelve persons

* This word was now come into use as equivalent to Great Council

should represent those who were to compose the parliament, and that whatever these should enact, in conjunction with the council of state, should be viewed as the act of the whole.

One of the first acts of the council was to force the king's brothers to quit the kingdom; they then obliged the earl of Warrenne, the most powerful man of the king's friends, and his nephew prince Henry, and finally his son prince Edward, now a spirited youth of eighteen years of age, to take an oath of obedience to the ordinances of the council; and when in the following year (1259) Leicester learned that the king of the Romans was on his return, he sent to prohibit him from landing unless he engaged to take the oath also, a mandate which that prince found it necessary to obey.

By the original agreement, all the reforms were to have been completed by Christmas. But those who held the power were by no means willing to part with it so soon, and under the pretext of further important reforms being needful, they continued in office all through the next year, (1259.) A quarrel between Leicester and Gloucester first shook their authority; and when at length the promised reforms were made public, they appeared so insignificant in the eyes of the people, that a great change took place in their affections toward the barons. Leicester, after his quarrel with the earl of Gloucester, had retired to France, and so many of the barons went over to the king that he soon found himself in a condition to resume his authority, (1261.) A bull was easily obtained from Rome, absolving him from his oath; he displaced the justiciary, chancellor, and sheriffs appointed by the barons, and put others in their room, and exercised all the functions of royalty. During the following year (1262) various interviews took place between him and the barons, and it was proposed to refer their differences to the king of France and the king of the Romans. Leicester, who had returned, went back to France, declaring that he would never trust a perjured king.

Toward the end of the year Henry went over to visit the king of France. Leicester then returned to England, where the discontent of the barons had revived, in consequence, it is said, of prince Edward's partiality for foreigners. He speedily reorganized the old confederacy, which was now joined by prince Henry and by Gilbert de Clare the young earl of Gloucester. Henry on his return (1263) having ordered the barons to swear fealty to both himself and his son, the earl of Gloucester objected to the latter part, and retired to Oxford, where he was joined by the malcontent barons

Leicester came and placed himself at their head. They took Worcester and some other towns, ravaged the lands of the royalists, and advanced toward London, where the people were generally in their favor. The king shut himself up in the Tower, prince Edward went to secure the castle of Windsor, whither the queen his mother was proceeding by water; but the populace assembled, assailed her with the vilest epithets, flung all kinds of filth into her barge, and prepared to sink it with huge stones as it should pass the bridge. She was obliged to have recourse to the mayor for protection, by whom she was placed in safety at St. Paul's.

The king of the Romans now attempted to mediate, but the power of the barons was so great that the king was forced to resign nearly the whole of the authority he had resumed. Various causes, however, having brought over many barons to his side, he was able to take the field once more. On this occasion Leicester was nearly made a prisoner. He had entered Southwark with a small body of troops; the royalists secured the gates of London; the king appeared at one side of Southwark, the prince at the other. Leicester, deeming destruction certain, advised his followers to assume the cross and prepare for death like Christians: but the king having, in compliance with the usages of the time, sent a herald to summon them to surrender, the populace had time to learn their danger, and, bursting open the city-gates, to come and relieve them. The forces now being nearly equal on both sides, it was agreed to submit to the arbitration of the king of France. Henry appeared in person before that monarch; Leicester, on the plea of a fall from his horse, by attorney. The award of Louis was that the provisions of Oxford should be annulled, the king be restored to his full authority, and a general amnesty take place. The pope confirmed the award and directed the archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate all who refused to submit to it, (1264.) The barons, however, as soon as they heard of it, exclaiming that it was partial and unjust on the face of it, refused obedience and resumed their arms. The city of London, the Cinque Ports and adjoining counties were entirely in their favor; the parties were nearly balanced in the midland counties and the marches of Wales; while the North and West of England were decidedly royalist. Leicester, by means of his devoted partisan Fitz-Thomas, the mayor of London, caused the citizens to enrol themselves in a military association, and a formal convention for mutual aid and support was sworn to by them and the principal barons. On this occasion the unhappy Jew

London and some other places were plundered and massacred — a measure which no doubt was of advantage to the circumstances of some of the confederate nobles. The property of the Lombards or Italian bankers in London also became a prey to the partisans of the barons. The king being joined by the Scottish border-lords, Bruis or Bruce of Annandale, Baliol of Galloway, and Comyn, and by the Piercies of the North, the great houses of Bigod, Bohun, Warrenne and others of his own subjects, took the field once more. He took Northampton by assault; Leicester and Nottingham opened their gates; he then marched southwards to the relief of Rochester, to which Leicester was laying siege. At the approach of the royal army, the earl, fearing for London, raised the siege and fell back to that city; the king, having made an ineffectual effort to recall the people of the Cinque Ports to their allegiance, led his troops to Lewes in Sussex. Leicester now resolved to put the whole to the hazard of a battle. Having united fifteen thousand Londoners to his army, he led it toward Lewes. At Fletching he halted, and sent a letter to Henry, stating that it was not against *him*, but his evil advisers, that they had taken arms. The reply was a defiance on the part of the king, the prince, and the king of the Romans, with a challenge from the two last to Leicester and Derby to meet them in the king's court and decide the matter by single combat. Leicester then addressed his troops, representing to them their cause as that of justice and religion; he directed them to fix a white cross on their breast and shoulder, (as if they were Crusaders,) and to pass the night in devotion. In the morning the bishop of Chichester pronounced a general absolution, assuring those who fell, according to usage, of immediate admittance into heaven.

On the 14th of May the baronial army appeared before Lewes; the royal troops, in three divisions, led by the prince, the king of the Romans, and the king himself, advanced to give them battle. The prince, who led the van, fell with fury on the Londoners, who occupied that post of honor in the opposite army, speedily routed them, and drove them off the field. In his eagerness to punish them for their general turbulence, and for their insults to his mother, he lost sight of the rules of prudence, and instead of falling on the rear of Leicester's troops, he pursued them for four miles. Leicester, taking advantage of the prince's error, directed his whole force against the main body of the royalists, defeated them, and took the king of the Romans prisoner; then charging the third division, scattered it, and obliged the king himself

to surrender. Prince Edward, on his return from the pursuit of the Londoners, three thousand of whom had strown the field with their bodies, found the battle irretrievably lost. As he traversed the field the baronial troops came out and attacked him; the king's brothers, earl Warrene, and about seven hundred knights instantly fled to Pevensey, and embarked for the continent. The next morning a convention, named the Mise of Lewes, was concluded, by which the prince and his cousin Henry d'Allmaine agreed to surrender themselves as hostages for their fathers; all prisoners taken during the war were to be released, and arbitrators were to be chosen to regulate all the points of difference between the two parties. The number of slain in the battle is said to have been five thousand on each side.

Leicester was now in effect the ruler of the kingdom; he carried the king about with him as a pageant, treating him with apparent respect, and employing his name and authority for his own purposes; he kept, in breach of treaty, the more energetic king of the Romans a close prisoner at Kenilworth, and the young princes were confined at Dover. If we credit the chroniclers adverse to him and his cause, his rule was a complete tyranny; his ambition and his avarice knew no bounds. He seized, they say, for himself, the estates of not less than eighteen of the barons taken at Lewes, kept the ransom of the king of the Romans, (though he was the earl of Gloucester's prisoner,) and that of all the other barons, while he told those of his own party that they should be content with having their lives and properties secured by the victory he had gained. He is even accused of having encouraged the piracy to which, to the ruin of all foreign trade, the people of the Cinque Ports betook themselves, by receiving a third of their ill-gotten gains.

One of the earliest acts of Leicester's authority was to send persons named conservators of the peace to each county, to execute the principal functions of the sheriffs, to whom, however, he left their offices. These conservators caused four knights to be chosen in each county to represent it in a parliament, which met on the 23d of June, and which was consequently at Leicester's devotion. It was enacted in it that the king should for the present delegate the power of choosing his council to three persons, who should choose nine councillors, to be empowered to exercise nearly the whole royal authority; and if in any case the agreement of two-thirds of the council could not be obtained, the matter should be reserved for the committee of three. As this

committee was composed of Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Exeter, and the council was of course selected from Leicester's creatures, it is quite plain that all that was proposed by this state machinery was to conceal the person of the real actor from the view of the people.

Leicester's power was nevertheless far from secure; the pope and the king of France were both hostile to him; the latter favored the efforts of Henry's queen to raise an army of mercenaries for the assertion of the royal cause; the former directed the legate Guido to proceed to England and excommunicate Leicester and the other enemies of the king. Leicester having menaced the legate with death if he entered the kingdom, the bull was committed to four English prelates, with orders to publish it. As it was against their will they received the bull, they easily let the officers at Dover take it from them, and as an appeal was made to Rome, where the pope was just dead, nothing further could be done for some time. Leicester was equally fortunate with respect to the queen's armament. This princess had collected at the port of Damme in Flanders a large body of troops, with shipping to carry them, but adverse winds prevailed so long that her troops at length disbanded and dispersed, and Leicester was thus relieved from uneasiness on this account.

The commencement of the year 1265 is rendered forever memorable by a measure destined to have the most important influence on the development of the British constitution; and which, as it has been elegantly expressed, has "afforded proof from experience, that liberty, order, power, and wealth are capable of being blended together in a degree of harmony which the wisest men had not before believed to be possible." Hitherto the great councils of the nation had consisted only of the prelates, barons, and tenants in chief of the crown; but Leicester, in the summons for a parliament at this time, directed "the sheriffs to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough in the county;" thus establishing the principle of representation, and giving the people of the towns, who had hitherto been taxed at will, a share in the legislature of the realm. By a fortunate chance also they were allowed to sit along with the knights of the shire, and not in a separate chamber — a circumstance which greatly contributed to give them dignity and importance. That Leicester could have foreseen the effects of what he was doing is not to be supposed; the measure was one which in

the natural course of things must inevitably have occurred within a few years; deputies of the towns had sitten for the last century in the Cortes of Spain; towns were every where rising into importance, and becoming of too great weight in the balance of states to be any longer subject to the arbitrary power of princes and nobles. Leicester may doubtless have seen much of this, but his probable motive was merely to add to the parliament members whom he knew to be wholly devoted to himself, and the ready agents of his will.

As Leicester had summoned to this parliament none of the prelates and barons but such as were devoted to him, every thing was done at his pleasure. After some weeks' conference, an arrangement was made with the king and the prince preparatory to the liberation of the latter, in which every precaution for securing the continuance of Leicester's power was taken. The prince was then (March 13) declared free by the barons; but he found his liberty but nominal, as he was still guarded by the adherents of Leicester.

The power of this nobleman, though thus great, could not from its nature be permanent. He was a foreigner, and at most but the equal of those proud nobles over whom he had raised himself; and though a large portion of the clergy, irritated by the frauds and extortions of the Holy See, supported him as the champion of religion, and the people of the towns and the lower orders in general were his partisans, their weight was not yet able to counterpoise that of the great barons. Yet he at first crushed all symptoms of resistance, and he forced Roger de Mortimer and the other marchers of Wales to surrender their castles and submit to the sentence of parliament, by whom they were ordered to quit the kingdom for various periods. He then ventured to seize and imprison the earl of Derby under a charge of treason, and he meditated seizing the earl of Gloucester at a tournament at Northampton: the earl, aware of his danger, retired to his own county, and there raised the royal standard. Leicester hastened to Hereford with the king, prince, and a large body of knights; negotiations were entered into, by which each party sought to deceive the other. The great object of Gloucester was to liberate the prince, whose presence would be of the utmost importance to his cause, and it was thus effected. Edward, under pretence of taking an airing, obtained permission one day after dinner to ride out of Hereford; at some distance from the town he proposed to his keepers to run races with their horses: they agreed, several matches were made and run, the prince and those in

the secret taking care not to engage in them. By the time the keepers' horses were pretty well tired, it being near sunset, a man mounted on a gray horse appeared on the summit of an adjacent hill and waved his bonnet. The prince, knowing the signal, set spurs to his horse and galloped off, attended by Gloucester's brother, another knight, and four esquires. The keepers pursued, but when they saw Roger Mortimer and a party of armed men issue from a wood and receive the prince, they turned back. Mortimer conducted the prince to his castle of Wigmore, and next day Edward met Gloucester at Ludlow. They mutually agreed to forget all past injuries and exert themselves to restore the king, who should bind himself to govern by law, and exclude foreigners from his councils.

The first care of the royalists was to gain the towns on the Severn, and break down the bridges over that river. Leicester, being thus cooped up in Hereford, lay waiting for the tenants of the crown, whom he had summoned by writs in the king's name; and he formed an alliance with Llewellyn prince of Wales, agreeing to sell him for 30,000 marks all the king's rights over that country. When joined by the Welshmen he attempted to get over to Bristol, but, being attacked at Newport by prince Edward, he retired and sought refuge in Wales. His son Simon de Montfort, who was besieging Pevensey when he received the summons to repair to his standard, having stopped for some days at Kenilworth, the family mansion, was suddenly fallen on by the prince while in his bed; most of his companions were made prisoners, and he himself escaped naked into the castle.*

Leicester, ignorant of the fate of his son, had crossed the Severn and reached Evesham on his way to Kenilworth. The prince, who was at Worcester, set out in the night, and early in the morning (Aug. 4) arrived in the neighborhood of Evesham. He made three divisions of his forces, of which one led by himself stood on a hill on the road to Kenilworth; the other divisions, led by Gloucester and Mortimer, occupied the two remaining roads. They displayed the banners captured at Kenilworth, which caused them at first to be taken for the troops of Simon de Montfort, but when Leicester ascended an eminence and viewed their numbers and array, he saw the mistake; he then said to those about him, "The

* They lay out of the castle, we are told, for the sake of bathing early in the morning.

Lord have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are prince Edward's." Having, according to his usual custom, spent some time in prayer, and communicated, he charged the prince's division. Being repulsed, he formed his men in a circle, and thus for some time resisted all the efforts of the royalists. The old king, whom he still had with him, was placed in the front, cased in armor. One of the royalists, not knowing who he was, wounded and unhorsed him, and would probably have slain him, but that he cried out, "Hold, fellow! I am Harry of Winchester!" and the prince, who was at hand, hearing his voice, ran up and conveyed him to a place of safety. Meantime Leicester's horse was killed under him; as he fought on foot, he asked if they gave quarter: "Not to traitors!" was the reply, and he soon fell slain over the body of his eldest son. Of all the barons and knights who fought on his side, but ten remained alive. The victory of the royalists was complete and final.

The lifeless body of Leicester was brutally mangled by the foot soldiers of the royal army, but his remains were afterwards removed by the king's orders and interred at the neighboring abbey. His memory long lived among the populace; the title of "Sir Simon the Righteous," shows the estimation in which he was held, and though he was excommunicated, even miracles were ascribed to him. Of the superior talents of Leicester both as a statesman and a warrior few doubts can be entertained; of the purity of his motives we have not the means of speaking with any certainty, for our authorities are his warm panegyrists or his zealous adversaries. Those modern writers who are the partisans of the papacy or of royalty, of course represent him as actuated solely by interest and ambition.

The victory at Evesham completely broke the power of the barons. The king of the Romans, and the other prisoners made at Lewes, were set at liberty by those who held them, in hopes that they would prove intercessors in their behalf. A parliament met (Sept. 8) at Winchester, by which, among other matters, it was enacted that the estates of Leicester's adherents should be confiscated, and the city of London deprived of its charter. These rigorous measures only served to rekindle the flame, and partial risings took place in various quarters. Simon de Montfort, leaving a stout garrison in Kenilworth, took refuge in the isle of Axholm in the fens of Lincolnshire; he was, however, compelled by the prince to submit; and, on the intercession of the king of the Romans, he was allowed to quit the kingdom

and promised a pension of 500 marks. He, however, soon after put himself at the head of the Cinque Ports pirates, but the prince led his troops against these towns, and, having taken Winchelsea by storm, forced them to sue for peace. An amnesty was granted, and they swore fealty to the king. The prince then marched into Hampshire, where a bold rebel named Adam Gordon was ravaging the country. He came up with him in a wood near Alton, and though he was the most athletic man of the time, engaged him singly, wounded, unhorsed, and made him a prisoner. In admiration of his valor he then gave him his liberty, and restored him to his honors and estate, and Gordon ever remained attached to his benefactor. The garrison of Kenilworth still held out, though blockaded by the king in person with a large force, and the fugitives from Axholm and other places had secured themselves in the Isle of Ely, once the retreat of the Saxons against the Normans.

Many being of opinion that the late parliament had dealt too severely with the adverse party, a committee was formed of twelve prelates and barons, during the blockade of Kenilworth, to devise more moderate measures. They divided the offenders into three classes, to whom they gave the option of redeeming their estates from those to whom the king had granted them; the first being to pay a sum equivalent to seven years' income, the second to that of five, the third to that of two or of one year. This Dictum of Kenilworth, as it was named, was confirmed by the king in parliament: the garrison of Kenilworth and those in the Isle of Ely rejected it, but famine forced the former to surrender after a siege of six months, and measures were about to be adopted for reducing the others, when the earl of Gloucester, taking a sudden disgust, retired to his earldom, and having levied troops there, ostensibly against Roger Mortimer, suddenly marched to London and made himself master of the Tower. The king and prince appearing with a large force, he submitted on receiving a free pardon, and the royal forces being then directed against the Isle of Ely, it was reduced by a plan similar to that employed by the Conqueror. Llewellyn of Wales was also forced to submit and engage to pay tribute, and the king, having thus reduced all his opponents, held (Nov. 18, 1267) a parliament at Marlbridge, in which several of the provisions of Oxford were confirmed, and some new laws enacted, which are known by the name of the Statutes of Marlbridge.

The kingdom being now at peace, prince Edward resolved to indulge his piety and love of adventure by joining the ex

cellent king of France in a crusade to the Holy Land. He required that the earl of Gloucester should either accompany or follow him; he gave liberty to the earl of Derby and a new charter to the citizens of London; and then set out, accompanied by his wife Eleanor of Castile and his cousin prince Henry. Finding that king Louis had died on the coast of Africa, and that his son Philip had given up the crusade, he stopped for the winter in Italy. Having sent his cousin Henry on business to England, that prince stopped at Viterbo to be present at the election of a pope. Here one morning (March 13, 1271) he went into a church to hear mass, and as he stood in meditation after it was concluded, he suddenly heard a voice cry, "Thou traitor, Henry, thou shalt not escape!" He turned and beheld his cousins Simon and Guy de Montfort in full armor and their swords drawn. He sprang to the altar; its sanctity availed him nought; he fell pierced by a multitude of wounds. Two priests vainly interposed; the one was slain, the other left for dead. The assassins mutilated the body and dragged it to the church-door, where they mounted their horses and rode away. The church excommunicated them, but they were never brought to justice.

The king of the Romans did not long survive his son; he died of paralysis in the April of the following year, (1272,) and seven months after he was followed to the tomb by the king his brother. He fell sick at St. Edmundsbury, and being conveyed to Westminster, expired there on the 20th of November, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the fifty-sixth of his reign.

To draw a character of so feeble a prince as Henry III. would be mere waste of time. He had not energy enough to be either good or bad in any eminent degree. As a private person he might have gone happy and blameless through life; seated on a throne he was an object of contempt.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS.)

1272—1307.

EDWARD was in the Holy Land when the death of his father gave him the crown of England. Acre was all that there remained to the Christians, and the small force of one thousand men, which the English prince had brought, could avail but little to effect its security. Yet during the eighteen months that he remained in the East he upheld the fame of the blood of the lion-hearted Richard, and at his departure (1272) he procured for those whom he had come to aid a ten-years' truce from the Sultan of Egypt. The fall of Acre, however, was only delayed; it opened its gates in 1291 to a Moslem conqueror, and the Christian dominion in the East expired.

During his abode in Acre, Edward nearly lost his life by treachery. The emir of Jaffa, pretending a desire to embrace Christianity, had gained his confidence, and messages passed between them. The Moslem envoy was one day admitted alone into the room in which Edward was lying on a couch during the heat of the day. Finding the long-sought occasion arrived, he drew a dagger and made a blow at the prince's heart. Edward received the stroke on his arm, rose, cast the assassin to the ground, and despatched him with his own weapon. But the dagger was supposed to have been poisoned, for the wound assumed a dangerous appearance. The prince made his will and calmly prepared for death; the skill, however, of his English surgeon, aided by the strength of a good constitution, effected a cure, and he was completely recovered at the end of three weeks. To make the story more romantic, one writer adds that Edward's faithful spouse Eleanor, at the risk of her life, extracted the poison from the wound with her lips.

At Messina, on his way home, Edward learned the death of his father. On the invitation of the pope he visited Rome, (1273;) the greatest honors were shown him there, and wherever he passed through Italy and Savoy. He proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip the Fair for his continental dominions. As there were some disturbances in Guienne, he deemed it right to settle them before he went to England.

This caused him a delay of an entire year, during which time he ran a great risk of losing his life by treachery, as it was said. The count of Chalons, being about to hold a tournament, sent a challenge to the king of England to appear at it. The pontiff, who was then at Lyons, wrote to dissuade him from accepting it, asserting that treachery was meant. Edward's chivalrous spirit, however, would not suffer him to decline. He appeared on the appointed day with one thousand men, horse and foot; the count's array, it is said, displayed double the number. The tournament began; it was at first conducted with the usual courtesy, but it soon presented the appearance of a mortal conflict. Edward himself overthrew the count and made him his captive, and the Petty Battle of Chalons, as it was named, terminated in favor of the English.

After regulating some commercial differences with the countess of Flanders, Edward at length (Aug. 2) embarked for England, where he was received with the utmost joy, and shortly after (Aug. 19) he and his queen were crowned at Westminster. The king was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; he bore a high and well-merited reputation for all the civil and military virtues; he possessed the respect and affections of his subjects; his realms were peaceful and prosperous. A field for his ambition to display itself would naturally present itself somewhere, and chance determined for the project of uniting the whole island of Britain under one sceptre, instead of wasting, like his predecessors, the national energies in contests with France. Wales first, and then Scotland, were attacked by his arts and his arms.

Llewellyn prince of Wales had, as we have seen, taken an active part on the side of the barons in the late civil wars. He had, however, after the battle of Evesham, renewed his fealty to king Henry; but when summoned, on that monarch's death, to swear it to his successor, he had refused. After the return of Edward, Llewellyn was thrice summoned to appear and do homage to the English crown, but he declined under the pretext of his life not being safe in England. It would appear that he still kept up an intercourse with the Montfort family, for he was betrothed to their sister Eleanor; but this lady, on her passage from France to Wales, was taken by an English vessel, and was detained by orders of the king. Edward, having assembled an army, advanced (1276) to the frontiers of Wales; he there offered Llewellyn a safe-conduct, but the Welshman insisted on the liberation of his affianced bride, and the delivery of the king's son as a hostage for his

safety. He was then, as contumacious, pronounced a rebel by parliament, and a subsidy of a fifteenth was granted for the war against him. To add to the embarrassment of Llewellyn, his own brother David, whom he had deprived of his patrimony, was active in the English interest, and Rees of Meredith, the head of a rival family, took the same side. Edward, having assembled his forces, the following midsummer (1277) crossed the Dee in Cheshire, and marching along the coast, made himself master of Anglesea. As his fleet commanded the sea, the Welsh were cooped up in the barren region of Snowdon, and famine soon obliged Llewellyn to submit. He agreed to pay 50,000*l.* for the expenses of the war, to cede the country from the Conway to Chester, to hold Anglesea as a fief of the English crown, to give ten hostages, and to do homage. The king shortly after remitted the fine, restored the hostages, and gave his consent to the marriage of Llewellyn with Eleanor de Montfort.

Edward retired, deeming the subjugation of Wales now complete. But the insolence of the English on the one side, and the rooted antipathy of the Welsh to the strangers on the other, soon disturbed the tranquillity. The people of the ceded districts could not endure the introduction of English law; deeming it, for example, a great hardship that the justiciary should hang those who committed murder, when they had offered to pay the fine imposed in such cases by Welsh law. A prophecy ascribed to Merlin also excited their minds at this time. This ancient Cymric seer had, it seems, foretold that when English money became round, a prince of Wales would be crowned at London; and as Edward had lately issued a new and circular coinage, and forbidden the penny to be cut any more into halfpence and farthings, they deemed the time of Welsh dominion to be arrived.

The insurrection was commenced by prince David, who on the night of Palm Sunday, (1282,) amid the uproar of a tempest, surprised the castle of Hawarden, in which the justiciary De Clifford resided, and put all in it to death except De Clifford, who was conveyed a captive to Snowdon. This was the signal for a general rising; the Welsh every where pouted down on the marches, and Llewellyn came and laid siege to the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan. Edward lost no time in collecting troops; he raised his standard at Worcester, and thence advanced to the relief of his fortresses. Having constructed a bridge of boats on the Menai, broad enough to allow forty men to march abreast, he passed a body

of troops over to Anglesea. But on the sudden appearance of the Welsh, they took fright, and fled back to the shore. The tide had now divided the bridge, and most of them perished in attempting to escape by the boats. As the English were assembling troops on the southern frontier, Llewellyn now hastened to defend the passage of the Wye. Here one day (Dec. 11) as he was reposing in a barn on a hill near the bridge, which was held by his people, he was awaked by a loud shout, and the English, who had passed by a ford, were seen ascending the hill. A knight named Adam Frankton came by chance to the barn, and Llewellyn, though unarmed, engaged him, but was run through the body by his spear and slain. After the defeat of the Welsh, Frankton returned to the barn, and it was only then that the quality of the slain was discovered. Llewellyn's head was cut off and sent to Edward, by whose orders it was fixed on the Tower of London, encircled with ivy, or, as some said, silver, in ridicule of Merlin's prophecy.

When Llewellyn's death was known, most of the Welsh chiefs hastened to make their submission. David alone, despairing of pardon, or it may be actuated by a generous love of independence, still held out. But his treacherous countrymen hunted him for six months through the mountains, and at length captured him and his family. He was brought in chains to Edward; a parliament was assembled at Shrewsbury to try him; and he was sentenced "to be drawn to the gallows as a traitor to the king who had made him a knight; to be hanged as the murderer of the gentlemen taken in the castle of Hawarden; to have his bowels burnt because he had profaned by assassination the solemnity of Christ's passion, and to have his quarters dispersed through the country because he had in different places compassed the death of his lord the king." This sentence, perhaps the earliest instance of what became the usual punishment for treason, was literally executed, and David's head was placed beside that of his brother on the Tower.

Edward spent more than a year in Wales to regulate the country. He divided it like England into counties and hundreds, and formed corporations in the towns. He raised castles at Conway and Caernarvon, and gave the adjoining lands to English barons; but, he left all the remaining lands in the hands of their original proprietors. By accident or design the queen was at this time delivered of a son at Caernarvon, whom the politic Edward, to the great joy of his new subjects, declared to be prince of Wales; and as

this prince soon after, by the death of his elder brother, became heir to the crown, the title of Prince of Wales has ever since been that of the heir-apparent to the throne of England.

Tradition told, that fearing lest the bards who flourished in Wales, as in all Celtic countries, should, by their patriotic strains, again awaken in the breasts of the people the love of independence, Edward assembled all these sons of song, and then barbarously put them to death; hoping, as the poet says, "to quench the (poetic) orb of day" in this "sanguine cloud." But such an act was totally repugnant to the character of Edward, and the charge is unsupported by a single particle of historic evidence.

The following year (1285) was devoted by Edward to the labors of legislation, and the three succeeding years were spent on the continent, where the fame of his justice and wisdom had caused him to be chosen arbitrator between the royal houses of France and Aragon. On his return the affairs of Scotland attracted his attention and gave him employment for the remainder of his reign.

In the year 1286, Alexander III. of Scotland died by a fall from his horse. His children by his queen Margaret, the sister of Edward, having all died before him, the succession came to the Maid of Norway, as the infant daughter of Eric king of Norway, by Margaret, the daughter of the Scottish king, was named. Edward proposed a marriage between the young queen and his eldest son; her father and the states of Scotland gave a ready consent, the pope granted a dispensation, and the princess embarked for Scotland. Unfortunately she fell sick on the voyage, and she breathed her last on one of the Orkney isles, (1290.) Immediately no less than thirteen claimants of the throne appeared: but as it was manifest that only the descendants of David earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, could have a right, and as this prince had had none but daughters, the claim could only lie among their descendants. John Baliol, lord of Galloway, was the grandson of the eldest daughter; Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale, the son of the second: John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, the grandson of the third. This last it is evident had no claim, and the question (a dubious one in that age) was, whether the more remote representative of the elder, or the nearer of the second sister was the heir. To avoid an appeal to arms, it was determined by the nobles that the decision should be referred to the king of England, whose reputation for wisdom and justice stood

so high, and of whose right so to do, as feudal superior of the realm, they were probably conscious, (1291.)

Edward readily accepted the office of arbitrator; he advanced with a large army to the frontiers, and summoned the Scottish parliament to meet him at the castle of Norham on the southern bank of the Tweed. The Scots assembled on the opposite bank, and on the appointed day their states appeared in the church of Norham, where they were addressed by Brabazon the English justiciary, who required them as a preliminary act to acknowledge Edward as their feudal superior. They hesitated. "By holy Edward, whose crown I wear," cried the king, "I will have my rights or die in the assertion of them." They required a delay of three weeks in order to consult those prelates and barons who were still absent. The delay was granted; at the same time an instrument containing various historical proofs of the king's claim was delivered to them, and they were required to state their objections, if any, to it. On the 2d of June the bishop of Bath, the chancellor, passed over to the Scottish side of the river, and stated that as no opposition had been made to the king's claim, he would proceed to decide. He then asked Robert Bruce if he was willing to abide by the decision of Edward as sovereign lord of Scotland. He replied in the affirmative; the other competitors did the same. Baliol was absent, (probably on purpose,) but next morning he gave his consent, though it is said with reluctance. They all then passed over, and met king Edward in the church of Norham, where they signed an instrument to that effect. It was resolved that they should exhibit their claims before a council of forty Scots chosen by Baliol and Comyn, forty more chosen by Bruce, and twenty-four English named by king Edward, who also required that all the fortresses of Scotland should be put into his hands, and the military tenants of the crown swear fealty to him, that he might be enabled to carry into effect the decision of the council. Edward then went southwards, leaving the council to sit at Berwick. At the expiration of a year (June 2, 1292) he returned to hear their decision. But as they had not yet determined, he directed them first to examine the claims of Bruce and Baliol, and then to dispose of those of the others. When they made their report the king laid it before the united parliament of the two nations, who decided in favor of Baliol. Bruce and Hastings then required that the kingdom should be divided; this proposal, though so manifestly for his interest, Edward rejected; and (Nov. 17) he pronounced

judgment in favor of Baliol, to whom, on his swearing fealty in the fullest terms, he restored the royal castles and gave complete possession of the kingdom.

If we except an apparent want of generosity in taking advantage of the confidence of the Scottish nation to exact a formal recognition of his feudal superiority, there is certainly little to blame in the conduct of Edward throughout this transaction. An unworthy motive, probably without justice, has been ascribed to his subsequent behavior. By the feudal law an appeal lay from the sentence of an immediate lord to the court of the common superior; and as duke of Aquitaine Edward had himself been often thus cited before the court of France. Appeals were accordingly made by Macduff, earl of Fife, and others, from the sentence of Baliol to the king of England. Baliol, when summoned to appear and answer the charge of Macduff, took no notice of the summons; when cited a second time he appeared in person, and not by attorney, as he might have done, and sentence was given against him; and for his contempt of the authority of his liege lord, it was adjudged that three of his castles with their royalties should be sequestrated. Baliol asked time to consult his subjects; the request was granted; and when the time he had required was expired, adjournment after adjournment was made.

While Edward was thus exercising his feudal superiority over Scotland, he became himself the object of a similar claim from the king of France. The occasion was as follows. The crews of a Norman and an English ship having gone ashore to water at the same place, a quarrel arose in which a Norman was slain. The Normans in revenge attacked the first English ship they met, took out of it a merchant of Bayonne, and hanged him with a dog at his feet out of their yards. Retaliation followed; the English were joined by the Irish and Dutch, the Normans by the French and Genoese mariners. Neither sovereign interfered. At length a Norman fleet of two hundred sail, having pillaged the coast of Gascony, put into a port of Brittany, where they were discovered by a fleet of eighty ships belonging to Portsmouth and the Cinque Ports. The English challenged them to come out; the challenge was accepted, and a bloody engagement ended in favor of the English, who captured the entire hostile fleet. The king of France now summoned Edward as duke of Guienne to appear before the court at Paris, and answer for the various offences alleged to have been committed by his vassals of Guienne against the subjects of his liege

lord. Edward sent the bishop of London to offer compensation to those injured, provided the like was made to the English. This being refused, he offered to refer the matter to arbitrators or to the pope. Finally he sent to Paris his brother Edmund, who was married to the mother of the French queen. Edmund was assured by the two queens that as Philip merely wanted to vindicate his honor, he only required that Edward should resign Guienne to him for forty days, at the end of which time he pledged himself to restore it. Edward gave his consent; a treaty to this effect was executed; the citation against him was withdrawn; and possession of Guienne was given to the officers of Philip. At the end of the forty days Edmund applied to Philip for the performance of his promise; he was put off for some days, and when he renewed his application he met with a positive refusal; and though the citation had been withdrawn, sentence of forfeiture for non-appearance was passed against Edward.

It seems strange that so politic a prince as Edward should thus allow himself to be swindled out of one of his fairest possessions. It is indeed said by some that his eagerness to make himself master of Scotland rendered him careless of Guienne; but there is no clear proof of his having any designs on Scotland at this time, and a more probable reason is assigned by those who say that there was a treaty of marriage on foot between him, he being now a widower, and the sister of Philip, and that he wished Guienne to be settled on his issue by that princess; for which purpose it was necessary to surrender it to the superior lord in order that an enfeoffment to that effect might be executed.

Edward was not a man to submit tamely to such a flagrant injustice. He raised money, collected an army, sent to excuse himself to his Gascon vassals for having given them up, and formally renounced his allegiance to Philip. But adverse winds detained him for seven weeks at Portsmouth, during which time the Welsh, thinking he was gone, rose in arms, slaughtered the English who were in their country, and ravaged the marches. The king went in person against them, and speedily reduced them to obedience. Their leaders were sentenced to confinement during pleasure in different castles, and their estates given to their heirs. Henceforth Wales remained peaceable and quiet.

Edward was again about to set forth to recover his continental dominions, when he received information that the Scots, impatient of his yoke, had concluded an alliance with the king of France, and that a match had been contracted

between Philip's niece and Baliol's eldest son. The Scots, moreover, as they distrusted the timid temper of their king, had given him a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, in whose hands the government now really lay. This intelligence determined Edward not to quit England; he sent his brother Edmund with some troops to Guienne, and then, to put Baliol to the test, he required him as his vassal to aid him in the recovery of Guienne; he next demanded that the castles of Jedburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick should be put into his hands by way of security; and finally summoned him to appear before him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne the following March. None of these demands being complied with, Edward advanced to Newcastle (March, 1296) at the head of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The Scots, who had concealed their king in the highlands, prepared for defence. To draw away king Edward they made an inroad into Cumberland, but, regardless of this, he crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, and sat down before Berwick which was carried by assault the next day, and its garrison of seven thousand men put to the sword. Warrenne earl of Surrey was then sent with a large force to besiege the castle of Dunbar, whose garrison agreed to surrender if not relieved within three days. On the third day (April 27) the Scottish army of forty thousand foot and five thousand horse appeared on the hills beyond the town. Warrenne fell back a little to prepare for battle. A cry of "They run!" rose in the Scottish lines, and the whole army precipitately poured down into the valley to destroy the fugitives; but here they encountered the firm, close-set lines of an English army. The conflict was short; the Scots fled on all sides, leaving ten thousand of their number dead on the field. Scotland was conquered in this battle. Dunbar, Jedburgh, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling opened their gates. Baliol came in person to Kincardin, (July 2,) and made a formal surrender of his kingdom. Edward advanced as far as Elgin without meeting any resistance. He then returned to Berwick, where having held a parliament and received the homage of the Scottish nation, he retired, leaving earl Warrenne guardian of the kingdom. The principal offices of state were given to Englishmen, and the more potent Scottish nobles were obliged to come and reside south of the Trent. Edward carried away with him the regalia and the fatal stone-chair at the abbey of Scone, in which the Scottish kings were wont to be crowned, and which was regarded as the palladium of the kingdom: he deposited it in Westminster abbey. It is also said, but without any proof whatever, that

he ordered all the records which contained proofs of Scottish independence to be destroyed.

Baliol was assigned the Tower of London for a residence, and he was allowed the full range of a circuit of twenty miles round London. At the end of three years he obtained permission to retire to his estates in Normandy, where he spent the remaining six years of his life, more happy, probably, than when ruling over the turbulent Scots.

While Edward was engaged in Scotland, the whole of Guienne, except Bayonne, fell into the hands of the French prince. Edmund died soon after his arrival, and the earl of Lincoln took the command. The king, on his return from Scotland, made vigorous preparations for the war with France. His plan was to attack it on the side of Flanders, and with this design he had formed alliances with the emperor, the earl of Flanders, and other princes. He also intended to continue operations in Guienne, and he proposed putting the forces destined for that province under the constable Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford and the marshal Roger Bigod earl of Norfolk. But to his surprise these nobles positively refused, alleging that their office only obliged them to attend his person in the wars. "By God, sir earl," cried the enraged monarch to the constable, "you shall either go or hang." "By God, sir king," replied the undaunted earl, "I will neither go nor hang." They then retired from court with about thirty of the barons, and, as they refused to execute their office in mustering troops, the king appointed a temporary marshal and constable for the purpose. As we shall return to the subject, we will here only observe that the two earls were not disloyal to their sovereign on this occasion; they only wished to set bounds to the arbitrary conduct which he had strongly displayed in his mode of raising money for his intended expedition.

At length the king crossed the sea with a large army, but no action of any importance took place. A truce for two years was concluded, and finally (1297) through the mediation of the pope a peace was made; the French king restoring Guienne to Edward, who himself married that monarch's sister Margaret, and affianced the prince of Wales to his daughter Isabella.

While Edward was absent in Flanders, an insurrection against his authority broke out in Scotland. Earl Warrenne, being obliged to return to England on account of his health, left the direction of affairs to Ormesby the justiciary, and Cressingham the treasurer; the former was a harsh, austere

man; the latter was an ecclesiastic deeply infected with avarice. By these men the Scots were made to feel keenly their national degradation; several gentlemen were outlawed or imprisoned for refusing or delaying to take the oath of allegiance. We need no proof that the subordinate English agents faithfully imitated the insolence of their superiors. One of these officers having offered an affront to William Wallace, a gentleman of small fortune in the west of Scotland, the latter, who was a man of gigantic stature and great strength and courage, struck him dead on the spot. Knowing then that he had no mercy to expect, Wallace fled to the woods, the retreat of those who feared punishment for their patriotism or their crimes. His superior powers of mind and body soon raised him to command, and he carried on, with great ability and success, a *guerrilla*-warfare (as it is now named) against the English and their adherents. In concert with sir William Douglas, another leader of outlaws, he made a bold attempt to surprise the justiciary at Scone; but Ormesby, having had timely notice, fled into England. Many of the other English officers followed his example; the Scots rose in various parts and massacred such of the English as fell into their hands. The fame of Wallace and Douglas increased every day, and they were joined at length by the bishop of Glasgow, the steward of Scotland, sir Alexander Lindsey, sir Andrew Moray, sir Richard Lundin, and other chiefs. The young earl of Carrick* hesitated how to act. At first he went to Carlisle when summoned, and renewed his fealty; then he changed and tried to raise Annandale, and he finally repaired with his own retainers to the camp of the patriots.

But meantime earl Warrenne had by Edward's orders called out the forces of the six northern counties, and two English armies entered Scotland. At Irvine (July 9) one of them, led by Warrenne's nephew Henry Percy, came up with the Scottish forces. As dissensions had broken out among the patriotic chiefs, and they feared the result of a battle, they all, with the exception of Wallace and Moray, hastened to make their submission and obtain their pardon. These last two chiefs moved northwards with the greater part of the forces, and they were joined by the tenantry of several noblemen, secretly encouraged by their lords. Warrenne advanced with a large army to Stirling, near which Wallace

* Bruce, the claimant of the throne, was dead; his son was at this time with Edward. This was his grandson.

8. with forty thousand men at a place called Cambuskenneth, on the opposite side of the Forth, over which river there was only one bridge, of wood, and merely broad enough to allow two men to go abreast. Lundin, who was now with Warrenne, strongly advised him not to attempt this passage in the face of an enemy; but the earl, urged by the impetuous Cressingham, took no heed of the admonition. Led by Cressingham and sir Marmaduke Twinge, the English began to cross the bridge, (Sept. 11.) Wallace waited patiently on the hills, where he lay till about five thousand men were over, and then having sent round a part of his force to secure the head of the bridge, he gave orders to pour down on them; and the whole were speedily slaughtered in the presence of their leader, who could give them no aid. Cressingham was among the slain, and the vindictive Scots, it is said, flayed his body and made thongs for their horses out of the skin. Warrenne lost no time in making his retreat into England, and toward winter Wallace and Moray crossed the borders and ravaged the northern counties during an entire month.

Wallace was made "guardian of the kingdom and general of the armies of Scotland," under which title he summoned a parliament to Perth. But the sun of his glory was soon to set. Edward, who had returned, was now (1298) on his way to Scotland, and when he joined earl Warrenne at Berwick he found himself at the head of seven thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, chiefly Welsh and Irish. He advanced to the Forth; want of provisions forced him to fall back; and, hearing that Wallace lay with his army in the forest of Falkirk, in order to harass him in his retreat he moved in that direction. Having halted for the night on the moor of Linlithgow, the English, on advancing next morning, (July 22,) found the enemy posted behind a morass. Wallace had drawn up his pikemen in four circular masses, called Schiltrons, connected by lines of archers from the forest of Selkirk. He had stationed his cavalry in the rear. Having made this judicious arrangement, he cried, "I haif brocht you to the king, hop (dance) gif ye can." One division of the English got entangled in the morass; a second, led by the bishop of Durham, went round it; the prelate then ordered his men to halt till the other divisions came up. "To thy mass, bishop!" cried a knight, and dashed on against the Scottish cavalry, who fled at the first charge. The line of archers was speedily broken, but the pikemen stood firm, till the English archers and the military engines having played on them, and openings being effected in their circles, the horse rushed into them

and cut the brave Scots to pieces. The loss of the Scots is variously stated at from fifteen to fifty thousand men. Wallace escaped, but he could only resume his former predatory courses.

After his victory Edward traversed the country in all directions without meeting any resistance. Want of provisions, however, soon obliged him to retire, and Galloway and all the country north of the firths remained in the hands of the Scots, whose affairs were now guided by the bishop of St. Andrews, Bruce earl of Carrick, John Comyn, and John de Soulis acting as regents in the name of John Baliol, (1299.) They laid siege to the castle of Stirling, which, not being relieved by Edward, was forced to surrender.

The Scots had applied to pope Boniface VIII. to interfere in their behalf, and in the course of this summer the pontiff wrote a letter to Edward, in which, after asserting that Scotland belonged in full right to the Roman see, he proceeded to detail the proofs of its independence of the English crown, with which the Scots had furnished him; and concluded by boldly reserving to his own decision every point at issue between the king of England and the king or people of Scotland. This bull was so long delayed that it did not reach Edward till after his return from Scotland in the following summer, (1300.) A truce, at the desire of the king of France, having been concluded with the Scots, a parliament met (Feb. 1301) to take it into consideration. This assembly in the strongest and most emphatic terms denied the right of the pope to interfere in the temporal concerns of the crown of England, and declared that they would not suffer the king, even if so inclined, to yield to any of those pretensions contained in the pontiff's letter: for whose satisfaction as a friend, though not as a judge, a long reply to that letter was drawn up. In this reply the fabulous pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his story of Brute the Trojan were treated as real history, and quoted as authority. The Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods were then gone through, and every instance of homage done by Scottish princes was enumerated. This reply, when sent to Rome, was given by the pope to the Scottish agent, and by him transmitted to the regency, who were not slow to frame a counter-statement. Here the mythic history of Ireland was opposed to that of England; the Saxon history was set aside, as Edward, being a Norman, could not claim from the Saxons; the Norman instances were denied; Edward's refusal to submit to the decision of the pontiff was ascribe to his sense of the weakness of his cause; and it

was asserted that Scotland is the peculiar property of the Holy See, Constantine having bestowed on it all the isles of the West.

Whatever might be the strength or justice of the Scottish arguments, Edward set them at nought. Having concluded a peace with the king of France he prepared for the final reduction of Scotland. In the spring of 1303 John de Segrave, whom he had made governor of that kingdom, set out by his orders with about twenty thousand men for Edinburgh. He led his forces without much precaution, and on coming to Rosslyn he divided them into three parts, each of which encamped separately. Early next morning (Feb. 24) the first division, under Segrave himself, was fallen on before they were up by a body of eight thousand Scottish horse, led by Comyn the governor and sir Simon Fraser, and was completely routed, Segrave himself being made a prisoner. The second division now came up; the Scots, having previously put their prisoners to death, fell on and routed *it* also. The third division now appeared; again the prisoners were massacred, and again the English were defeated.

This success raised the hopes of the Scots; but ere long the king appeared with a force which it were folly to resist. They hoped to defeat him like Warrenne at the bridge of Forth, but he crossed that river by a ford. The castle of Brechin alone resisted; he traversed the whole North of Scotland, and then took up his residence for the winter in the abbey of Dumferline. Hither repaired Comyn the guardian and the other nobles, and (Feb. 9, 1304) a treaty was concluded, securing them in their lives and estates, subject to such fines as parliament should impose. Some of the more turbulent or influential were required to leave the kingdom for different periods. Wallace was invited to submit with the rest,* but actuated by patriotism or some less worthy motive, he preferred the life of an outlaw. Stirling castle, strong by its position on a rock, still held out, and Edward was obliged to invest it in person. After a brave resistance of three months a surrender was agreed on, and Oliphant the governor and twenty-five of the garrison came down, as was the custom in such cases, barefoot, in their shirts, with halters about their necks. Edward advanced to meet them; they fell on their knees and implored his favor. "I have none for you,"

* "Et quant a monsieur Guilliam de Galeys est accorde, qu'il se mette en la volonte et en la grace nostre seigneur le Roy si lui semble que bon soit." — Ryley, 370.

said the king; "you must surrender at discretion." They assented. "Then," said he, "you shall be hanged as traitors." "Sir," said Oliphant, "we own our guilt; our lives are at your mercy." The rest also declared themselves guilty and sued for mercy. The king turned aside, and it is said dropped a tear; he then ordered them to be conducted into England, but not in chains. A few months after Wallace was betrayed by his servant to sir John Monteith. He was brought up to London, where he was arraigned for murder, robbery, and treason. To the two first charges he pleaded guilty, but he denied that he was a traitor, as he had never sworn fealty to Edward. He was found guilty and executed: his head was placed on the Tower; his four quarters were sent to different parts of Scotland for a similar exposure.*

The following year, (1305,) Edward, after consulting with Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce, and John Mowbray, all Scots, and asserters of Scottish independence, prepared to draw up a plan for the government of Scotland. By this the places of trust were to be put into the hands of natives and Englishmen conjointly; the laws of Scotland were to continue of force; and an amnesty was passed on condition of fines being paid, which, however, were to be spent in Scotland for the benefit of that kingdom, (Oct. 15.)

Edward now deemed that he had secured his dominion over Scotland; but never was an expectation more fallacious, for four months were hardly passed when Scotland was again in insurrection. Baliol being now dead and his son a captive in the Tower, the task of maintaining the rights of the family had fallen to his nephew John Comyn of Badenoch, whom we therefore have seen of late years acting as head of the nation. Robert Bruce, the grandson of Baliol's competitor, a young man about twenty-three years of age, was now the head of the rival house. These two noblemen having repaired to Dumfries, on what account is not certainly known,† Bruce (Feb. 10, 1306) requested Comyn to give him a private meeting in the choir of the church of the Minorites. They met; what their discourse was remains unknown; high words arose, and Bruce drew his dagger and plunged it into Comyn's bosom. Comyn fell; Bruce hurried out of the church pale and agitated. "I think I have killed Comyn," said he to his friends whom he met without. "You only think so!" cried sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, "I will secure him," and he and the rest rushed into the church. Seaton,

* See Appendix (K.)

† See Appendix (L.)

Bruce's brother-in-law, there slew Comyn's uncle, who had hastened to the spot, and Comyn himself, who was still alive, was despatched by Kirkpatrick.

After this daring deed Bruce, despairing of pardon, assumed the title of king. The people favored his pretensions, and he was crowned (March 27) at Scone. But ere long the English forces poured into Scotland, where they were joined by the adherents of Comyn; and Bruce being defeated (June 24) at Methven near Perth, became a wanderer in Athol and Breadalbane. His little band was again dispersed, and, having made his way to the coast, he sought refuge in the isle of Rathlin, on the coast of Ireland, where he remained concealed for the winter. King Edward, though broken by age and disease, had resolved to avenge the murder of Comyn. He knighted the prince of Wales and a number of the young nobility. At the banquet held on this occasion he vowed before God and the swans, which according to usage were placed on the table, to punish the Scottish rebels; and he prayed the company, if he died, not to let him be buried till his son had performed his vow. The prince and nobles also swore, and the king then set out for Carlisle, where he issued orders for the trial of such of Bruce's adherents as had been made prisoners; and the earl of Athol and some others were executed as traitors.

In the spring (1307) Bruce re-appeared and gained some advantages. The king, finding his health somewhat improved, assembled a large army at Carlisle, and put himself at its head to enter Scotland; but he had only gone five miles to a place named Burgh-on-the-Sands, when the violence of his disorder obliged him to stop, and the next day (July 7) he breathed his last, in the sixty-ninth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

It has justly been said of this great monarch, that he "is the model of a politic and warlike king." In person, though his limbs were too long and slender, (whence his name of Longshanks,) he was imposing and handsome; he was skilled in all martial exercises; his courage was undoubted; his manners were courteous and affable. Though arbitrary in temper, he was a lover of justice, and the money which he raised by his sole authority from his people was employed with frugality for national objects. In a word, there was in him much to admire, and, considering his times, little to condemn; for the maxims of feudal law justified in a great measure his conduct toward Wales and Scotland. We may

perhaps venture to style him the greatest of the house of Plantagenet.

By his first queen Eleanor of Castile, whom he tenderly loved, Edward had four sons and eleven daughters, of whom only one son, Edward, and four daughters, survived him; by Margaret of France he had two sons, Thomas earl of Norfolk and earl marshal, and Edmund earl of Kent, and one daughter who died before him.

In a legal and constitutional point of view the reign of Edward I. is one of the most important in our history, in which it on this account forms an epoch. The Confirmation of the Charters, of which the following is the history was the great constitutional measure of his reign.

Edward, as we have said, though he spent it frugally, exacted his subjects' money arbitrarily. He leaned very heavily on the church. The reigning pontiff, the ambitious Boniface VIII., had issued a bull menacing with excommunication any prince who taxed the church without his consent. When therefore the king, on the occasion of his war with France in 1296, demanded of the clergy a fifth of their movables, they pleaded the bull, and the primate Winchelsea told him that they owed obedience to two masters, of which the spiritual was the greater. The king, instead of applying to the pope in the usual manner, told them that as they would not support the government they were not worthy of its protection, and he forthwith outlawed them. They now were robbed, plundered, and abused by every ruffian that chose to do so, and the law would give them no redress. They gradually therefore made their peace with the king, yielding to all his demands. But these supplies and those granted by parliament not sufficing, he proceeded to seize the wool and leather in the hands of the merchants, to force the counties to supply him with corn and cattle. (for all which indeed he promised payment at a future day,) and finally required the personal service of every holder of land, to the value of 20*l.* a year. It was then that the constable and marshal made the bold stand against him above narrated, finding that they were supported by the nobility, he sought to make a peace with the church, and he appointed the primate one of the tutors of his son, whom he was leaving guardian of the realm. He even condescended to apologize publicly for his exactions, ascribing them to necessity, and promising amendment. The two earls did not then venture any further

than to draw up a remonstrance against his violations of the Charters, which was presented to him as he was embarking at Winchelsea, and to which he gave an evasive reply. But when he was gone they came up to parliament, when summoned, with a large body of both horse and foot, and refused to enter the city till the gates were committed to their custody. The primate, who was secretly in their interest, advised the council to comply, and they thus became masters of the prince and parliament. Their demands, however, were most moderate; they only required that the charters should be solemnly confirmed, a clause be added securing the nation forever against taxation without consent of parliament, and pardon for their refusal to attend the king. The prince and his council assented to these terms; they were sent over to the king, who after some delay and with great reluctance gave them his confirmation. On his return the earls insisted that he should confirm them anew, and after evincing great repugnance, and having recourse to every subterfuge, he was obliged to yield. He afterwards obtained from the pope a dispensation from his oaths; but the spirit of the people was too strong for him or the papal bull, and the Great Charter was thus finally and firmly established. The names of Humphrey Bohun and Roger Bigod must ever rank among those of England's most illustrious patriots. In defence of the rights of the people they withstood and overcame the most able and energetic of her monarchs.

The present constitution of parliament was fully established in this reign, Edward finding it more for his interest in general to let his people tax themselves, and grant a *subsidy*, as it was now termed, than to employ the old mode of tallaging; not but that he still had recourse to that arbitrary mode of raising supplies till the Confirmation of the Charters was wrung from him. Scutage also now went out of use, the tenants in chief paying a subsidy like the citizens and clergy.

The improvements in the law which were made in his reign have obtained for Edward the title of the English Justinian. The limits of the jurisdiction of the several courts of law were fixed; the itinerant justices were directed to hold assizes thrice a year in each county. By the celebrated statute of Winchester effectual provisions were made for the public security. It enacts that every host shall be answerable for his guests; that the gates of towns shall be kept locked from sunset to sunrise; that when a robbery is committed the hue and cry shall be made after the felon, and

every man be ready to follow it armed; the hundred to be answerable for the damage if the robber is not taken. For greater security to travellers, the trees and underwood were to be cleared away for a space of two hundred feet on each side of the highway. Officers named Conservators were appointed to carry these provisions into effect, whose powers were gradually extended and their title changed to that of Justices of Peace.

The statute of entails, which so mainly contributes to keep up the wealth and influence of the nobility, and to prevent the division or alienation of landed property, which is so detrimental to the interests of an aristocracy, is also to be referred to this reign. To check the clergy in their schemes for the acquisition of land, Edward caused to be passed the statute of *mortmain*; this, however, they contrived to elude by what were called *uses*; but the ingenuity of the common law lawyers equalled theirs; each new device was met by an appropriate remedy, and the law finally triumphed over the church.

It is remarkable that Edward, who was so little of a bigot in general, showed himself a fanatic in respect of the Jews. One of the consequences of the Conquest had been the establishment of this people in England, where they followed their usual trade of lending money, and were also the importers of the rare and precious commodities of distant countries. Their rate of interest was enormous, owing to the insecurity of payment; the church had infused a prejudice against lending at all on interest, and the Jews, on this account, and as the enemies of Christ, were objects of hatred to the people. But the crown protected them, though it made them pay dear for its favor. They were in fact regarded as the property of the king, and all that they possessed was his, and might be seized at his pleasure.

In 1287 Edward threw the whole of them into prison till they paid a sum of 12,000*l.*, and in 1290, he confiscated their property and banished them the kingdom.*

* They did not reappear in England till the time of the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD II. (OF CARNARVON.)

1307—1327.

EDWARD II. was twenty-three years of age when he succeeded to the throne. He was handsome in person and amiable in temper; but he was weak in mind and fond of pleasure—in all things the opposite of his illustrious sire. He was exceedingly attached to a young man of his own age named Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, whom the late king had given him as a companion. Gaveston, though brave, witty, and accomplished, was dissipated and insolent, and the king, finding his society injurious to the prince, had banished him the realm, and bound his son by oath never to recall him without his permission. This injunction he solemnly repeated when he summoned the prince, who was going to London, to the side of his sick-bed at Carlisle. At the same time he charged him, in case of his own death, not to intermit the Scottish war; and it is added, made him swear that when he was dead he would cause his body to be boiled in a caldron till the flesh was separated from the bones, which last he should always have carried before him when marching against the Scots.

The new king had not sufficient strength of mind to refuse an oath, or to keep it when taken. His first act was to issue an order for the return of Gaveston; he buried the body of his father at Westminster; and, after marching a little way into Scotland, where he was joined by Gaveston, he retired and disbanded his army. Even before the favorite's return the royal duchy of Cornwall had been conferred on him; the royal officers were now changed at his pleasure; he was made lord chamberlain, and married to the sister of the earl of Gloucester, the king's niece. A large grant of lands in Guienne was bestowed on him, and at Christmas, when Edward was departing for France to do his homage for Guienne and espouse the princess Isabel, Gaveston was appointed guardian of the realm. On the king's return with his lovely bride, (Feb. 1308,) the guardian and the barons of the realm came, as usual, to meet him; Edward, regardless of decorum, the moment he beheld Gaveston, rushed into his arms, kissed him and called him his brother; of the other nobles

he took little heed. At the coronation, (Feb. 24,) the mortal offence of the ancient nobility, the high honor of carrying the crown before the king was assigned to the favorite. Their indignation now knew no bounds, and three days afterwards they met and petitioned the king to banish him. Edward put them off till Easter, but he was then obliged to comply. Gaveston himself was made to swear that he would never return, and the bishops pronounced him excommunicate if he broke his oath. The king made him new grants of land and accompanied him to Bristol, where he embarked, and the barons to their surprise soon learned that he was governor of Ireland.

The causes of the enmity of the nobles to Gaveston are to be sought not merely in their patriotism, or their national or family pride: the personal vanity of many of them had been wounded on various occasions. Gaveston, who excelled in martial exercises, had unhorsed the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and others in the tournaments, and his biting wit had affixed nicknames on many of them,* which mortified more than serious injuries. When he was no longer present, however, their resentment gradually cooled, and the king found means to induce them to allow of his return; the pope absolved him from his oath, and Edward hastened to Chester to meet him, (1309.) But, untaught by experience, both the king and his minion went on in their old courses. The barons refused to attend a parliament summoned to York. As the king's necessities were urgent, Gaveston was obliged to conceal himself in Flanders, and the parliament then met at Westminster, (Feb. 1310.)

The barons, as they were wont when intending to intimidate their sovereign, came attended by their armed vassals. The king was obliged to consent to the appointment of a committee of eight earls, seven bishops, and six barons, who under the title of Ordainers were to regulate his household and redress the national grievances. He then proceeded to the north, where he was rejoined by Gaveston, on whom he lavished more wealth and honors, and in August he returned to London to receive the articles of reform which had been drawn up. These articles tended chiefly to limit the excesses of the royal authority, and to give parliament a control in the appointment of public officers, and it was ex-

* He called Lancaster "the old hog," and "the stage-player," Pembroke, "Joseph the Jew;" Gloucester, "the cuckold's bird," and Warwick, "the black dog of the wood."

pressly provided that Gaveston should be banished the king's dominions. Edward after a long resistance consented to sign them; but he previously made a protest, with a view probably to a future evasion. Gaveston and he parted with tears, (Nov. 1,) and the favorite retired to Flanders. The king dissolved the parliament and returned to the north, and before Christmas the barons learned with surprise and indignation that Gaveston had rejoined him at York. By a royal proclamation it was stated that he had returned in obedience to the king's orders, and a new grant was made him of his estates and honors.

The barons saw that there was an end of all hopes of weaning the king from Gaveston, and that they or the favorite must fall. A new confederacy was formed, (1312,) of which the head was Thomas earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III., the possessor of five earldoms; and the primate gave it his countenance. Having assembled under the pretext of a tournament, they proceeded to York, and finding that the king was at Newcastle they followed him thither. Regardless of the tears and entreaties of his queen, Edward fled with his favorite to Tynemouth, and thence by sea to Scarborough, where leaving Gaveston in the castle he returned to York. Gaveston was besieged by the earls of Surrey and Pembroke, and finding the place untenable he surrendered to Pembroke on condition of being reinstated in it if no accommodation could be effected within two months. Meantime he was to be confined in his own castle at Wallingford. On the way thither he halted at Pembroke's castle of Dedington near Banbury, where that earl left him with only a few servants. He went to rest without suspicion; before dawn he was desired to dress himself and come forth; at the gate he found the earl of Warwick and a large force; he was placed on a mule and led to Warwick castle, where shouts of triumph and martial music greeted his arrival. The confederate lords sat in council; it was proposed to save his life, but one of the party observed, "You have caught the fox if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." His death was resolved on; in vain he threw himself at the feet of Lancaster and implored for mercy; he was taken to an adjacent heath and there beheaded. The intelligence of this atrocious deed threw the king into a paroxysm of grief and rage. Time and circumstances, however, gradually cooled his anger or taught him to conceal it, and toward the end of the following year (1313) he and his barons were to all appearance fully reconciled.

Scotland now claimed all the attention of the English king. While Edward had been engaged in supporting his insolent favorite against his barons, Bruce had gradually made himself master of all the strong places held by the English. News arriving (1314) that the governor of Stirling had agreed to surrender if not speedily relieved, Edward summoned his military tenants to meet him at Berwick. But various difficulties being thrown in his way, and Lancaster, Warwick, and other lords disobeying the summons, he did not reach Stirling till the day before that of the promised surrender, and with a force far inferior to what he had calculated on.* He found Bruce's army arranged in three square columns, and extending from the *burn*, or brook, of Bannock to near the castle, with pits having sharp stakes placed in them, and covered with hurdles and sods, to protect its left wing. The men of Argyle, Carrick, and the Isles formed a reserve under Bruce himself. His entire force amounted to about forty-thousand men, and fifteen thousand camp followers lay in a valley at some distance, with directions to show themselves during the conflict.

That very evening a skirmish took place between the advanced posts, in which Bruce clove with his battle-axe the skull of a knight named Henry de Bohun. At daybreak (June 24) the Scots, having heard mass from the abbot of Inchaffray, formed in line of battle; the abbot again prayed, and the whole army fell on their knees. "They kneel," cried some English, "they beg for mercy." "Be not deceived," replied Ingelram de Umfraville, "they beg for mercy; but it is only from God." The English infantry and archers advanced; the Scots received them boldly; the conflict was long and dubious; Bruce brought up his reserve; some men-at-arms took the English in flank, and they broke and fled. The earl of Gloucester then led on the horse to renew the engagement, but the slight covering of the pits gave way under their weight, and men and horses were overthrown.

The appearance of those who lay in the valley completed the dismay of the English, and they fled in all directions. Edward himself never halted till he reached Dunbar, where he embarked for Berwick. His treasure, military stores, and engines fell into the hands of the conquerors. Many knights and esquires were made prisoners; these Bruce treated with

* According to the poet Barbour, the great Scottish authority for the details of this battle, he had 100,000 men, of whom 40,000 were cavalry and 50,000 archers. (Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 296.)

kindness and with courtesy; the common soldiery were slaughtered without mercy.

The victory of Bannock-burn secured the independence of Scotland. Nothing can be more natural than that it should form a topic of proud exultation to writers of that nation; but *we*, who have no national predilections, may ask what was the real gain of Scotland; and would it not have been as well, since the whole island was to be ruled by one sceptre, if the union had taken place then, as three centuries later, after Scotland had endured all the evils of feudal anarchy and of a continued state of predatory warfare with England? *

A famine succeeded in England; the dissensions between the king and his barons were renewed. Bruce sent his brother Edward with six thousand men over to Ireland (1315) at the invitation of the native chiefs, numbers of whom joined his standard, and (1316) he was crowned king of Ireland. Robert Bruce passed over to his aid, and they advanced to Dublin and Limerick. But the approach of winter forcing them to fall back to Ulster, Robert returned home, and Edward was afterwards (Oct. 5, 1318) defeated and slain near Dundalk. Robert after his return reduced Berwick, (1318,) and spread his ravages to the Humber; and Edward, having vainly endeavored to recover Berwick, agreed to a truce for two years, (1320.)

The feeble mind of Edward, incapable of self-reliance, felt a favorite to be indispensable. The place of Gaveston was therefore now occupied by Hugh le Despenser, the son of a most respectable old gentleman of the same name. Exclusive of any insolence of his own, the very circumstance of his being the favorite would have sufficed to render Spenser an object of enmity to Lancaster and the other factious barons, and an occasion soon occurred which set them at enmity with him. Spenser, having married one of the co-heiresses of the earl of Gloucester, had become possessed of a large property on the marches of Wales. John de Mowbray, who had married the daughter of the lord of Gower, whose estate lay contiguous to that of the favorite, on the death of his father-in-law entered into possession of it without the usual livery of seizin from the crown. Spenser, who coveted the lands of Gower, now maintained that they were forfeit. The lords of

* Mr. Tytler bids us look at Ireland as a proof of what Scotland in such case would have been. We answer this by bidding *him* look at Wales. There could be no analogy between Scotland and Ireland. The Scots differed little from the English in language, manners and laws.

the marches associated (1321) for the defence of the rights. With a large force they entered the favorite's lands, took his castles and destroyed all his property. They then marched into Yorkshire and formed an alliance with Lancaster and the barons of his faction against the two Spensers; and headed by Lancaster they advanced toward London, wasting and destroying the estates of the elder Spenser on their way. From St. Albans they sent a message to the king requiring the banishment of the Spensers; Edward returned a spirited refusal: they advanced and took up their quarters about Holborn and Clerkenwell, whence after some delay for consultation they proceeded with armed men to Westminster, where the parliament was sitting, and forced the king and barons to assent to their demands. They then separated and retired to their homes.

But ere two months were passed the king saw himself able to take vengeance on them. As the queen was on her way to Canterbury, she proposed to pass the night at the royal castle of Ledes. Lord Badlesmere, the governor, was absent; his wife refused her admittance; some of her attendants even were slain. The queen complained loudly of the insult, the feelings of the nation were roused, and Edward was enabled to assemble an army, and attack and take the castle. Feeling himself now strong he recalled the Spensers as being banished illegally. The confederates had again recourse to arms; they formed an alliance with Robert Bruce, (1323.) The king advanced northwards; at Burton-on-Trent Lancaster held the royal troops for three days in check, but when they had forded the river he retired into Yorkshire. On reaching Boroughbridge he found the opposite bank of the river occupied by sir Simon Ward and sir Andrew Harclay. Hereford was slain in attempting to force the bridge; Lancaster having vainly tried a ford was obliged to surrender. He was conducted to his own castle of Pontefract; where he was arraigned before the king and some earls and barons. He was not permitted to make any defence; in regard for his royal descent, the sentence of hanging passed on him was commuted to decapitation: he was then set on a gray pony without a bridle; his confessor walked by his side, the people insulted and pelted him with mud. "King of Heaven," cried the unhappy nobleman, "grant me mercy, for the king of earth has forsaken me." On an eminence without the town the cavalcade halted; the earl knelt with his face to the east; he was made to turn to the north, whence he had looked for aid, and his head was then struck off.

Twenty-eight of the captive knights were nanged as traitors; others were fined or imprisoned. The elder Spenser was created earl of Winchester, and several of the forfeited estates were bestowed on him.

Among the most important captives was Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, one of the lords marchers of Wales. Having managed to corrupt one of the officers of the Tower, he got to the river, where a boat was waiting for him; on the other side he found his servants and horses; he eluded all pursuit and reached the coast of Hampshire, where a ship lay ready, and passing over to France he entered the service of king Charles, the queen of England's brother. This prince, under pretence of Edward's not having appeared at his coronation to do him homage, was planning to deprive him of his foreign dominions. It was suggested that the queen should go over to Paris to exert her influence over the mind of her brother. She therefore visited France (1325) with a splendid retinue, and a treaty similar to that by which Edward I had been cajoled out of Guienne was concluded. The king, however, agreed to this treaty, and he was on his way to go and perform homage, when he fell sick at Dover. A proposal then came from the queen that he should resign Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, who was then but twelve years old, and that Charles would accept the young prince's homage. Edward assented; the prince departed, promising a speedy return; the homage was performed, but there was no sign of the return of the queen or her son. The king wrote in affectionate terms to both; the queen replied, urging her fears of Spenser. Edward in his answer alleged that this was a mere pretence, as she and Spenser had always been on the best terms. He also wrote to the pope and to the king and peers of France, but all to no purpose.

The fact seems to be that the queen was now living in adultery with Roger Mortimer, whose person and manners had gained her affections. Her brother, who knew not or affected not to know her dishonor, abetted her in her opposition to her husband, and Edward at length felt himself obliged to declare war against him. Isabella, now meditating nothing less than an invasion of England, and reducing the power of the Spensers by force, retired to the court of the count of Hainault, to whose daughter Philippa she affianced her son. Being furnished by the count with a force of two thousand men and joined by all the English exiles, she set sail and landed (Sept. 24, 1326) at Orwell, in Suffolk. In her train appeared the earl of Kent, brother to the king;

she was joined, on landing, by his other brother, the earl of Norfolk, the earl of Leicester, brother of Lancaster, and the bishops of Ely, Hereford, and Lincoln, all at the head of their vassals. Robert de Watteville, who was sent to oppose her, went over to her with his troops. Their march was directed to London; their sole object, it was declared, was the liberation of the king from the tyranny of the Spensers and of the chancellor Baldock. Edward, having vainly tried to induce the citizens to arm in his defence, left the city; and he was scarcely gone when the population rose, seized and beheaded the bishop of Exeter, robbed and plundered several other persons, forced the Tower, set at liberty the prisoners, and declared for the queen.

The king, attended by his favorites, retired to Bristol, closely pursued by the earl of Kent and John de Hainault. Leaving the elder Spenser to defend the castle of that city, he proceeded with the younger Spenser to the marches of Wales, and finding the people there little inclined to arm in his favor, he took shipping with his favorite for Lundy Island, at the mouth of the Bristol channel. The queen with her forces soon reached Bristol, and Spenser, finding the citizens mutinous, surrendered the town and castle on the third day. He was forthwith brought to trial on the charge of having unduly influenced the royal mind, advised the execution of Lancaster, etc. Like Lancaster he was not allowed to make any defence. The venerable old man of more than ninety years was forthwith hanged as a traitor, and emboweled while alive; his body was cut into pieces and thrown to the dogs.

The unhappy king was prevented by adverse winds from reaching Lundy. He landed at Swansea, and proceeding to Neath sought to conceal himself in that neighborhood. Meantime the barons of the queen's party, acting as a parliament at Bristol, declared the realm left without a ruler by his absence, and named the young prince guardian of the kingdom. Shortly after, Spenser and Baldock having been betrayed to Leicester, the king made a voluntary surrender of himself, and was conducted to the castle of Kenilworth.

Spenser was arraigned at Hereford before Trussler, the judge who had condemned his father. A string of the most ridiculous and improbable charges was made against him. He was of course condemned, and was hung with a wreath of nettles on his head on a gallows fifty feet high. The earl of Arundel and two others were beheaded as having consented to the death of Lancaster. Baldock being a priest was confined in Newgate, where he died.

From Hereford the queen returned to London, where a parliament being assembled (Jan. 7, 1327) the crafty bishop of Hereford, the aider of all her projects, having expatiated on the vindictive character of the king, and the danger of trusting the queen in his hands, bade the members retire and come next day, prepared to say whether it were better to restore the king or appoint the prince to reign. In the morning the place was filled with turbulent citizens; no one ventured to speak in favor of the king; the prince was proclaimed by acclamation; and the peers, four prelates excepted, swore fealty to him. A few days after, (Jan. 13,) articles charging him with incapacity, indolence, cruelty, etc., were exhibited against the king, and he was deposed; but as the queen burst into loud lamentations and affected great scruples as to the legality of such a proceeding, to satisfy these pretended doubts a deputation was sent to Kenilworth, with directions, by promises and threats, to extort what should be styled a voluntary resignation from the king. It is needless to say that they succeeded, and on the day after their return (Jan. 24) the accession of the new king was proclaimed by the heralds.

The deposed monarch was still left in the custody of the earl of Leicester, but as that nobleman treated him with attention and kindness, he was taken from him and committed to sir John Maltravers, by whom he was carried to Corfe, to Bristol, and finally to Berkeley; and it is said that gross insults and indignities were offered to him in the hope of finally disturbing his reason.* The cause of this last removal was that lord Berkeley had been joined in commission with Maltravers. Berkeley, however, being ill, and away from home, the charge of guarding the king had devolved on two of his officers, Thomas Gournay and William Ogle. One night (Sept. 21) shrieks were heard to ring through the castle, and in the morning the neighboring gentry and the citizens of Bristol were invited to behold the dead body of the deposed king. No marks of violence appeared, but the features were distorted, and it was reported that death had been caused by introducing a red-hot iron through a tube into the intestines. He was buried privately at the abbey

* It was said that one day when he was to be shaved, his keepers fetched dirty water out of the ditch for the purpose. He desired it to be changed; they refused; he burst into tears, and cried, that in spite of their insolence, he would be shaved with clean and warm water.

church of Gloucester, and no inquiry whatever was made at the time.*

Such was the fate of this most unhappy prince. Too simple and innocent for the times in which his fortune was cast, he perished the victim of his own weakness of character and of the crimes of those who should have guided and protected him.

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD III. (OF WINDSOR.)

1327—1377.

THE reversal of attainders and the confiscation of the estates of the Spensers and their adherents were the first acts of the new government. Of these estates the larger portion went to Mortimer, now earl of March, and a sum of 20,000*l.* a year was assigned to the queen. A council of regency was appointed, the members of which were entirely under the control of Mortimer and the queen.

Though the truce with Scotland was not expired, Bruce seized the occasion of invading England; and poured a body of twenty-four thousand men into the northern counties, where they committed fearful ravages. The young king of England, having assembled forty thousand men, marched to Durham, and then crossed the Tyne with the design of intercepting the Scots on their return. Having waited seven days to no purpose, he repassed the river, and at length found the Scots posted on a hill on the right bank of the Wear. The two armies remained for some days opposite each other, separated by the river. At length the Scots decamped in the night, and the English army, finding pursuit hopeless, returned to Durham. It was disbanded a few days after at York. The following year (1328) a peace was concluded with Scotland, whose absolute independence was acknowledged in the most ample manner, and Edward's sister Jane was betrothed to David the son and heir of Robert Bruce.

The odium of this peace, at which the people were highly

* See Appendix (M.)

displeased, fell chiefly on Mortimer. This aspiring man, heedless of the fate of Gaveston and Spenser, far outwent them in insolence, and the haughty barons, especially the princes of the blood, could ill brook to see him in effect the ruler of the realm. They took arms, but Lancaster, being deserted by the earls of Kent and Norfolk, was forced to submit and sue for pardon. Mortimer, being determined to strike terror into the princes, selected the earl of Kent as his victim. His agents persuaded this weak but well-meaning man that his brother the late king was still alive, and he was led to form projects for restoring him to his throne. When Mortimer thought he had sufficient evidence against him, he caused him to be seized and arraigned. The earl acknowledged his own letters which were produced; he was found guilty, and sentenced to die as a traitor, and he was beheaded the following day, (March 19, 1330.) His estates were given to Mortimer's youngest son Geoffrey.

Mortimer probably now deemed his power secure, but in reality he had only reached the edge of the precipice. The young king had attained his eighteenth year; his spirit was high, and he could ill bear the restraint to which he was subject. He secretly confided his thoughts to lord Montacute, who advised him to seize Mortimer at the parliament which was to be held at Nottingham. The king assented, and some persons who could be depended on were engaged in the design.

In November the queen with her son and Mortimer took up their abode in the castle of Nottingham. For Mortimer's security a strong guard lay in it; the locks on the gates were changed, and the keys were placed every night under the queen's pillow. Montacute informed sir Thomas Eland, the governor, of the king's pleasure, previously swearing him to secrecy; and Eland then told him of a subterraneous passage, which was unknown to Mortimer, and through which he would admit the king's friends. Montacute rode with his friends into the country, and Mortimer, who had received some hints of their design, attributed their departure to their fear of discovery. Before midnight Eland admitted them through the passage; on the stairs leading to the principal tower they were joined by the king; they ascended in silence till they heard the sound of voices in an apartment adjoining that of the queen, where Mortimer was in consultation with the bishop of Lincoln and some other friends. They burst open the door, slaying two knights who defended it. The queen in alarm cried from her bed, "Sweet

son, fair son, spare my gentle [noble] Mortimer." She then rushed into the room, but in spite of her efforts Mortimer was made a prisoner. Next morning the king announced that he had assumed the reins of government, and summoned a parliament to meet him at Westminster.

When the parliament met (Nov. 26) Mortimer was accused of having set enmity between the late king and his queen; of having caused the death of the king and of the earl of Kent, and of various other offences. He was condemned without hesitation, and hanged three days after (Nov. 29) at the Elms at Tyburn, with his associate sir Simon Bereford. The queen was confined at her manor of Risings near London, and her income reduced to 3000*l.* a year, which the king afterwards increased to 4000*l.* He paid her an annual visit of ceremony, but never allowed her to meddle in affairs of state. In this retirement she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life.

Scotland was the first object which attracted the attention of the young king. The English and Scottish lords had held lands in both kingdoms, and at the late peace little care appears to have been taken for their interests. As Robert Bruce was now dead, the English claimants, finding that their king would not interfere, resolved to endeavor to regain their lands by the sword. They placed at their head Edward son of John Baliol, and having collected about three thousand men, embarked at Ravenspur and landed on the coast of Fife, (1332.) Baliol then sent his fleet to the mouth of the Tay, and with his small army boldly marched into the interior. The earl of Mar, the regent, had assembled two armies each of thirty thousand men, led by himself and the earl of March. Baliol came up with that of the regent at Duplin, crossed the river Earn in the night, and fell on and slaughtered the Scots in their camp. When the daylight showed the regent his enemies, he rallied his men and engaged them. A total defeat was the lot of the Scots. Mar himself, several of the nobles, and it is said twelve thousand men, were slain. Baliol then sped away to Perth, pursued by the earl of March, who invested the town by land and by water; but the English ships attacked and defeated his fleet, and want of provisions obliged his army to disperse. The friends of his family now resorted to Baliol, and he was crowned at Scone, (Sept. 24,) having won a kingdom in less than seven weeks! His opponents then solicited a truce for assembling a parliament, to which Baliol consented; but during the truce he was suddenly attacked (Dec. 18) at Annan by the earl of

Moray, and was forced to seek refuge in the English borders.

Edward, who had perhaps given Baliol private encouragement, had in the month of November formed two secret treaties with him. By the one Baliol acknowledged the feudal superiority of England; gave up the town of Berwick, and offered to marry the princess Jane, whose marriage with David Bruce had not been consummated. By the second the two kings bound themselves to aid each other against all domestic enemies. As the Scots by their incursions gave a pretext for charging them with a breach of the treaty of peace, Edward prevailed on his parliament to consent to a renewal of the war, and Baliol (1333) laid siege to Berwick, which was gallantly defended by the earl of March. The siege had lasted two months when king Edward arrived; the operations were now carried on more vigorously, and the garrison gave hostages to surrender if not relieved by a certain day. The earl of Moray, the regent, came with a numerous army and offered battle; the English kept within their lines, and the regent, having put some knights and provisions into the town, retired and laid siege to Bamborough, where queen Philippa was residing. Edward then required the garrison to surrender; they replied that they had been relieved; he hanged one of the hostages, and they then agreed to admit the English at the end of three days unless the Scottish army should oblige them to raise the siege, or put in three hundred men-at-arms* between sunrise and sunset of the same day. On the afternoon of the third day (July 19) the Scottish army appeared and advanced to the attack in four divisions. Edward drew up his troops on Halidon-hill. The Scots had to make their way through marshy ground at its foot, and in their progress they suffered severely from the discharges of the English archers. Weary and in disorder they reached the spot where the enemy awaited them. After a brave struggle they were totally routed; the regent himself and several nobles were slain on the field; the fugitives were slaughtered without mercy, especially by the Irish in Edward's army; and the total number of the slain is said to have been thirty thousand. Berwick surrendered; the young king and his sister the princess Jane, who were at Dumbarton, were conveyed to France for safety. Baliol was acknowledged as king in the Scottish parliament, the fealty to Edward was renewed, and

* The men-at-arms were the heavy feudal cavalry, consisting of the knights and their esquires.

all the country eastward of a line drawn from Dumfries to Linlithgow was ceded to him. But the Scots soon rose again against Baliol, and after a contest of some years David was enabled to return (1341) and resume his crown.

It is not unlikely that Edward would have conquered Scotland, but that his attention was diverted from it by the prospect of a more brilliant though less solid acquisition. He was now induced to put forth a claim to the crown of France in right of his mother. Her father Philip the Fair had left three sons and this one daughter. The eldest son Louis Hutin, who succeeded, died, leaving an only daughter; but as the queen was pregnant, his brother Philip was made regent till she should be delivered. She brought forth a son, who died within a few days, and Philip was then proclaimed king; the duke of Burgundy asserted the rights of the young princess, who was his niece, but the states-general declared her and all females incapable of inheriting the crown. Philip died leaving three daughters, and his brother Charles succeeded, who also died leaving one daughter, and his widow pregnant. His cousin-german Philip of Valois was made regent, and when the queen was delivered of a daughter he was placed at once upon the throne. This regulation of the descent of the French crown was said, though improperly, to depend on a law of the Salian Franks, hence called the Salic law; but the notion had probably grown up from the circumstance of the next heir, even from the time of Clovis, having always happened to be a male; the states therefore, when called to decide after the death of Louis Hutin, naturally supposed such to be the law, and regulated the succession accordingly.

Edward of England was the only opponent to the claim of Philip of Valois. He fancied, at least he asserted, that though females could not inherit themselves, they could transmit a right to their male descendants, and he therefore claimed the crown of France in right of his mother. Nothing, however, could be worse founded than this claim; for even allowing the principle, the right of the king of Navarre, son of Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, was preferable to his. Accordingly the twelve peers and the barons of France rejected his claim at once, and he was shortly after summoned to do homage to Philip for Guienne, with which summons he deemed it expedient to comply. Still there was no cordiality between him and Philip, who kept possession of some fortresses in Guienne, and aided the partisans of David in Scotland, though Edward offered him a large sum of money

for those fortresses, and made various proposals of marriage between their children. At length Edward began to think of reviving and asserting his claim to the crown of France, to which, it is said, he was mainly impelled by the counsels of Robert count of Artois, who, being obliged to fly from France for the forgery of public documents, had found a refuge at the court of England.

The first object of Edward, when he had resolved on war, was to form as many alliances as possible. Through his father-in-law the count of Hainault, and by means of large sums of money, he gained the duke of Brabant and some more of the neighboring petty princes. He also formed an alliance with the emperor of Germany. But he chiefly sought to win the Flemings; and here a phenomenon, unique to the north of the Alps, presented itself, — application was to be made not to a prince, but to a leading demagogue. For in Flanders the lower ranks had by trade and manufacture acquired a degree of opulence and influence unknown elsewhere. They therefore would not tamely submit to the oppressions and extortions of their lords; they rose in tumults; they had driven their earl into France, and, like the Grecian and Italian cities in similar circumstances, they were ruled with despotic power by their leaders. The *tyrant*, as in the Greek sense we may call him, of Flanders, at this time was James van Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, and to him did Edward condescend to sue. Artaveldt readily embraced his interests and invited him to pass over to Flanders without delay. The king, having obtained a cheerful consent and a grant from his parliament, and raised more money by forced loans, by pawning the crown jewels and seizing the property of the Lombards,* sailed over to Antwerp in the summer (1338.) But he found it impossible to excite his allies to action, and all he could obtain was a promise to join him the following summer, when the campaign should be opened by the siege of Cambray.

At the appointed time (1339) Edward found himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, with which he appeared before the walls of Cambray. He wasted its territory and then entered France; but here the counts of Namur and Hainault quitted him, alleging feudal scruples. He

* When the Jews were expelled, the trade of banking and money lending fell into the hands of the Italian traders, who were mostly Lombards. Lombard-street (named from them) and its vicinity are still the great seats of banking.

advanced then for twelve leagues, wasting and burning as he went. His other allies now refused to go any further in an enemy's country. Philip soon appeared with a more numerous host; the two armies were drawn up in battle-array near Laon, but no action resulted. Both then retired, and Edward having thanked and disbanded his allies returned to England, having thus to no purpose wasted so much money, and being in consequence now 300,000*l.* in debt. While he was in Flanders, Edward, by the advice of Artaveldt, assumed the title of king of France to satisfy the feudal scruples of the Flemings. He also received from the emperor the title of Vicar of the Empire to enable him to command Germans. The pope at this time vainly sought to mediate between him and Philip.

The next year (1340) Philip assembled in the harbor of Sluys an immense fleet in order to intercept his rival on his passage. Edward immediately collected all the ships in the southern ports and sailed to engage it. He found it moored in four lines across the passage into the harbor, the ships being fastened together with iron chains, and having turrets supplied with large stones at their heads. Edward at first put out to sea to get clear of the sun, which was in his eyes, and then bore down with wind and tide. After a stout resistance all the ships in the first line were captured. Just then lord Morley came up with a fleet from the northern ports; the English advanced to attack the remaining lines, of which the last alone offered any opposition. The loss of the English was but two ships and about four thousand men; nearly all the vessels of the enemy were sunk or taken, and about thirty thousand men perished.

Edward landed next day; his allies crowded to his standard; and at the head of two hundred thousand men he advanced to lay siege to Tournay and St. Omer. But those sent against the latter place, fifty thousand Flemings under Robert of Artois, were seized with a sudden panic before they reached the town, and fled, leaving their arms and baggage behind them. Tournay was defended by a large garrison, and all Edward's assaults were repelled. The king of France soon appeared with a numerous army, but as before he declined coming to an engagement. Edward, who desired a speedy issue, sent him a challenge to decide their quarrel by a single combat, by one of one hundred on each side, or by a general engagement. As he addressed him simply as Philip of Valois, the king of France replied that it did not become him to take any notice of such letters; he

upbraided Edward with his breach of fealty, and assured him he would chastise him when he thought proper. At length Jane of Hainault, sister to the one king and mother-in-law to the other, came from the convent to which she had retired, and by her entreaties engaged them to consent to an armistice for nine months, which was afterwards extended under the mediation of the pope.

Disputes with his clergy and nobility occupied Edward's thoughts for some time after his return home. He was immersed in debt; the emperor had been induced to withdraw his title of Vicar of the Empire; and he was disgusted with the lukewarmness and cupidity of the princes on whom he had lavished his money. He would therefore have probably given up all his designs on France, but for a new prospect, that opened to him on another side.

John duke of Brittany, being without issue, had, with the concurrence of the states, recognized as his heir Jane, the daughter of his brother Guy, and had married her to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew. But on the death of the duke, his half-brother, John earl of Montfort, though he had sworn fealty to Charles and Jane, made himself master of most of the strong places, and asserted his right to the succession. He then crossed over to England and offered to do homage to Edward as king of France, if he would aid him against Philip; for the peers of France had decided in favor of Charles, and the king was preparing to restore him by arms. Edward, though Montfort's claim went on the very opposite principle to that by which he himself claimed the crown of France, readily made a treaty with him. Montfort returned to Brittany and threw himself into the town of Nantes, where he was besieged by the duke of Normandy, Philip's eldest son; the city was betrayed by the inhabitants, and Montfort was made a captive and shut up in the tower of the Louvre at Paris.

But though Montfort was a captive his cause was still maintained. His wife Jane, sister to the earl of Flanders, a woman of a most heroic spirit, when she heard of his captivity, assembled the citizens of Rennes, and presenting to them her infant son, implored them to defend the last male issue of their ancient princes. Moved by her tears and eloquence, aided by a distribution of a large sum of money, they swore to live and die in her cause. A similar spirit was shown in the other towns which she visited. Having sent her son for security to England, she shut herself up in the fortress of Hennebon, where the following spring (1342)

she was closely besieged by the troops of Charles. The countess herself, cased in armor, directed the defence and inspirited her men. One day while the besiegers were busily engaged in an assault, she sallied forth by the opposite gate at the head of two hundred men, and attacked and set their camp on fire. Finding her return cut off, she ordered her men to disperse and make as best they could for Brest, and soon after at the head of five hundred men she forced her way through the hostile camp and re-entered Hennebon in triumph. Fatigue and famine, however, were wearing away the garrison, and the bishop of Leon was arranging the terms of a capitulation, when the countess, who had ascended the highest turret of the castle to look out to sea, saw sails in the distance. "The English! - I see the English!" she cried aloud; the soldiers grasped their arms; the treaty was broken off, and sir Walter Manny, who had long been detained by contrary winds, entered the harbor with a large force, and sallying forth drove off the besiegers.

The countess soon after made a voyage to England to solicit more effectual succor. She returned with a fleet of forty-five ships, carrying troops commanded by Robert of Artois. A French fleet met them; an action ensued, in which the countess displayed her usual heroism. They took the town of Vannes, but it was soon after recovered by some of Charles's party, and Robert of Artois died of a wound which he received. As the truce with France was now expired, Edward embarked in the autumn with twelve thousand men and landed at Morbihan near Vannes, but he unwisely made three divisions of his force and invested at the same time Vannes, Nantes, and Rennes. On the approach of the Duke of Normandy with a large army, he drew his forces again together, and both armies lay for some weeks of the winter opposite each other. The papal legates then interposed their good offices, and a truce was concluded (1343) for three years and eight months. The liberation of Montfort was stipulated, but Philip still detained him in prison. At the end of two years he made his escape disguised as a merchant, but he died shortly after at Hennebon.

The truce was of short continuance, mutual infractions of it were complained of, and the very next year (1344) Edward had the address to induce his parliament to advise him to renew the war. The king's cousin the earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, one of the bravest, most virtuous and accomplished noblemen of the age, was sent with an army to Guienne. Landing at Bayonne he advanced to Bordeaux; he

then entered Perigord and reduced several places. A town named Auberoche being now in the hands of the English, the count of Lisle, the French general, secretly assembled twelve thousand men and invested it. Derby with but three hundred men-at-arms and six hundred archers hastened to its relief. At supper-time he burst into the enemy's camp, took or killed the general and principal officers, and dispersed the troops. He then attacked the camp at the other side of the town; the garrison at the same time made a sally, and of the whole twelve thousand men but a few escaped. Derby pursued his career of victory, and at length the French government found it necessary to send the duke of Normandy with an overwhelming force to oppose him.

The king of England learning the danger of Guienne prepared to lead a large force to its relief. He had lately gone over to Sluys to meet the deputies of the Flemish towns, whom he wished to transfer their allegiance from their own count to his son prince Edward. Artavelde gave him all the aid in his power and gained over some of the cities; but in his own town of Ghent the people had been turned against him, and they burst into his house and murdered him. This tragic event, however, did not break off the good feeling between the king and the Flemings, who engaged to invade France in concert with him.

In the month of July, 1346, Edward embarked at Southampton with an army of four thousand men-at-arms, ten thousand archers, ten thousand Welsh and six thousand Irish light troops, attended by the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, and the principal nobility. He sailed for Guienne, but at the suggestion of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, a Norman exile, or perhaps such being his original design, he suddenly changed his course and landed at La Hogue in Normandy, (July 12.) He destroyed all the shipping in the adjacent ports, his troops spread their ravages over the whole country, and Caranton, St. Lo, Caen, and other towns were taken. He advanced along the left bank of the Seine in the hope of taking Rouen, intending then to march for Picardy and join the army of forty thousand Flemings who were to invade France. But he found the bridge at Rouen broken, and king Philip lying with a numerous army on the opposite side. He went further up the river, but every bridge was broken, and the French still moved as he did. He burned the towns, his light troops even fired St. Germain, St. Cloud, Neuilly, and other places close to Paris; but Philip, whose object was to surround and overwhelm him, would give no

opportunity of fighting. Edward then had recourse to stratagem. Decamping early one morning from Poissy he marched as if for Paris, and when he had ascertained that the French were in motion he suddenly retraced his steps, crossed by the bridge, which workmen had meantime repaired, and entered Pontoise. He then advanced rapidly, burning on his way the suburbs of Beauvais. On reaching the Somme he found that all the bridges were secured, and that Philip was at Amiens with 100,000 men. By the promise of liberty and a large reward, a peasant, named Gobin Agace, who was among the prisoners, was induced to lead the English to a ford at Blanchetaque near Abbeville, which might be passed at ebb tide. They set out at midnight: the water was not sufficiently low when they reached it, and while they waited they saw Godemar du Faye come with twelve thousand men and occupy the opposite bank, and every moment they expected to be overtaken by king Philip. At ten o'clock the tide was out; the men-at-arms entered the river; the French cavalry dashed in to meet them; the English fought with the valor inspired by despair, and drove them off with a loss of two thousand men, and all but a few stragglers were safely over when Philip came up. The rising of the tide prevented the passage of the French, and they were obliged to go round by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward marched to Crotoi on the coast, where he gave his troops rest and refreshment, and great as was the disparity of their forces he resolved to give Philip battle. He selected for this purpose an eminence behind the village of Creci, (Aug. 26,) where he disposed his troops in three divisions, each composed of men-at-arms and archers, the latter placed in front in the form of a harrow. The prince of Wales aided by the earls of Oxford and Warwick led the first; the earls of Arundel and Northampton the second; the king himself the third or reserve. Trenches were sunk on the flanks; the baggage was placed in a wood in the rear; the horses were all removed that the danger might be common. The king, who, according to the custom of the age, had at dawn heard mass and received the sacrament, rode along the lines cheering the men, and at ten o'clock they took their breakfast, each sitting down where he stood. The French, who had halted for a day at Abbeville, were now advancing. Some knights who were sent forward, when they saw the firm array of the English, advised the king not to give battle till the next day. Philip assented; word was given to halt; but the orders were not understood or were neglected, and the

troops rolled on in confusion and disorder till they came in view of the English. Philip then, filled with rage and departing from his usual caution, ordered the Genoese cross-bow-men to form and begin the fight. These were a body of six, or as some say fifteen thousand Genoese and other Italians, led by two of their nobles of the Grimaldi and Doria families. They were followed by the king's brother, the count of Alençon, at the head of a splendid body of cavalry; the rest of the army succeeded in four divisions under the king in person. The number of the French army is variously given at from sixty to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

The combat of men seemed to be preceded by that of the elements. A partial eclipse had dimmed the sun; flights of birds flew screaming over the two armies precursive of a storm, and soon the thunder roared, the lightning flashed, and the rain descended in torrents. At five in the afternoon the sky cleared and the sun shone bright in the eyes of the French. The Genoese then gave three shouts, levelled their ponderous crossbows, and discharged their bolts. The English archers received the discharge in silence, then drawing their long-bows from their cases, they showered their cloth-yard arrows thick as snow on the Genoese, who, as they required time to recharge their bows, fell into disorder. The count of Alençon, calling them cowards, ordered his knights to cut them down. This but increased the confusion; many of the knights were unhorsed by the archers, and the Welshmen ran forward and despatched them with their knives. When clear of the Genoese the cavalry pressed on; the prince and his men-at-arms were nearly surrounded when the second line advanced; a knight was sent to Edward, who viewed the fight from the summit of a windmill, praying him to send more aid. "Is my son slain or wounded?" said he. "No!" replied the envoy. "Then," said he, "tell Warwick he shall have no aid. Let the boy win his spurs. He and they who have him in charge shall earn the whole glory of the day." This reply gave fresh vigor to the English; the count of Alençon was slain and his troops routed; the king of France then advanced to the relief, but the showers of arrows fearfully thinned his ranks; his horse was killed under him; his friends in vain urged him to retire; at length, when it was growing dark, John of Hainault laid hold of his bridle and forced him to quit the field. They fled to Amiens, but the fight was still kept up in various parts till terminated by the increasing darkness. When the prince approached

him Edward sprang forth to meet him : " Fair son," cried he as he clasped him to his bosom, " continue your career. You have acted nobly and shown yourself worthy of me and the crown." *

Next morning a dense mist covered the sky, under which a body of English fell in with and routed the militia of Amiens and Beauvais, and a body of knights led by the bishop of Rouen and the grand prior of France. When the sun dispelled the mist thousands of the French were seen, who had passed the night under the trees and hedges, and these unfortunates were slaughtered without mercy. At noon the lords Cobham and Stafford were sent with heralds to examine the field of battle. They brought to the king eighty banners, and reported the death of eleven princes, one thousand two hundred knights, one thousand four hundred gentlemen, four thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand common men. The most illustrious of the slain was John king of Bohemia. This prince, who was blind from age, ordered four of his knights to lead him into the thick of the battle, " That I too," said he, " may have a stroke at the English." They then interlaced his and their own bridles and rushed forward, and all were speedily slain. His crest of three ostrich feathers, and his motto, " Ich dien," (*I serve*,) were adopted by the prince of Wales, and still are those of the heir-apparent of England.

A few days after his victory, Edward advanced and laid siege to the town of Calais, in order to have possession of a port on the French coast. As he resolved to trust to the effects of blockade, he placed a numerous fleet before the harbor, and he constructed a large number of huts for the shelter of his troops during the winter. The governor, John de Vienne, bent on making an obstinate defence, drove all the useless mouths, to the number of one thousand seven hundred persons, out of the town; the king generously let them pass through the lines, and gave each of them two pieces of silver.

The duke of Normandy being obliged to retire from Guienne, the earl of Derby crossed the Garonne, laid waste Ancenis, Saintonge, and Poitou, stormed the city of Poitiers, and advanced to the Loire. In Brittany Charles was defeat-

* According to the Florentine annalist G. Villani, Edward was greatly indebted for his victory to his cannon, now for the first time employed in battle. It seems strange that so remarkable a circumstance should have escaped the notice of Froissart. Villani died within two years after the battle; his testimony is, therefore, the stronger.

ed and made prisoner by the countess of Montfort, but his cause was sustained by his wife, also a heroine. This was in fact the age of female heroism. At the call of his ally the king of France, David of Scotland made an inroad into Cumberland and ravaged the country. The English collected in Auckland Park a force of twelve hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and seven thousand militia; queen Philippa rode among them encouraging them to fight bravely; they raised a cheerful shout, and having recommended them to God and St. George, the queen retired. The armies engaged at Neville's Cross near Durham, (Oct. 17;) the Scots were defeated with the loss of fifteen thousand men, and the king himself and several of his nobles were conducted prisoners to London.

Edward meantime lay patiently before Calais, expecting the sure effects of famine, which soon began to be felt. De Vienne now turned five hundred more persons out of the town, but no passage would be given through the English lines, and they perished miserably from want of food and shelter. Though a fleet with supplies contrived to enter the port during the winter, the famine became more and more severe; and when all the animals in the town had been eaten, and they must surrender if not relieved, Philip at length (July, 1347) appeared with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. But the only roads by which he could approach the English camp were secured against him; and though Edward accepted his challenge to a general engagement, he retired on the eve of the appointed day. The garrison immediately hoisted the ensign of England, and the governor from the walls proposed to Sir Walter Manny, who was at hand, to surrender on condition of their lives and liberties being secured. Edward, however, would accept of nothing short of unconditional surrender; at length he agreed to be content with the lives of six of the principal burghesses.

The people met in the market to hear these terms. It seemed to them dreadful to sacrifice their fellow-citizens, but no other means of relief appeared. While they remained in perplexity, Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the leading citizens, stepped forward and offered his life for his townsmen; another and another then appeared, and the number was soon complete. The gates were opened, and De Vienne issued forth, mounted on a palfrey on account of his wounds, and followed by fifteen knights bare-headed with their swords pointed to the ground; then came the six voluntary victims bare-head-

ed, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters in their hands, such being the usage in similar cases. When they came before Edward, the governor presented him his sword and the keys of the town; then, falling on his knees with his companions, implored his mercy. Edward was, or affected to be inexorable; he heeded not the entreaties of his barons; the executioner appeared, and orders were given for their death, when the queen came forth, and falling on her knees with tears, interceded for their lives. "Dame," said Edward, "I wish you had been in some other place; but I cannot deny you." She took them to her tent, clothed and entertained them, and at their departure presented each with six nobles.* The king expelled most of the inhabitants from Calais and peopled it with his own subjects, making it the staple for the chief productions of his kingdom.

The capture of Calais was succeeded by an armistice, which, under the mediation of the pope, was prolonged for six years. During this period England suffered, (1348,) in common with the rest of Europe, from the dreadful plague which then spread its ravages over it, and thousands of her people perished.

Edward was now conscious that he could not succeed in making his claim to the crown of France good by arms; he proposed to renounce it on condition of the provinces which he held being ceded to him in sovereignty. This proposal Philip indignantly rejected; but on his death, (1350,) his son and successor John seemed willing to listen to it. Envoys met at Guisnes; it was arranged that the renunciations should be made in presence of the pope; but the prelates and nobles of France declared their determination not to permit their king to part with the rights of the crown. The war therefore was resumed, (1355;) the Black Prince (as the prince of Wales was called from the color of his armor) opened the campaign by marching from Bordeaux at the head of sixty thousand men toward the eastern Pyrenees, wasting and destroying the country. Under the walls of Toulouse he vainly offered battle to the French forces; he then advanced and burned the cities of Carcassonne and Narbonne. He returned to Bordeaux after an absence of but seven weeks, having in that short time destroyed more than five hundred cities, towns, and villages.

The king meantime at the head of a gallant army had

* It is not improbable that the whole scene had been previously arranged between the king and queen.

advanced from Calais to near Amiens, but king John would give no opportunity of fighting, and want of provisions obliged him to return. Tidings of the Scots having surprised Berwick and crossed the borders, recalled Edward to England. At Roxburgh he purchased from Baliol his title to the crown for 500 marks and 2000*l.* a year; he then (1356) marched through the Lothians as far as Edinburgh, with the banner of Scotland displayed before him, wasting and burning the country in all directions: want of provisions at length forced him to retire. This destructive inroad was long remembered in Scotland under the name of the Burnt Candlemas.

In the autumn of this year the Black Prince, at the head of about twelve thousand men, of whom but a third were English, left Bordeaux on another plundering expedition. He crossed the Garonne at Agen, overran Querci, the Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri, slaughtering the peasantry, destroying the corn, wine, and provisions, and burning the farm-houses, villages, and towns. Having failed in attempts on the cities of Bourges and Issoudon, he commenced his retreat through Poitou. But on coming to the village of Maupertuis, within five miles of Poitiers, he suddenly fell in with the rear of a large army led by king John in person; for this monarch, on hearing of the ravages committed by the prince, had summoned his vassals to Chartres, and crossing the Loire at Blois had advanced rapidly in order to get into his rear. "God help us!" then cried the prince, "it only remains for us to fight bravely."

The prince drew up his small army on an eminence, the sides of which were covered by vineyards intersected by hedges: a single lane, so narrow that only four horsemen could go abreast in it, led to the summit. The men-at-arms, with one half of the archers out before them in the usual form of a harrow, were posted in front of the lane; the remaining archers lined the hedges at its sides. The French army, which was seven times as numerous, and mainly composed of cavalry, was drawn up in three divisions, all the horsemen, but three hundred knights and esquires, having been made to dismount. All now was ready for the attack, when the cardinal Talleyrand Perigord appeared, and with uplifted hands implored the king to spare the effusion of Christian blood; and having obtained a reluctant permission from him, he rode to the prince to propose a negotiation. "Save my honor and the honor of my army," said Edward, "and I will hearken to any reasonable terms."

He then offered to resign all his conquests, booty, and prisoners, and to bind himself not to serve against France for seven years. The surrender of himself and a hundred of his knights was the only condition on which John would grant a retreat to his army; this the prince indignantly rejected. Night came on, and each side prepared for battle in the morning.

At dawn (Sept. 19) the trumpets sounded on both sides, and all hastened to their posts. The cardinal, having made a final fruitless effort on the mind of the king, rode to apprise the prince, who replied with calmness, "God defend the right!" The minister of peace departed. The French cavalry, led by two marshals, entered the lane unopposed; but when they were advanced some way, the word was given, and from both sides and with increasing rapidity the English arrows were showered on them. Men and horses fell in heaps; some knights dashed through the lane, others through the hedges, and emerged on different spots of the open upper ground; but still the arrows flew, and one marshal was slain and the other unhorsed and taken. The rearmost retreated to their second division, which was led by three of the king's sons; but the archers now advanced and assailed it in front, while a body of six hundred men led by the Captal de Buche came from an adjacent hill and fell on its left flank. It wavered; the lords who had charge of the young princes sent them off the field with a large escort; the rest of the division then broke and fled. "Sir," cried sir John Chandos to the prince, "the field is won; let us mount and charge the French king. I know him for a dauntless knight, who will never flee from an enemy; the attempt may be a bloody one, but, please God and St. George, he will be ours." Instantly they mount, and, pouring down the lane, emerge on the moor. The duke of Athens, the constable of France, advanced to meet them; he and most of his followers were slain in a few minutes. A body of German cavalry was next dispersed; the king, urged by despair, then led up his division on foot. He long fought with fruitless valor; his nobles had fallen by his side; he had received two wounds in the face, and had been beaten to the ground. Every one was anxious to seize him; a young knight advanced, and falling on his knee implored him to surrender to save his life. "Where is my cousin the prince of Wales?" demanded the king. "He is not here," replied the knight. "Who then are you?" "Denis de Morbeque

of Artois, one obliged to serve the king of England, being banished from France." The king gave him his sword; his son Philip also became a prisoner.

In the battle the prince of Wales had shown the valor of a hero; his conduct after the victory has gained him a fame of a higher and purer order. When the captive monarch was led to the tent which he had caused to be pitched for himself on the field of battle, he came forth to meet him with every mark of courtesy and respect; his own victory he ascribed entirely to chance; the king, he said, had that day won 'the prize and garland' of chivalry. At table he waited on him, declaring himself, as a subject, not entitled to the honor of sitting with him. He led his royal captive to Bordeaux, and having concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin,* he embarked in the spring (1357) for England. He landed with his prisoners at Sandwich, and thence proceeded to London. As he approached, the people poured forth to meet him; arches were thrown across the streets, tapestries and costly stuffs were hung from the windows. The captive monarch rode on a cream-colored charger splendidly caparisoned, the victor appeared on a small pony at his side. The cavalcade at length reached Westminster hall, where king Edward sat amidst his prelates and nobles. He arose when John entered, embraced him and led him to partake of a splendid banquet. The Savoy palace, and afterwards the castle of Windsor, was assigned as a residence for the French monarch and his son.

The king of Scotland had been now eleven years a captive, and Edward, thus master of the persons of the two monarchs his rivals, and hopeless of conquering their kingdoms, resolved to derive what advantages he could from their present situation. Negotiations had long been going on with the Scottish king and nation, and it was finally arranged that "sir David king of Scotland," as Edward now condescended to call him, should be set at liberty, on his engaging to pay 100,000 marks in twenty half-yearly instalments, and giving the heirs of his principal nobility as hostages.

The condition of France after the fatal battle of Poitiers induced Edward to make larger demands on the other captive monarch. The authority of the Dauphin was little heeded; the states-general when assembled insisted on large

* The province of Dauphiné had been left to the late king Philip by its last prince, on condition of the heir-apparent to the throne of France being thenceforth styled the Dauphin.

measures of reform; the populace of Paris, headed by Marcel their mayor, committed great excesses, and their example was followed in the other great towns; the troops, left without pay, divided into numerous bands, and ravaged and pillaged the towns and country in a terrific manner. To complete the misery, the serfs or peasantry, long goaded and exasperated by the tyranny and cruelty of their lords, rose in arms, and, as was to be expected from men who were brutally ignorant and maddened by oppression, committed every atrocity that the foulest imagination can conceive.*

Under these circumstances king John, after much hesitation, consented to the terms which his captor imposed, namely, the restoration of the provinces which had belonged to the crown of England, to be held in absolute sovereignty. A treaty to this effect was made; but when it was transmitted to France, it was unanimously and indignantly rejected. Edward then, complaining of their insincerity, bade them prepare for war at the end of the truce.

In the autumn of the year 1359, king Edward passed over to Calais with a gallant army. The mercenary soldiery crowded to his standard, and at the head of a force of a hundred thousand men, arranged in three divisions, he entered the French territories. Having ravaged Picardy, he advanced to Champagne, where he laid siege to Rheims, the city where the coronations of the kings of France were held, intending to have that ceremony performed on himself; but it was gallantly defended against him by the archbishop, and he was obliged to retire. He then led his host into Burgundy, whose duke purchased a truce for 50,000 marks; then following the course of the Seine he appeared before the gates of Paris. But though it was now the spring, (1360,) the severity of the season was such that, joined with the want of provisions, it forced him to retire with the precipitation of a flight toward Brittany. In the vicinity of Chartres the English army was exposed to one of the most dreadful tempests of wind, hail, thunder and lightning on record; and the king is said, in an agony of remorse, to have stretched his arms toward the cathedral, and to have vowed to God and the Virgin to refuse no terms of peace compatible with his honor.

The negotiations, which had still been pending, now went on with vigor, and at length (May 8) a treaty named the Great Peace was signed at Bretigni, by which the king of

* This insurrection was named the *Jacquerie*, from *Jacquets*, a common name among the peasants.

England agreed to resign all claim to the crown of France or to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and to restore all his conquests except Calais and Guisnes; but he was to retain Poitou and Guienne and their dependencies, and Ponthieu the inheritance of his mother, in full sovereignty; a ransom of three million crowns of gold was to be paid for king John in the course of six years. Edward then set out for England, and John was sent over to Calais, at which place (Oct. 24) the two kings met, and solemnly ratified the treaty, and John was restored to liberty. But though John was enabled to put the king of England in possession of the ceded provinces, he could not readily overcome the repugnance of his son and nobles to the renunciation of his sovereignty over them, and the poverty of the country moreover prevented him from paying up the instalments of his ransom. On these and other accounts he resolved to pay a visit to England; and when his council endeavored to dissuade him, he nobly replied, that if honor were banished from the rest of the earth she should find an abode in the breast of princes. He was received with the utmost affection and respect by Edward, and lodged in the palace of the Savoy; but he shortly after fell sick and died, and his remains were sent for interment with those of his ancestors at St. Denis.

Charles the dauphin on succeeding to the crown adhered to the peace of Bretigni, disadvantageous to him as some of its provisions were. He also, when Charles of Blois was slain at the battle of Auray in Brittany, acknowledged the title and received the homage of the young count of Montfort. The chief difficulty which he had to contend with arose from the mercenary troops which had been in the service of king Edward, and who now to the number of forty thousand divided into numerous bands, calling themselves the Free Companies, and under different leaders spread their ravages over all parts of the kingdom. They defeated the troops sent against them; they set at nought the papal excommunications. At length a favorable occasion presented itself for getting rid of these ferocious marauders.

Peter IV. of Castile, justly named the Cruel, had, from the time when he ascended the throne, been guilty of numerous murders from various motives. Among his victims was his father's mistress, Leonora de Guzman, and three of her sons; the two remaining sons escaped into France, and as Peter was accused of having poisoned his queen, a French princess, it was resolved to aid Henry, one of the exiles,

against the tyrant. The celebrated Breton knight Bertrand du Guesclin was directed to treat with the leaders of the Companies; many French knights crowded to his standard; and at the head of thirty thousand men he entered Spain, and without a battle placed Henry on the throne of Castile. Peter fled to Corunna and thence to Bayonne, whence he proceeded to Bordeaux to solicit the aid of the Black Prince, who under the title of prince of Aquitaine ruled from the Loire to the Pyrenees. The royal murderer met with a most gracious reception; his lavish promises were gladly listened to; secret orders were sent to the Companies, twelve thousand of whom under sir Robert Calverly and sir Richard Knowles returned to Guienne. Though it was the depth of winter, Edward entered Spain at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, and on the 3d of the following April (1367) he engaged and defeated the army of Henry on the plain of Navarrete. All Castile submitted to Peter; but the ungrateful tyrant mocked at his engagements to his ally, and the prince returned to Bordeaux, baffled in hope and with a constitution materially injured. The crimes of the tyrant, however, did not go unpunished; he fell the following year by the dagger of his brother Henry.

In consequence of the bad faith of Peter, the prince of Wales was now deeply in debt. To raise money he imposed a hearth-tax on his subjects, which some paid with great reluctance, while the count of Armagnac and others appealed to Charles as their superior lord, the renunciations having never been completed. After some delay this prudent monarch sent a summons to the prince, as duke of Aquitaine, to appear before his court. He replied that he would, but that it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. This, however, was but an empty boast, for his power was gone. War was declared; the French troops entered Ponthieu, Poitou, and Guienne; the people were generally in their favor; Chandos the constable of Guienne was slain in one action, his successor the Captal de Buche captured in another. The state of his health obliged the prince to return to England. English armies to no purpose marched through and ravaged various parts of France; nothing finally remained to the English but Calais, Bordeaux, Bayonne, and some places on the Dordogne.

The brilliant reign of Edward closed in gloom. The Black Prince after his return finding all the powers of the state in the hands of his brother the duke of Lancaster, and being either jealous of him or really disapproving of his

conduct, put himself at the head of the opposition, in what was called the Good Parliament, from the number of reforms which it endeavored to effect. But after lingering a few years this gallant prince died, (1376,) in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him the character of a skilful commander, a wise statesman, and an accomplished knight,* rivalled by no man of the time except his illustrious father. He was interred in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb may still be seen.

The Black Prince, who had espoused his cousin Joan, called the 'Fair Maid of Kent,' daughter of the earl of Kent, and widow of sir Thomas Holland, (by whom she had children,) left by her an only son, named Richard of Bordeaux, from the place of his birth. This young prince was declared heir to the throne.

The king himself soon followed his renowned son to the grave. He spent the closing years of his life in retirement, first at Eltham and then at Shene. After the death of queen Philippa, a lady of her bedchamber named Alice Perrers, a married woman, had acquired great influence over him. He gave her all the jewels of the deceased queen, and she disposed of the royal favors in such a manner that an especial ordinance of parliament was made to restrain her. This woman was with the king through his last illness. On the morning of the day on which he died, she drew, we are told, the ring from his finger and left him; his servants then fell to pillaging the palace; the dying monarch lay alone and unheeded till a benevolent priest came to his bedside, warned him of his situation, and bade him prepare to meet his Creator; Edward had just strength enough to thank him and to take a crucifix in his hands, which he kissed with tears, and then breathed his last, (June 21, 1377.)

Thus terminated the life and reign of Edward III., the most glorious (in the vulgar sense) which our history presents. The monarch had lived sixty-four and reigned fifty years. Never was there a prince more fitted to gain the affections of a proud, high-spirited people; he was brave, chivalrous, and generous; he delighted in the sports of the field, and the martial conflicts of the lists; his domestic administration was at once vigorous and prudent, and his victories in war cast a halo of splendor around his brows. As such he appeared to his contemporaries; to us he perhaps shows

* See Appendix (N.)

with still more lustre in the picturesque pages of Froissart, where he occupies so prominent a station.

By his queen Philippa of Hainault, who died in 1369, Edward had seven sons and five daughters. Of these sons two died in infancy; the Black Prince and his next brother Lionel duke of Clarence died before him; this last, who had married the heiress of De Burgh earl of Ulster, left an only daughter, who married Edmund Mortimer earl of March. Edward's remaining sons were John of Gaunt (Ghent) duke of Lancaster, Edmund earl of Cambridge, and Thomas earl of Buckingham.

Though, as we have already observed, we must morally condemn the aggressions of Edward on France, and we see that with all the waste of blood and treasure no acquisition of importance was made, yet it is probable that the moral effect on the nation was good. Great victories elevate the tone of national feeling, and inspire a lofty consciousness of strength. They foster a spirit of noble daring and of generous self-reliance, and possibly Creci had no mean effect in forming the military character of England. But however this may be, the constitution gained by the wars of Edward. To obtain the money which they required he was forced to convoke frequent parliaments. With each grant of supply the commons, as was then the mode, sent a petition for the redress of some grievance, and, though perhaps baffled at the time, they returned again and again to the charge, and in most cases finally succeeded. Three great principles were now fully established, namely, that money should not be raised without the consent of parliament; that no alteration of the laws should be made without the concurrence of both houses; that the commons might inquire into abuses and impeach ministers. The law of treason, passed in this reign, (25 Edw. III.,) and which is still the law, was a measure of the greatest importance. By it treason is limited to three cases: Compassing the death of the king; Levying war against him; Aiding his foreign enemies within his kingdom.

According to a most competent authority, (sir Matthew Hale,) "the law was in this reign improved to its greatest height. The judges and pleaders were very learned. The pleadings are more polished than those in the time of Edward II., yet they have neither uncertainty, prolixity, nor obscurity. So that at the latter part of this king's reign the law seemed

o be near its meridian." By a statute, (36 Edw. III.,) it was ordained, that in pleadings and public deeds the English language should be employed in place of the French.

This great monarch may perhaps also be styled the father of English commerce. In 1331 he invited over a number of the Flemish artisans who were disgusted with the oppressive spirit evinced by their corporations. He settled them in Norfolk, and they introduced the manufacture of the finer woollen cloths, which had been hitherto unknown in England. Edward had some difficulty in protecting them against the selfish spirit of the English corporations.*

However pious Edward may have been, he was no abject slave to Rome. He withheld the tribute of 1000 marks a year extorted from John; the pope Urban V. threatened the usual vengeance. Edward laid the matter before his parliament, who put a final end to the matter by declaring that John had no right to bind his kingdom without its consent, adding that they would stand by the king if the pope attempted to enforce his claim. Again, the Peterpence had long since been commuted to a certain sum, but as England was now become much more populous, the pope wished to levy it in the original manner; he found, however, the resistance too strong, and he gave up the project. The rapacity of the papal court at this time exceeded all measure, and, between first-fruits and other devices of its chancery, the taxes levied by it in England, it was said, far exceeded those paid to the crown; and as by what were called *provisions* the pope assumed the right of nominating to vacant benefices, which he conferred on Italians and other foreigners, the revenues of a large portion of the church were annually remitted to these pluralists, who perhaps never set their foot in the kingdom. To remedy this evil the statute of Provisors was passed, (27 Edw. III.,) making it penal to procure any presentation from the church of Rome, and another outlawing any one who carried an appeal to Rome. Parliament even went so far as to speak of expelling the papal authority by force, and thus ridding themselves of its intolerable oppressions.

This was an age of architectural splendor. The stately

* See Hallam, Middle Ages, iii. 379. "The History of Corporations," observes this able writer, "brings home to our minds one cardinal truth, that political institutions have very frequently but a relative and temporary usefulness, and that what forwarded improvement during one part of its course, may prove to it, in time, a most pernicious obstacle." This observation applies still more strongly to monasteries.

castle of Windsor was built by Edward. Each county was assessed in a certain number of carpenters, masons, and tylers, and thus the magnificent edifice rose by the compulsory labor of the people, like the Pyramids of ancient Egypt.

In this reign (1349) England was desolated by the great plague which then spread its ravages over the whole of Europe. It is said to have carried off a third of the population. The supply of labor not equalling the demand after it ceased, the natural result was a general rise of wages; but the commons, grudging the poor this slight improvement in their condition, had a law passed limiting wages to what they had been before the plague. It is needless to say that this law was not and could not be observed.

The order of the Garter was instituted by Edward. The tradition is that the countess of Salisbury having dropped her garter when dancing, the king picked it up, and, seeing the courtiers smile, he said, *Honi soit qui mal y pense* ('Shamed be he who thinketh ill thereof,') which became the motto of the order.

CHAPTER VIII.

RICHARD II. (OF BORDEAUX.)

1377—1399.

RICHARD was but in his eleventh year when the death of his renowned grandfather placed him on the throne of England. The principle of representation was now so fully established, and the memory of his father was so dear to the nation, that the slightest opposition to his succession was not to be apprehended. He was crowned with great solemnity (July 16) at Westminster. The following day a council of regency was appointed; the duke of Lancaster, contrary to expectation, giving no opposition. The war with France and Castile, which still continued, made it necessary to convene a parliament, and its proceedings show clearly the influence which the commons were gradually acquiring.

The events of the war with France at this time offer little to interest, for Charles the Wise was too prudent a man to put any thing to hazard. It, however, brought on expense, and

he king was obliged to apply to his parliament for supplies. Instead of the old mode of granting tenths and fifteenths, it was resolved to have recourse to the new expedient of a poll-tax of three groats a head for every person, male and female, of fifteen years and upwards; but to ease the poor it was directed that the aggregate sum in particular places should be so apportioned as to be levied at from one to sixty groats according to the substance of the parties. The levying of this tax, however, gave occasion to a dangerous insurrection of the people.

For centuries the condition of the inferior ranks of the people throughout the greater part of Europe had been that of villanage, or predial bondage, somewhat similar to what prevails at the present day in Russia. But knowledge had been gradually shedding its light even on the low places of society; the equal and beneficent spirit which the Gospel breathes had imperceptibly penetrated all ranks; Kings and nobles had been gradually emancipating their serfs; the clergy, who were mostly of plebeian origin themselves, as judges in the courts of law and equity, favored emancipation, and, as religious teachers, frequently dwelt on the equality of all portions of a sinful race in the eyes of a just and beneficent Deity. The extent of commerce, and the consequent wealth of the inhabitants of towns, and their importance in the eyes of monarchs and nobles, had given a kind of elevation to all parts of the commonalty; and even the rude serfs of the country felt their natural rights, and panted, beneath the oppression of their lords, after a state of freedom, for which they were not, perhaps, yet fully qualified. This general fermentation had, in 1357, broken out in the atrocities of the *Jacquerie* in France, and it now (1381) exhibited itself, though in a less appalling form, in England, where, since the Norman conquest, the condition of the inferior ranks had gradually deteriorated, and the descendants of the free Saxon ceorles had nearly sunk to the abject state of the serfs of the continent.

The collection of the poll-tax was first resisted in Essex, where the people rose under the guidance of a priest, who assumed the name of Jack Straw. At Dartford in Kent, one of the collectors demanded the tax for a young girl, the daughter of a tyler. Her mother asserting that she was under fifteen, the brutal collector laid hold of the girl, and was proceeding to give a very indecent proof of the truth of his assertion, when her father came in from his work, and raising the implement which he happened to have in his hand,

struck the collector dead at a blow. His neighbors applauded and vowed to stand by him, and the surrounding villages soon joined in the common cause. The whole of Kent speedily rose. At Maidstone the people forced the archbishop's prison and liberated a priest named John Ball, who was confined in it for preaching against the wealth and corruption of the church. Wat the Tyler was now their acknowledged leader; they were joined by the Essex insurgents under Jack Straw. They advanced toward London, and at Blackheath their tumultuary bands had swollen, it is said, to the number of one hundred thousand men. Here Ball, taking for his text the following rimes, then highly popular among them —

When Adam dalf (delved) and Evè span,
Who was then the gentleman? —

preached on the natural equality of man, and declared that the archbishop, the earls, barons, judges, lawyers, etc., must be all destroyed and all ranks abolished, and that then alone all would be equally free and noble. The multitude loudly applauded, and vowed that Ball himself should be archbishop of Canterbury and lord chancellor. The insurrection rapidly spread through the eastern counties. The insurgents pillaged the houses of the gentry, burned the court-rolls, and cut off the head of every justice, lawyer, and juror that fell into their hands.*

While the insurgents lay at Blackheath the king's mother had to pass through them on her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. By her address and a few kisses bestowed on the leaders, she passed uninjured, and then proceeded to join her son in the Tower. Next morning the king went down in his barge to receive the petitions of the insurgents, who were now at Rotherhithe; but they set up such shouts and cries when he appeared, that his attendants, fearing for his safety, carried him back to the Tower. Tyler then led his men into Southwark, where they broke open the Marshalsea and King's Bench and liberated the prisoners; they also destroyed the furniture and burned the records in the episcopal palace at Lambeth.

Next morning the insurgents passed London bridge and entered the city, where they were joined by the populace. After regaling themselves at the cost of the wealthy citizens, they commenced their devastations. Newgate was speedily broken open and its inmates set at liberty; the duke of

* See Appendix (O.)

Lancaster's splendid palace, the Savoy, was plundered and destroyed; the Temple with all the books and records it contained was burnt. Strict orders were given that no one should keep any part of the plunder, and one man who had concealed a silver cup in his bosom was flung with it into the Thames. The plate which they seized was cut into small pieces, the precious stones were beaten to powder. "With whom holdest thou?" was the question put to every one whom they met, and if he did not reply, "With king Richard and the commons," his head was struck off. The Flemings were the chief objects of their vengeance; they dragged them even out of the churches and beheaded them. So passed this day; the next morning their multitudes covered Tower-hill, loudly demanding the heads of the chancellor and the treasurer. A herald then made proclamation for them to retire to Mile-end, where the king would meet them and grant their demands. The ground soon was cleared; the gates were opened; the young monarch issued with a small train and rode to Mile-end, followed by sixty thousand of the multitude. Their demands were: the abolition of slavery; liberty to buy and sell in market-towns without toll or custom; a fixed rent of fourpence the acre for land instead of the services of villanage; and a general pardon. These terms were at once acceded to, and thirty clerks were employed during the night in making copies of the charter which was granted. The multitude, who were mostly men of Herts and Essex, then returned to their homes, bearing the royal banner.

While the king was at Mile-end, Tyler had burst with four hundred of his men into the Tower, and murdered the archbishop, the treasurer, and some other obnoxious persons. They forced their way into the apartment of the princess, and even probed her bed with their swords to try if any one was concealed in it. She fainted, and was conveyed by her attendants over the river, where she was joined soon after by her son.

The king next morning rode into the city with a train of but sixty horsemen. As he was crossing Smithfield he met Tyler at the head of twenty thousand men, who, making a sign to them to halt, rode boldly up to the king to confer with him. Tyler was observed as they spoke to play as it were with his dagger, and he then laid hold on the king's bridle. William Walworth, the lord mayor, instantly drew a short sword and stabbed him in the throat; he rode back a few paces and fell, and Standish, one of the king's esquires, de-

spatched him. The insurgents bent their bows to avenge him, when the king with wonderful presence of mind galloped up to them, crying, "What are ye about, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me; I will be your leader." They followed him to Islington, whither sir Robert Knowles soon came with a body of one thousand horse to protect the king; they fell on their knees suing for mercy; some were for falling on and slaughtering them, but the king steadily refused his consent, and directed them to return to their homes in peace.

The nobility and gentry, who in their terror had at first shut themselves up in their houses and castles, now took courage and repaired to the king, who, finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, in compliance with the desires of these lords, — whose conduct justifies the severe remark of a modern historian, that "the masters of slaves on such occasions seem anxious to prove that they are not of a race superior in any moral quality to the meanest of their bondmen," — issued a proclamation revoking all the charters he had granted. The hangman was instantly set to work; Ball, Straw, and about fifteen hundred others were executed. Straw it is said confessed before his execution that their intention had been to massacre all the possessioners, that is, beneficed clergy, and leave none but the mendicant friars, who would suffice for all the purposes of religion.*

The energy and presence of mind shown by a youth of but sixteen, on this occasion, gave great hopes of the king, and his marriage the following year (1382) with the daughter of the king of Bohemia, a lady of such eminent goodness and virtue that she was long remembered under the name of the 'good queen Anne,' helped to augment the pleasing illusion. But the defects of the king's own character and the ambition of his uncles gradually dispelled the hopes that were entertained of a prosperous reign.

In the year 1384, when the duke of Lancaster was on his return from an expedition into Scotland, the charges of disloyalty which had been more than once made against him were renewed, and a Carmelite friar put into the king's hand written proofs of a real or pretended conspiracy to place him on the throne. Lancaster swore it was false, and offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle: the friar was given in custody to sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, and

* We must recollect that all these details are furnished by Walsingham and Knyghton, two inveterate enemies of the insurgents.

on the morning that he was to be produced he was found hanging dead in his chamber. Some accused his keeper of the deed, others said it was his own act. The lord Zouch, whom the friar had named as the author of the memorial, denied all knowledge of it. Lancaster went over to France, and on his return shut himself up in his castle of Pontefract till the king's mother brought about a reconciliation. This was followed by an expedition into Scotland; for as the Scots, aided by a body of French auxiliaries, had crossed the borders, the king entered Scotland with 80,000 men, and laid it waste.

During this expedition the king made his uncles the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham dukes of York and Gloucester; and Henry son of the duke of Lancaster, and Edward son to the duke of York, earls of Derby and Rutland. On the other hand he created his favorite, Robert Vere earl of Oxford, marquess of Dublin, and granted him the revenues of Ireland for life on condition of his paying 5000 marks a year into the exchequer; Michael de la Pole, the son of a London merchant, whom he had made chancellor, was created earl of Suffolk. At the same time Roger earl of March, grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, was declared heir presumptive to the crown. The affairs of the Spanish peninsula, where the duke of Lancaster claimed the crown of Castile in right of his wife, calling him over to that country, the king willingly consented to his departure, and gave him one half of the supply voted for the year by parliament.

But the king soon had reason to regret the absence of the duke of Lancaster; for Gloucester, a man of strong passions and great ambition, fomented the animosity of the nobility against the favorites, and when a parliament met (1386) on account of a menaced invasion of France, both lords and commons united in a petition for the removal of the ministers. Richard, having vainly tried to rouse the citizens of London, retired to his palace at Eltham. The parliament sent urging their petition; he insolently replied that he would not at their desire remove the meanest scullion in his kitchen. He was, however, obliged to give way and dismiss his ministers, stipulating that none of them but Suffolk should be molested. This nobleman was forthwith impeached by the commons. On most of the charges he was acquitted, on others he was found guilty, and he was sentenced to pay various sums and be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. It was now proposed to go a step further, and, as had been done in the times of John, his son, and Edward II., to establish a council for the refor-

mation of the state. Richard steadily refused to part with his power, and threatened to dissolve the parliament; the commons, to terrify him, directed the act of deposition of Edward II. to be produced. At length the king was assured that if he continued obstinate the lords and commons would separate and leave him to himself. He then gave way and agreed to appoint a commission of fourteen prelates and peers to regulate the affairs of the kingdom for twelve months. The duke of Gloucester was at the head of the commission, and nearly all the members of it were his creatures. At the end of the session (Nov. 28) Richard made a solemn and open protest against any thing done in that parliament to the prejudice of the rights of the crown.

Richard, who was certainly a prince of spirit, could hardly be expected to submit tamely to this virtual deposition. Having vainly tried to induce the sheriffs of counties to influence the next elections in his favor, he assembled the principal judges at Nottingham, (Aug. 25,) and put several queries to them respecting the legality of the late commission. They pronounced it to be illegal, and those concerned in procuring it to be traitors. They set their seals to this answer and swore to keep it secret. The very next day, however, one of them betrayed it to the king's brother the earl of Kent, by whom the intelligence was conveyed to the duke of Gloucester.

The commission being to terminate on the 19th of November, the king entered London on the 10th to be ready to resume his authority, and he had arranged measures for taking vengeance on those who were obnoxious to him. But next day he learned to his consternation that Gloucester and some other lords were near Highgate at the head of forty thousand men. Resistance was not to be thought of; the five leaders, Gloucester, Arundel, Nottingham, Derby, and Warwick, came before the king in Westminster-hall, (Nov. 17,) and *appealed* (*i. e.* accused) of treason the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, as Vere now was styled, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian the chief-justice, and sir Nicholas Bramber late lord-mayor of London, and casting their gauntlets on the floor, offered to prove the charges by single combat. Richard replied that he would summon a parliament in which justice should be done, and he and the appellants parted apparently on friendly terms. The five accused persons, knowing their destruction to be inevitable, sought to save themselves by flight. Suffolk got over to France, where he died soon after; the archbishop concealed

himself near Newcastle, Tresilian in London; Bramber was taken. The duke of Ireland retired to Cheshire, and having raised a body of men advanced toward London; but he was met and baffled at Radcot-bridge by the forces led by Gloucester and Derby, and he fled first to Ireland and then to the Low Countries, where he died. When Gloucester returned to London a parliament met and the impeachments were proceeded with. Tresilian, who had concealed himself in the house of an apothecary opposite the palace, was betrayed by a servant, and that very evening he was executed at Tyburn. Next day Bramber shared his fate. The judges who had answered the king's questions were then condemned to death; their lives, however, were spared at the intercession of the bishops, but they were banished for life to different cities of Ireland. The same was the fate of the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor. Sir Simon Burley, sir John Beauchamp, sir James Berners, and sir John Salisbury were next impeached as aiders of the aforesaid traitors, and all but the last were executed. Burley had been appointed by the Black Prince governor to his son, whose marriage also he had negotiated. Richard entreated Gloucester in his favor, but he was told to leave him to his fate if he wished to keep his crown. The queen fell on her knees before the tyrant and supplicated in vain; even Derby could not move his ruthless resolve. The only favor shown was the change of hanging into decapitation. The work of blood being ended, the Wonderful (or as others called it the Merciless) Parliament was dissolved, (June 3.)

Gloucester and his party held the reins of government for nearly twelve months longer; but their power was gradually crumbling away, and by a bold effort the king at once overthrew it. At a great council holden after Easter (1389) he turned suddenly to the duke of Gloucester and asked him how old he was. "Your highness," he replied, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," said the king, "I must surely be old enough to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under tutors than any ward in my dominions. I thank you, my lords, for your past services, but require them no longer." No opposition was attempted; he appointed a new chancellor and treasurer, and a proclamation informed the people that he had resumed the government.

During eight years the king ruled without opposition. He seemed perfectly reconciled to his uncles and their friends, and, what was very remarkable in those times, he remitted to his subjects some subsidies which had been granted to him

On the death of the good queen Anne (1394) he was induced to seek to divert his melancholy by visiting Ireland, where, since the weakening of the English power by the invasion of Edward Bruce, the native tribes had greatly encroached on the British settlers, and many of these last had abandoned their own laws and language for those of the Irish. He landed at Waterford with four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, a force not to be resisted, and thence marched to Dublin. All the native chiefs and degenerate English submitted and were received to favor. Grievances were redressed and oppressive officers removed. He then returned to London and concluded a truce for twenty-five years with the king of France. Early in the next year (1396) he was married to Isabella the daughter of that monarch, a child only in her eighth year, and the following January (1397) the infant queen was crowned at Westminster.

This treaty and marriage were vehemently reprobated by the duke of Gloucester, who, dilating on the glories of the late reign, spoke sneeringly of the luxury and inactivity of the present. He had never cordially cultivated the good will of the king, who for his part had never forgiven his former conduct. With his two other uncles and their sons Richard was now on the best terms. York had never offended him, and age had chilled the fire of Lancaster; the king had likewise lately obliged the latter by legitimating his children by Catherine Swynford, the widow of a knight whom his duchess had employed to educate her children, and who, during the life of the duchess, had borne him three sons and a daughter. The eldest of these children was created earl of Somerset, but it was expressly stated in the act of legitimation that they were to have no claim to the crown. Richard therefore felt himself strong enough to take his long-projected vengeance on Gloucester. He went himself in person to the duke's castle at Pleshy; Gloucester and his family came out to receive him; the king directed the earl-marshal Nottingham to arrest him and convey him to the Tower. But when they reached the Thames on their way, the earl hurried his prisoner on board of a vessel which lay ready and conveyed him to Calais, of which place he was governor. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were arrested in the same treacherous manner and confined in different castles. To quiet the people, proclamation was made that all had been done with the assent of the dukes of Lancaster and York, their sons, and other nobles. At Nottingham, a few days after, the

king made some of these noblemen appeal the duke and his two friends of treason; and in about three weeks sir William Rickhill, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, was called up in the middle of the night and ordered to repair instantly to Calais. On his arrival there a commission was given him to interrogate the duke of Gloucester, whom he had supposed to be dead, a report to that effect having been spread. He used the precaution of having two witnesses present at his interview with the duke, and he advised him to give his answer in writing and to keep a copy. Gloucester gave him what he called his confession, and bade him return in the morning, but Rickhill was not permitted to see him any more.

Richard had meantime returned with a strong force to London. The sheriffs had taken care to have a parliament such as he required returned. All pardons granted to the accused were revoked. They were appealed of having forced the king to assent to the commission of regency in 1387, and for their subsequent acts. Arundel pleaded both a general and a special pardon; his defence was not admitted; he was condemned and beheaded that very day. Warwick was also condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to exile in the Isle of Man; the primate, Arundel's brother, was banished; lord Cobham was exiled to Jersey; lord Mortimer, who had taken refuge with the native Irish, was outlawed. Orders had been sent to the earl-marshal to bring over the duke of Gloucester to answer the charges made against him. His answer came that he could not do so, as the duke had died in prison. the lords-appellant demanded judgment; the commons petitioned to the same effect; the duke was then declared a traitor and his property confiscate. Next day his confession, which had been taken by sir William Rickhill, was read in parliament.

The very opportune death of the duke is certainly somewhat mysterious, such deaths in those times being rarely natural. It was never supposed that he destroyed himself. Froissart was told that he was strangled. Hall, a servant of the governor, made confession in the next reign that he was present when the duke was smothered between two beds; and though doubt has been thrown on these accounts, the probability, we might say the certainty, still is that the duke was murdered by order of the king his nephew.

Having thus gratified his vengeance, in violation of all

law and justice, the king proceeded to secure himself for the future in the exercise of his power. To attach the princes he made his cousins Derby and Rutland dukes of Hereford and Albemarle, (Aumale,) his brothers Kent and Huntingdon dukes of Surrey and Exeter; Nottingham was created duke of Norfolk; Somerset marquess of Dorset; the lords Despenser, Neville, Percy, and William Scroop earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester and Wiltshire. To give the greater security to all concerned in the late proceedings, the peers and commons were made to swear at the end of the session to maintain all the acts of the present parliament. A standing commission of twelve peers and six commoners was then appointed, who were to exercise all the powers of the legislature. "The king now," says Froissart, "began to rule more fiercely than before;" he kept a guard of ten thousand archers; none high or low dared to oppose his will; his ministers and favorites encouraged him in all his excesses; he passed his days in feasting and revelry, and in the enjoyment of low and trivial pleasures. The people murmured at the proceedings of the late parliament; and many of the nobles, when they calmly reviewed the dissimulation and treachery of the king in the case of his uncle, and the contempt of law and justice which he had exhibited in that affair, felt rather uncertain of their own safety. Of the lords-appellant in 1386 Hereford and Norfolk alone remained. In the month of December, 1397, the latter overtook the former on the road from Brentford to London, and as they rode along he said to him, (as reported by Hereford,) "We are like to be undone." "For what?" "For the affair of Radcot-bridge." "How can that be, since he has pardoned us?" "Nevertheless our fate will be like that of others before us; he will annul the record." Norfolk then proceeded to declare that to his knowledge Surrey, Wiltshire, and Salisbury were sworn to destroy them and some others, and added that he could not trust the king's oath. This conversation, it is easy to conceive how, reached the ears of the king. He sent for Hereford and charged him on his allegiance to repeat it before the council. On the opening of the next parliament (Jan. 30, 1398) Hereford, who had already obtained a full pardon, appeared as the prosecutor of Norfolk. This nobleman, who had not attended parliament, surrendered on proclamation, and before the king at Oswaldstre he denied the charge and denounced the accuser as a liar and a false traitor. Richard ordered

them both into custody ; and as no witnesses could be produced, it was determined by a court of chivalry held at Windsor that the decision should be left to the judgment of God by wager of battle at Coventry on the 16th of September. On that day the combatants appeared in the lists, in the presence of the king, the committee of parliament, and a great multitude of the people. The lances were in rest, the combat was about to begin, when the king flung down his warder (truncheon) and forbade the battle. The two dukes retired to their seats while the king engaged in consultation. At length the royal pleasure was announced. To prevent future quarrels, the duke of Hereford was to quit the kingdom and remain ten years in exile ; Norfolk was to remain in exile for life in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia, and to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and his lands were to be taken into the king's hands to pay his debts to the crown, 1000*l.* a year being reserved to him. As a favor, both were allowed to appoint attorneys to receive any inheritances that might fall to them during their exile. Hereford went to France ; Norfolk visited the Holy Land, and on his return died of a broken heart at Venice.

Richard was now in fact an absolute monarch ; he had oppressed or terrified all his opponents ; a subsidy granted for life relieved him from the necessity of meeting his parliaments, while the standing committee was ready to make any ordinances he pleased. But his brilliant position was unstable ; he had irretrievably lost the affections of the people by his forced loans and other acts of oppression, and circumstances soon led them to turn their thoughts to his cousin Henry the banished duke of Hereford. On the death of his father (1399) Henry at once assumed the title of duke of Lancaster ; but when he claimed the estates, Richard, asserting that exile, like outlawry, rendered incapable of inheriting property, seized them to his own use ; and the council pronounced the patents granted to him and Norfolk illegal and void. This act of flagrant injustice was Richard's ruin ; the patience of the nation was now exhausted ; the friends of Henry were active ; plans of insurrection were formed ; the great lords were sounded. As if to hasten his destruction, the infatuated monarch, while the political horizon boded a tempest, set out on another expedition to Ireland to avenge the death of the earl of March, who had been slain by the native Irish. Having made the duke of York regent he sailed from Milford and landed at Waterford, (May 31.)

Shortly after, Henry, accompanied by the exiled primate and a few attendants, sailed with three small vessels from Vannes in Brittany and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, (July 4.) He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to whom he declared on oath that he only sought to recover the honors and estates which had belonged to his father. The regent, when he heard of his landing, summoned the vassals of the crown to St. Albans. A numerous army assembled, but finding the leaders mostly disinclined to act against Henry, who appeared only to seek his right, he turned and moved toward Bristol, whither the earl of Wiltshire, and Bussy and Green, (members of the committee,) who had been left in charge of the young queen, had already fled. Henry soon reached London at the head of sixty thousand men, and after a delay of a few days he followed the regent. An interview between the uncle and nephew took place in the church of the castle of Berkeley, which ended in their united forces of one hundred thousand men appearing before the castle of Bristol, the regent having been either intimidated or deceived. The castle surrendered; Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green, as was usual in such cases, were executed without even the form of a trial. York then remained at Bristol while Henry proceeded to Chester.

The state of the weather had hitherto prevented intelligence from being conveyed to the king. When he heard of what had occurred he sent the earl of Salisbury over with as many men as the ships in Dublin could carry, while he himself led the rest of his forces to Waterford. Salisbury landed at Conway, where by summoning the Welshmen to his standard he assembled a respectable force; but as the king did not appear, they dispersed after waiting for a fortnight. Richard at length landed at Milford with several thousand men, but when he arose next morning and looked out of his window he saw that the greater part had already deserted. He held a council with his friends; some advised that he should fly to Bordeaux; the duke of Exeter strongly objected to this course, and proposed that they should proceed to join the army at Conway. This was agreed to, and in the night the king, disguised as a priest, his brothers Exeter and Surrey, the bishop of Carlisle, and some others, stole away and set out for Conway; but here they found only Salisbury and a hundred men. It was then resolved that Surrey and Exeter should repair to Henry and learn what were his intentions. They met him at

Chester: Surrey was instantly thrown into confinement: Exeter was induced to lay aside the hart, the royal badge, and assume the rose, that of Henry. To secure the person of the king, Northumberland was sent with a force of five hundred men-at-arms and one thousand archers; but these he was not to let be seen, lest Richard should put to sea.

The earl, having secured the castles of Flint and Rhudlan, and placed his men under a rock a few miles from the latter, advanced to Conway with only five attendants. When admitted to the king's presence he delivered a letter from Exeter, declaring that full credit might be given to the offers he might make. These were; that Richard should promise to govern by law; that Exeter, Surrey, Salisbury, and the bishop of Carlisle should stand their trial for having advised the assassination of the duke of Gloucester; that Henry should be made grand justiciary, as his ancestors had been. These terms being granted, Henry would come to Flint, ask pardon on his knees, and accompany the king to London. Richard accepted the terms, privately assuring his friends that he would stand by them on their trial, and take ample vengeance on his and their enemies. Mass was then performed, and Northumberland swore on the host to observe these conditions. He then departed, and after dinner the king set out for Flint. On coming to a steep declivity close to the sea, he dismounted, and began to walk it down. Suddenly he stopped, and cried, "I am betrayed! God of Paradise, aid me! See ye not banners and pennons below in the valley?" Northumberland now joined him, but affected ignorance: "If I thought you could betray me," said the king, "it is not too late to return." "You cannot," said the earl, catching the king's bridle; "I have promised to convey you to the duke of Lancaster." By this time one hundred lancers and two hundred archers were come up; the king, seeing escape impossible, said, "May the God on whom you laid your hand reward you and your accomplices at the last day!" Then turning to his companions, "We are betrayed," said he, "but remember that our Lord also was sold, and delivered into the hands of his enemies."

At Flint the king, when left with his friends, reproached himself bitterly, it is said, with his former lenity to the man who had now risen up against him. Three times, he averred, he had pardoned him, once when even his own father would have put him to death. He passed a sleepless night, in the morning he ascended the tower and beheld Henry's

army of eighty thousand men advancing. He shuddered and wept. After dinner he was summoned down to the court to meet the duke, who, advancing, armed all save his head, bent his knee. "Fair cousin of Lancaster," said the king, "you are welcome." "My lord," replied the duke, "I am come before my time. But I will show you the reason. Your people complain that for twenty or two-and-twenty years you have ruled them rigorously, but if it please God I will help you to govern better." "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you it pleaseth me well," replied the king. Henry then spoke to all but the earl of Salisbury. The king's horses were forthwith ordered; Richard and Salisbury were mounted on two sorry jades, and thus amid the sound of trumpets and shouts of the soldiers they followed the duke to Chester. Here the king was made to issue a proclamation for assembling a parliament. Henry then conducted him toward London. At Lichfield the captive monarch attempted to escape by letting himself down from his window, but he was taken in the garden. On reaching London he was placed in the Tower.*

Henry's design on the crown was now no longer concealed. He wished to cause Richard to abdicate voluntarily, and for this purpose assailed him with both promises and threats. The day before the parliament met, a deputation waited on the king and reminded him of a promise he had made at Conway to resign the crown; and on his expressing his willingness so to do, he was handed a paper in which he was made to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, to renounce the royal authority, and to swear that he would never act or suffer others to act in opposition to this resignation. He read it, we are told, with a cheerful countenance, and added that if he were to choose his successor it would be his cousin of Lancaster there present, to whom he then handed his ring.†

Next day the two houses met in Westminster-hall. The throne stood empty, covered with cloth of gold. Henry sat on his seat beside it. Richard's act of resignation was read amid the shouts of the attendant multitude. The coronation-oath was next read, and then followed thirty-seven articles of impeachment against Richard, whose deposition

* The preceding narrative has been given by Turner and Lingard, from the manuscript accounts of two eye-witnesses.

† Such is the account entered on the rolls of parliament, but as the entry was made in the reign of Henry, we may fairly doubt of its accuracy.

was voted unanimously, and eight commissioners mounting a tribunal pronounced the sentence. Then Henry rose, and making the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast thus spoke: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, as I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord king Henry III.,* and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me with help of my kin and of my friends to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government, and undoing of the good laws. His claim was at once admitted; he produced the ring of Richard; the primate then took him by the hand and led him to the throne; on the steps he knelt and prayed; the two archbishops seated him on the throne. The primate briefly addressed the assembly: Henry then rose and gave thanks to all, assuring them he would disturb the rights of property of no man; and having directed the parliament to meet again in six days, and appointed new officers of the crown, he retired to the palace.

Such was the mode in which the grandson of Edward III. was deprived of his throne. Far from us be the remotest thought of extenuating the baseness and treachery of the Percies, or of justifying the ambition of the duke of Lancaster; but truth compels us to declare that Richard was rejected of his people, who saw no refuge from tyranny but in depriving him of his power. That his deposition was the act of the nation is not to be doubted, for no one rose on his side; the means of Lancaster were feeble in themselves, and could have achieved nothing in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people. We must therefore regard this event as similar to a much more famous one which took place about three centuries later, and to be justified on the same grounds, and therefore view in the house of Lancaster a line of rightful princes.

A spirit of innovation or reform in religion was at work at this time in England; and John Wickliffe, the precursor of, or pioneer to, those who overthrew the dominion of the Papacy, flourished in the reigns of Edward and Richard.

* Hardyng, a contemporary chronicler, says, that he had often heard the earl of Northumberland assert that John of Gaunt had forged a chronicle to prove that Edmund, (from whom he was descended in the female line,) and not Edward I., was the eldest son of Henry III., but that he had been set aside on account of his deformity. Henry seems here to allude to that story.

We will give a brief account of this extraordinary man and his labors and opinions.

Wickliffe was born in 1324. He graduated at Oxford, where from his great knowledge of Scripture he acquired the title of the Gospel Doctor; he was also perfectly skilled in the scholastic philosophy then in vogue. He first appeared as an author in 1356, when he put forth a tract in which he found the moral cause of the great plague, with which Europe had just been afflicted, in the vices and corruption of the church. Four years later he engaged in a controversy with those pests of society (as they have always proved) the Mendicant orders. The insolence, the rapacity, the shameless falsehood of these men had passed all bounds. They swarmed over the whole country "as thick as motès in the sonnè bème;" they every where disparaged the secular clergy and the monks, whose revenues they frequently diverted to themselves. As the universities suffered much from their artifices, that of Oxford testified its gratitude for the exertions of Wickliffe by presenting him with a living of some value, and he shortly after was made warden of Baliol college. He was then made head of Canterbury-hall by primate Islep, its founder, but he was deprived by Langham, Islep's successor. Wickliffe appealed to the pope, who decided, as might be expected, against him; and the king, on receiving a present of two hundred marks from the monks of Canterbury, in whose favor the decision had been made, confirmed it. Wickliffe appeared as the champion of the crown and parliament in the dispute with the pope about the tribute yielded by John, and triumphantly refuted the arguments of the papal advocates. In 1372 he obtained a doctor's degree and the professorship of divinity, and in 1374 he was one of the commissioners sent to Bruges to treat with the papal ministers on the subject of Provisions. On his return he was presented by the crown with a prebendal stall in the diocese of Worcester, and with the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire.

Wickliffe had returned from Bruges convinced, as he says himself, that the pope was "the most cursed of clip-pers and purse-kervers," and he went on fearlessly in his exposures of the papal corruptions. The heads of the church thought they could no longer safely remain silent, and he was therefore summoned to appear before the convocation at St. Paul's. On the appointed day (Feb. 19, 1377) he came, accompanied by his patron the duke of Lancaster, and by lord Henry Percy the earl-marshal. An altercation

took place between these noblemen and Courteney bishop of London, in which the advantage of temper and decorum was clearly on the side of the prelate; and the citizens, who disliked the duke, espousing the cause of their bishop, made an uproar which caused the assembly to be broken up. Next day the mob went to the duke's palace, the Savoy, and reversed his arms, and they murdered a priest whom they took for the earl-marshal.

The pope now fulminated four bulls against Wickliffe, and the next year he had to appear at Lambeth before the papal delegates. But the Londoners assembled in great numbers, and even broke into the chapel where they were sitting, menacing them with destruction if any thing befell the reformer, and a message came from the young king's mother, the 'Fair Maid of Kent,' desiring them not to proceed in the business. Wickliffe delivered a paper explanatory of his sentiments, in which he so enveloped them in the scholastic jargon, that his judges affected to be satisfied of his orthodoxy, and dismissed him. He returned to his rectory; the great schism in the papacy succeeded, and the court of Rome had no leisure to attend to him. He therefore went on exposing its errors, and at length had the hardihood to assail its palladium, the astounding doctrine of the real corporal presence of God in the host. The duke of Lancaster, in dismay at his temerity, now abandoned him. He was summoned before the convocation at Oxford, (1382,) where he maintained his opinions. A mandate was obtained from the king banishing him from that university, and he retired to Lutterworth, where he died of paralysis on the last day of the year 1384. Thirty years after, by a decree of the council of Constance, his remains were taken up and burnt, and cast into the adjacent stream named the Swift.

The whole system of the church of Rome appears so diametrically opposed to a simple interpretation of Scripture, that it need not surprise us to find Wickliffe arriving at the truth on most points when once he had the courage to search the Scriptures for himself. His discoveries, like those of all independent inquirers, were of course gradual; hence we must expect to find in his writings, as in those of such as by patient inquiry have endeavored to extricate themselves out of the labyrinth of error, imperfect views and even contradictions, bold assertions and unguarded expressions, poured out in the first fervor of discovery, but softened and restricted on cooler consideration. This renders it difficult to state with any certainty what his real opinions on every point were,

and the difficulty is increased by the circumstance of only a portion of his works having been printed.*

The two pillars of Popery are the doctrines of Merits and Transubstantiation; in opposition to the former, Wickliffe held the doctrine of justification by faith only, though perhaps not in such strong terms as some subsequent reformers have done; on the latter point he seems to have agreed with the present Church of England in denying a bodily but acknowledging a real spiritual presence in the sacramental elements. To most of the other erroneous doctrines then inculcated, rather than shock prejudices by denying them, he tried to give a rational sense; but against pardons, indulgences, and excommunications, those great implements of clerical extortion and encouragement to sin, his invectives were trumpet-toned. Viewing, with the Albigenses, with Dante, Petrarca, and all the opponents of the church of Rome, the pope as Anti-Christ, he unsparingly applied that and similar terms to him and his supporters; and as his was an age of coarseness and plain speaking, his language frequently passes the limits set to controversy by the decorum of the present day.†

In opposition to the church of Rome, Wickliffe was strenuous in upholding the authority of the state over all orders of men. Tithes he regarded as *alms* bestowed on the church, and he held that the state was justified in withholding them if the clergy neglected their duty; perhaps he went even farther, and thought that in such case the individual layman might refuse tithe and dues. His own retention of a valuable living till his death is, we should suppose, a sufficient proof that he did not think that the clergy should derive their only support from voluntary offerings. Still his language on this point was ambiguous and very liable to perversion. It was equally so on another, the right of wicked men to their temporal possessions, and Wickliffe has been charged with holding the doctrine of dominion being founded in grace. Yet here again the inference is belied by his life and conduct, and his language,

* The Germans have printed all the works and letters of *their* great reformer. It is not to our credit that those of *our* reformer should still remain in manuscript.

† The delicacy of Dr. Lingard is shocked at Wickliffe's coarseness. Does it exceed the following, of the orthodox Walsingham? "That old hypocrite, that angel of Satan, that emissary of Anti-Christ, the not-to-be-named John Wickliffe, or rather *Wickebeleve*, the heretic," &c. &c

if rightly understood, is perfectly innocent and far less strong than that of even St. Augustine on the same subject. It is, however, not impossible that, as is asserted, these principles of Wickliffe, misunderstood, may have been used at the time of the rising of the peasantry to justify the excesses they were urged to commit.

Following the maxim that we may learn from the enemy, Wickliffe sent his Poor Priests, as he styled them, as itinerant preachers through the kingdom, imitating in this his foes the friars. His doctrines were thus widely spread, and they were embraced by numbers of both sexes. His followers, who were remarked for the purity and even austerity of their morals, were named Lollards.*

But Wickliffe gave Rome a deeper wound than any she had yet received, by translating the Bible into English, and thus enabling even the unlearned to see how repugnant to the Word of God were her doctrines and practices. This is the weapon which, as the sword of the Spirit, Rome has always dreaded, and which alone suffices to overthrow her power

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY IV.

1399—1413.

THAT Henry of Lancaster was the choice of the nation is an undeniable fact. The true heir of the throne was the earl of March; but he was a child only seven years old, and not a voice was raised in his favor. So little fears had Henry from his claims, that he contented himself with holding him and his brother in an honorable confinement at Windsor.

When parliament met, the titles of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, Guienne, etc., were conferred on Henry's eldest son — an indirect way of acknowledging the justice of the king's title. The acts of the twenty-first year of Richard were repealed, and those of his eleventh year were affirmed. The lords appellant against the duke of Gloucester were

* From the Low Dutch *lollen* or *lullen*, 'to sing,' it is said.

deprived of the titles and estates bestowed on them on that account. Future appeals of treason were prohibited, as also were delegations of the powers of Parliament to a committee. It was also forbidden under heavy penalties for any one but the king to give liveries.* Toward the close of the session, the primate having previously enjoined all the lords to strict secrecy, the earl of Northumberland delivered a message from the king requiring them to say what should be done with the deposed monarch, whose life the king was resolved to preserve. They replied that he should be placed in sure ward in a place where there should be no concourse of people, under trusty officers, and that none of his friends should be admitted to him. The king then came to the house, (Oct. 27,) and passed this sentence on his unhappy predecessor, whose fate it was evident was now sealed.

How long that fate might have been delayed had no conspiracy been formed in his favor, it is hard to say. But five of the lords appellant had agreed among themselves to invite the king to a tournament at Oxford, and there to seize him and to proclaim Richard. Rutland, however, who was one of them, proved a traitor. It is said indeed that his father the duke of York insisting on seeing a letter he had received, he went, finding concealment impossible, and revealed the whole to the king. The conspirators, who had altered their plan, seized the castle of Windsor; but Henry, warned by Rutland, had left it and gone to London, where he proclaimed them as traitors and commenced a levy of troops. They retired to the west proclaiming Richard as they went. At Cirencester, where they lay the first night, the people rose under their mayor and attacked the quarters of the earls of Kent and Salisbury, whom they forced to surrender, and beheaded them the next night; the same fate befell the lords Lumley and Despenser at Bristol; and the earl of Huntingdon, falling into the hands of the late duke of Gloucester's tenants at Pleshy, was put to death by them. The death of the deposed monarch soon followed; the lords had risen in the first week of January, and before the end of the month his death at Pontefract was announced. He had refused food, it was said, when he heard of the deaths of his brothers Kent and Huntingdon. To this, how-

* By giving their liveries or badges to a number of people, the nobles sought to sustain their power. They supported by their influence, and often protected from the punishment due to their crimes those who wore their liveries, who in return lent them the service of their arms in times of civil war or rebellion, or in their private feuds.

ever, few gave credit; the general opinion was that he had been starved to death by order of Henry, and that he had lingered for fifteen days. Another account says that sir Piers of Exton came from London with seven assistants to murder him. Richard, when they entered his room, aware of their design, sprang forward and snatched a battle-axe from one, with which he killed some of them; but Exton brought him to the ground by a blow on the back of the head, and then with a second blow despatched him. The body was brought to London and exposed in public with the lower part of the face uncovered, which proved that Richard was dead, but nothing more. Henry attended the obsequies in person at St. Paul's, and the corpse was then interred at Langley.

To set his own spirit and activity in opposition to the inertness of his predecessor, Henry summoned the military tenants to his standard, and marching to the Tyne sent to claim the homage of the king of Scotland. On meeting with a refusal he advanced to Edinburgh, but he did not waste and destroy the country. The Scots would give no opportunity of fighting, and want of supplies forced him to retire. A border-war was kept up, the principal event of which was the battle of Humbledown, (1402.) The earl of Douglas having passed the borders at the head of ten thousand men to ravage the northern counties, the earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy, named Hotspur, assembled their troops to intercept him on his return. When they met, (Sept. 14,) the Scots occupied the hill of Humbledown, the English an opposite eminence. The English archers descended into the valley and won the victory, while the men-at-arms stood looking on. Douglas himself and many nobles and knights were made prisoners.

The very next year, (1403,) strange as it may seem, Northumberland took up arms against the man whom he had aided to seize the crown. Whatever the real cause may have been, the occasion was as follows. There was a gentleman in Wales named Owen Glendour, or of Glendourdy, descended from its ancient princes. He had received a legal education in England, and had been in the service of either the late king or the earl of Arundel. Lord Grey de Ruthyn, a relative of Henry's, seized some of Glendour's land which lay contiguous to his own; the Welshman applied to parliament, but getting no redress he took advantage of the king's absence in Scotland (1400) to right himself by the strong hand. Owen was declared an outlaw; in return he

assumed the sovereignty of Wales. His countrymen who were studying or laboring in England, provided arms and flocked to him, and the belief that he was versed in magic arts augmented his influence. The king thrice led an army in person into Wales, and thrice he had to retire, baffled by the weather, the country, and the skill of Glendour. Lord Grey and sir Edmund Mortimer were each defeated and made captives, (1402.) The king, his son, and the earl of Arundel invaded Wales in three different points; but the heavens seemed to fight for the champions of independence, as tremendous rains forced the invaders to retire, and Henry actually ascribed his ill-success to the magic of Glendour.

Henry then gave permission to the relatives of lord Grey to ransom him, but he refused those of Mortimer when they applied for the same favor. This, we are told, irritated Hotspur, who was married to Mortimer's sister; his father and his uncle the earl of Worcester shared in his discontent, and on their applying for advice to Scroop, archbishop of York, the prelate urged them to proclaim the rightful heir and levy war on Henry as a usurper. A secret confederacy was formed with Douglas, to whom they gave his liberty, and with Owen Glendour, who is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Mortimer. Northumberland having fallen sick, Hotspur, joined by Douglas, led his forces toward Wales, and when his uncle came up with his troops in Cheshire, they put forth a manifesto accusing the king of wasting the public treasure, and allowing his favorites to exclude the great lords from access to him. Henry, who was on his way to the north, replied that the greater part of the late supplies had been paid to the Percies themselves, and offered them a safe-conduct to come and expose their griefs. At Burton-on-Trent he learned the route of the rebels, and turning westwards he entered Shrewsbury just as they came in sight of it. Hotspur halted at Hartlefield, whence he sent a defiance to the king, calling him false and perjured for having violated all the engagements made on his return to England, and having usurped the crown. Henry, unable to refute the charges, replied that he had no time for writing, and that the sword should decide.

Next morning (July 21) the two armies, each about fourteen thousand men, were drawn out. The king sent the abbot of Shrewsbury with proposals of peace, but by the influence of Worcester they were rejected. The adverse cries of "St. George!" and "Esperance Percy!" then rose

the archers on both sides poured their fatal hail of arrows: Hotspur and Douglas, each with thirty followers, plunged into the centre of the English seeking the king; the earl of Stafford, sir Walter Blount, and two others, all of whom wore the royal arms to deceive the enemy, were slain; the prince of Wales was wounded in the face. Hotspur and Douglas now attempted to force their way back, but a chance arrow pierced the brain of the former, and the latter was made a prisoner. After a conflict of three hours the insurgents fled. More than a third of the royal army was slain or wounded, but the loss of the rebels was much greater. Worcester, lord Kinderton, and sir Richard Vernon, who were among the prisoners, were executed as traitors; Douglas was treated with all courtesy. Northumberland, who was on his way to join his son, when he heard of his defeat and death, disbanded his forces and shut himself up in his castle of Warkworth. He came, however, and surrendered himself to the king at York, and received a pardon for all offences in the next parliament.

Though Henry was thus triumphant over his enemies, his throne was by no means secure; Glendour was still in arms; a false Richard was set up; * the favorers of the rights of Mortimer were numerous; the young earl of March had even been stolen out of Windsor castle, but he was speedily retaken. Soon, too, another insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, headed by the archbishop, Northumberland, and Mowbray earl-marshal, son of the late duke of Norfolk. A writing was fixed on the doors of the churches charging the king with perjury, rebellion, the murder of his sovereign, and various other crimes; and eight thousand men, led by the archbishop and the earl-marshal, assembled at Shipton-on-the-Moor near York. Prince John (Henry's third son) and the earl of Westmoreland came against them. A conference took place between the leaders; the prelate and earl were induced (whether by guile or not is uncertain) to disband their forces, and they were then made prisoners and conveyed to Henry at Pontefract. The king directed Gascoigne, the chief justice, to pass sentence on them, and when he scrupled to do so, he gave the charge to a knight named Fulthorpe, who made no hesitation, and the prelate and the earl were both beheaded. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and the king reduced all his castles. Sometime after, (1408,) the earl made an irruption into the north, but he was

* See Appendix (P.)

defeated and slain near Tadcaster (Feb. 28) by sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff of the county. Wales was gradually reduced, but Owen Glendour still held out in the retired fastnesses. He was living in the following reign, and seems never to have lost his liberty or his independence.

An accident, fortunate for him, but of which he did not make the most generous use, gave Henry a control over the councils of Scotland. The duke of Albany, brother of Robert III., had seized on the power of the state; his eldest nephew, heir to the crown, had perished in the prison in which he had been confined, and Robert, to save his younger son James, a child but nine years old, was sending him to France. The ship, on board of which the prince was, being captured by an English cruiser, Henry, though there was a truce between the two countries at the time, refused to liberate the royal captive. Robert dying shortly after, Albany assumed the government, and Henry then was able, by the threat of setting the rightful heir at liberty, to keep the regent in a state of subserviency. He, however, made some amends to the prince for his loss of liberty by having him carefully educated.

The public events of the remainder of this king's reign, if we except a slight interference in the quarrels of the French princes, were of no importance. The wildness and levities of the prince of Wales are said to have caused his father some uneasiness. This prince, who had shown undoubted valor in the field, in time of peace plunged into riot and excess; but still gleams of right feeling broke through his follies, which evinced that his heart was not corrupt. It is said that when one of his riotous companions had been taken up and brought before the chief justice Gascoigne, the prince went and demanded his release, and when refused drew his sword on the judge. Gascoigne forthwith ordered him to prison for the offence, and the prince meekly submitted. "Happy the monarch," said the king when he heard it, "who has a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to submit to the laws!" A suspicion was also instilled into the mind of the king that his son aspired to the throne. When the prince heard of this, he demanded an audience of his father, threw himself on his knees before him, and handing him a dagger, besought him to deprive him of life, since he had deprived him of his favor.

Though the king was but in his forty-sixth year, the symptoms of approaching death were manifest. Violent

options had broken out in his face, he was subject to constant fits of epilepsy, and remorse, it is added, secretly preyed on his conscience. We are told* that one day, as he lay in a fit, apparently dead, the prince came in, and taking the crown, which according to custom lay by the king on a cushion, carried it into an adjoining room. The king on recovering sternly asked what had become of it; the prince instantly brought it back. "Alas! fair son," said the king, at the close of their conversation, "what right have you to the crown when you know your father had none?" "My liege," said the prince, "with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." "Well," replied the king, "do as you think best; I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul." As he was praying (March 20, 1413) in St. Edward's chapel, in Westminster abbey, he was seized with his last fit, and he expired in the abbot's chamber.

Henry IV. was possessed of many estimable qualities, and had he obtained the crown in a regular way would have made an excellent sovereign. Injustice, as we have seen, drove him to crime; one act led to another, till they ended in the murder of his unhappy kinsman and predecessor.

By his first wife Mary Bohun, coheirress of the earl of Hereford, Henry had four sons, Henry his successor, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and two daughters, who were married to the duke of Bavaria and the king of Denmark. He had no issue by his second wife Jane of Navarre.

Those who had given Henry his crown resolved to derive advantage from the nature of his title. The commons strengthened most of their rights and privileges in this reign, and acquired new ones. Such, for instance, was freedom from arrest, a privilege at that time necessary for the cause of liberty, but which at the present day only serves to enable poor or dishonest members to baffle their creditors, and thus brings into or keeps in parliament men who should not be there.

The clergy obtained in the second year of this king the writ *De comburendo hæretico*, and thus partially introduced into the kingdom the Inquisition with its horrible *autos-da-fe*. Instead of inquiring into such opinions of the Lollards as

* Monstrelet, i 163. Lingard thinks this was an invention of the rival family.

were really injurious to society, they made the scholastic absurdity of transubstantiation the test. Primate Arundel immediately began to act on this statute, and the first victim to the metaphysical Moloch was William Sautre, parish priest of St. Osithe; a tailor named Badby was also burnt in the presence of prince Henry, who vainly urged him to recant and save himself.

CHAPTER X

HENRY V.

1413—1422.

THE joy of the nation at the accession of Henry V. was extreme. It was indeed slightly shaded by the recollections of his youthful follies, but all apprehensions were dispelled by the conduct of the young monarch. He dismissed his former companions with suitable presents, assuring them of further favor when they should show that they were reformed. He continued his father's honest servants and ministers in their offices. He set the earl of March at liberty; he restored the Percy family to their estates and honors; and he removed the remains of Richard II. (by whom he had once been favored) from Langley and deposited them in Westminster abbey, himself attending as chief mourner.

One cloud alone overcast this propitious dawn. The sect of the Lollards was represented to the king as holding opinions alike subversive of church and state, and he was induced to allow the zealous primate Arundel to put the laws in force against them. Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, (in right of his wife,) a man of distinguished military talents and high in the favor of the late king, was regarded as the head of the sect, and the primate, deeming him the fittest person to commence with, applied to the king for permission to indict him. Henry advised moderation, and undertook himself to reason with the accused, but the zealous soldier was not to be moved by the royal arguments. The primate was then allowed to proceed; he was aided by his suffragans of London, Winchester, and St. Davids. The knight was brought before them, and after a noble defence

of his opinions, in which he clearly confuted his adversaries, and at the same time so explained his sentiments as to leave abundant room for conciliation if his judges desired it, he was declared guilty of heresy, and was delivered over to the tender mercies of the secular arm.* He, however, made his escape from the Tower, in which he was confined. He and his followers are now said to have formed the atrocious design of surprising the king at Eltham, where he kept his Christmas, putting him, his brothers, and the principal clergy and nobility to death, and forming the realm into a federal republic with Oldcastle for its president. This scheme, it is added, was frustrated by the sudden return of the king to Westminster, and the insurgents then were directed to assemble at an appointed time in St. Giles's fields; but the night before, the king occupied the ground with some troops, having previously closed the city-gates to keep in the Lollards of the city. The first parties that arrived were made prisoners and the rest, who were coming when they heard this ill news, dispersed and fled.

This account, which is given by the bitter enemies of the Lollards, has a most improbable air, yet we know not what violent projects men driven to desperation may have formed. At all events the prisons in and about London were filled, and twenty-nine persons, among whom was sir Roger Acton, a man of good property, were suspended by chains from a gallows in Ficket Field, and then burnt alive as heretics and traitors. A reward of 1000 marks was offered for lord Cobham dead or alive, but he escaped into Wales, where during four years he eluded his persecutors. At length he was discovered by lord Powis. He defended himself valiantly, and would probably not have been taken alive if a woman had not broken his legs with a blow of a stool. He was carried to London in a horse-litter, where he was hung by a chain and burnt alive as a heretic.†

It is said that the late king had, when dying, charged his son, if he wished for domestic quiet, never to let the nation

* Read his trial in Southey's Book of the Church, i. 359—379. "His conduct," says Lingard, "was as arrogant and insulting as that of his judge was *mild* and dignified." By this we may estimate Dr. Lingard's historic honesty, in matters where the reputation of his church is concerned.

† "Though the king offered the most tempting rewards for his apprehension, he eluded for several years the pursuit and search of his enemies." Thus ends Lingard's account of him. Not a word is said of the burning, as that might blemish the picture of the lamb like Church

remain long at rest ; it is also said that the primate, fearing an attack on the property of the church, to which parliament was urging the king, to divert his thoughts and those of the nation to other objects, advised him to assert his claim to the crown of France. Whether these counsels were given or not, the present distracted state of France offered a fair field for ambition. The king, Charles VI., after some years of the fairest promise, became subject to fits of mental derangement. The conduct of affairs was disputed between his brother the duke of Orleans and his cousin the duke of Burgundy. The latter having caused the former to be assassinated, the kingdom was filled with bloodshed and ruin by the two contending parties ; for the princes of the blood all sided with the young duke of Orleans, whose party was named the Armagnacs, from his father-in-law the count of that name. The late king of England had fomented the quarrel by giving alternate aid to each party ; the ardent spirit of the present young monarch urged him to renew the claim to the crown. This demand being at once rejected, Henry offered to be content with the full sovereignty of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, and the places named in the Peace of Bretigni, and one half of Provence ; he required that the arrears of king John's ransom should be paid, and the princess Catherine be given in marriage to him with a portion of two millions of gold crowns. These terms were too extravagant to be entertained, but he was offered the whole of the ancient duchy of Aquitaine and the princess with a dower of 600,000 crowns. Henry recalled his ambassadors and began to prepare for war, his parliament cheerfully granting him two tenths and two fifteenths. He, however, sent again, giving up his claim of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, offering to take the princess with one million of crowns, but insisting on all the other terms. The French court offered to raise the princess's portion to 800,000 crowns, but would yield on no other point. Henry forthwith prepared for war ; by pawning his jewels and by loans he raised a sum of 500,000 nobles, while his barons and knights were busily engaged in levying troops.

When the army had assembled at Southampton the king proceeded thither. Visions of glory floated before his imagination as he viewed the embarkation of his gallant troops ; but these visions were overcast with gloom by information of a conspiracy among those of his own family and household to rob him of life and fame. The objects of the conspirators, the earl of Cambridge, brother to the duke of York, sir

Thomas Grey, and lord Scroop of Masham, are obscure; their plan is said to have been to conduct the earl of March to the frontiers of Wales, and there proclaim him king in case that Richard II. were really dead. They were condemned and executed as traitors; the innocence of the earl of March is proved by the circumstance of his sitting as one of their judges. Yet such was the insecurity of life and honor in those days, that he deemed it prudent soon after to obtain from the king a pardon for all treasons and offences.

King Henry soon embarked, and a speedy voyage carried his fleet of one thousand five hundred sail to the mouth of the Seine, where (Aug. 14) he landed a gallant army of 6000 men-at-arms and 24,000 archers, and immediately invested the town of Harfleur by sea and land. After a gallant but brief resistance the town capitulated; the inhabitants were expelled, being only permitted to take a part of their clothes and fivepence each; the remainder of the property was divided among the victorious army. But this army was soon sadly thinned by dysentery, and when the sick and wounded had been sent home to England, and a garrison had been placed in Harfleur, the king found his troops reduced to one half their original number, and no longer adequate to any enterprise of moment. Still his chivalrous spirit would not suffer him to re-embark without giving some further proof of his knightly daring, and in spite of the remonstrances of his council he resolved to lead his diminished forces to Calais. The army marched in three divisions, (the usual English mode;) supplies were hardly procured from the villages on the way; the enemy hung on them and cut off the stragglers. At length they reached Blanchetaque, where Edward III. had crossed the Somme, but the ford was now secured with lines of palisades with troops stationed behind them. The king retired and moved up the river, but all the bridges were broken and all the fords secured, and the enemy moved as he moved along the opposite bank. At length, finding a ford near Bethencourt unguarded, the English crossed and established themselves on the right bank. D'Albret, constable of France, who commanded the French army, fell back toward Calais, sending orders to all the troops that were on their march to join him without delay. Meantime in a council of war held at Rouen, at which king Charles was present, it was resolved to give battle; orders to that effect were transmitted to the constable, who communicated them by heralds to king Henry, inquiring which way he intended to march. The king replied, by that which led straight to

Calais, and dismissed the heralds with a present of one hundred crowns.

The English leisurely pursued their march toward Blangi. On reaching an eminence the duke of York descried the enemy making for Agincourt. The king gave orders to form in line of battle; but, as the enemy did not approach, after remaining in their ranks till evening, the English advanced to a village named Maisoncelles, where they obtained good provisions and remained for the night. The French, who now amounted to at least 50,000 horsemen, took a position in the fields before the village of Agincourt, through which the English, who D'Albret was resolved should be the assailants, must pass. Though the night was dark and rainy they assembled round their banners revelling and discussing the events of the coming day, even fixing the ransoms of the English king and his barons; for of victory they had not a doubt. The English passed the night far differently; they made their wills and employed themselves in devotional exercises; sickness, famine, and the thoughts of the paucity of their numbers tended to deject them, but the recollection of former victories and the gallant spirit of their king raised their spirits. The king took little rest; he visited all the quarters; made his dispositions for battle next day; bands of music, by his orders, played all through the night; before sunrise he summoned all the army to hear mass, and then led them to the field, (Oct. 25.)

The English were drawn up in three divisions and two wings, the archers, as usual, in advance of the men-at-arms. Each archer had a long stake, sharp at both ends, to stick in the ground before him as a defence against the charge of the French cavalry. The king, mounted on a gray palfrey, having his helmet of polished steel wreathed with a crown of sparkling stones, rode from rank to rank cheering his men. Hearing one officer say to another that he wished a miracle would transfer thither some of the good knights who were sitting idle at home, he declared aloud that he would not have a single man more; as, if God gave them the victory, it would be plainly due to his goodness; if he did not, the fewer that fell the less the loss to their country; but of the result he had no apprehension. The French army was similarly arrayed, but its files were thirty, while those of the English were but four deep. The distance between the armies was not more than a quarter of a mile.

As the French did not advance, the king directed refreshments to be distributed through the ranks, and he secretly

sent off two detachments, the one to lie in ambush in a meadow on the enemy's left flank, the other to set fire to the houses in his rear during the action. Three French knights then came, summoning them to surrender. The king ordered them off, and forthwith cried, "Banners, advance." Sir Thomas Erpingham cast his warder into the air; the men fell on their knees, bit the ground, then rose and with a shout ran toward the foe. When they had gone twenty paces they halted and shouted again; those in ambush repeated the shout; the archers fixed their stakes obliquely in the ground, and, running beyond them, discharged their arrows; a body of eight hundred horse appointed to oppose them was slaughtered and dispersed, and in the confusion the archers slung their bows behind their backs, and grasping their swords and battle-axes, rushed on, killed the constable and his principal officers, and routed the whole of the first division. The archers formed again by the king's directions, who now came up with the men-at-arms and attacked the second division, led by the duke of Alençon. Here the resistance was obstinate. The duke of Clarence being wounded and on the ground, the king stood over and defended him till he was removed to a place of safety. Eighteen French knights, bound by a vow to take or slay the king, now rushed on him, and a blow from the mace of one brought him on his knees, but his guards rescued him and slew all the assailants. The duke of Alençon reached the royal standard, killed the duke of York, and cleft the crown on the king's head, but he speedily fell, and his division turned and fled. Henry now prepared to attack the third division; just then word came that a large force was falling on the rear; in the hurry of the moment the king gave orders to put the prisoners to death; and numbers had actually perished when it was discovered that the alarm was caused by a body of six hundred peasants who had entered Maisoncelles and were plundering the baggage. The slaughter was then stopped. Meantime the houses in the rear of the French had been set on fire; the third division began to waver, and only six hundred men could be induced to follow their leaders, the counts Falconberg and Marle, in a charge on the English, where they found captivity or death.

The victory was now complete. "To whom," said the king to Montjoy, the French king-at-arms, "to whom doth the victory belong?" "To you, sir," was the reply. "And what castle is that I see at a distance?" "It is called the castle of Agincourt." "Then," said the king, "be this

battle known to posterity by the name of the battle of Agincourt." A fatal battle it was to France! among the slain were the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, and the constable and admiral of France, seven counts, and more than one hundred bannerets and eight thousand knights and esquires; and among the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont. The loss of the English was but one thousand six hundred men, with the duke of York and earl of Suffolk. As they crossed the field of battle next morning on their way to Calais, they killed such of the wounded as were still alive, and when they were gone thousands of men and women flocked from the surrounding villages and stripped the dead leaving them totally naked.

After a short stay at Calais Henry returned to England leading his noble captives with him. He was received with enthusiasm in London, where, after the manner of the age, the streets were hung with rich tapestry, curious pageants were exhibited, and the public conduits were made to run sweet wines. The parliament too was most liberal in its grants to the triumphant monarch.

The next year (1416) the count of Armagnac, who now governed France, as the Dauphin was dead, made a vigorous attempt to recover Harfleur, which he besieged by sea and land. But the duke of Bedford, the king's brother, soon appeared with a numerous fleet, defeated that of the French, and relieved the town. Soon after, king Henry and the emperor Sigismund, (who had visited England, where he formed an alliance with the king,) passed over to Calais and had an interview with the duke of Burgundy, under the pretext of seeking a remedy for the schism which now existed in the church, but in reality to arrange the plan of war against France, where matters were now in the utmost confusion. Armagnac had induced the imbecile monarch to order the seizure of the treasures of the queen Isabella of Bavaria, whom he also accused of adultery and caused to be confined at Tours. Isabella, a woman of a fierce, vindictive spirit, instantly proposed a league to the duke of Burgundy, whose bitterest enemy she had hitherto been. Her offer was accepted; the duke, at the head of sixty thousand men, marched toward Paris, taking all the towns in his way. As the Armagnacs held that city, he passed on to Etampes and Chartres, and the queen, as was concerted, having prevailed on her guards to accompany her to a church in the suburbs of Tours, the duke, who was lying with eight hundred men

in an adjacent forest, appeared and carried her to Troyes, where she assumed the title of regent, making him her lieutenant.

Meanwhile king Henry had landed in Normandy (Aug. 1) with an army of sixteen thousand men-at-arms and an equal number of archers. Fortress after fortress and town after town submitted; Caen was taken by storm, Bayeux by composition; the campaign closed with the reduction of Falaise. In the spring, (1418,) having received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, he divided his forces and speedily reduced the whole of Lower Normandy. He then proceeded to invest Rouen, the capital of the province, which, though defended by a brave garrison, was, after an obstinate defence of nearly six months, obliged to open its gates.

While the king of England was thus recovering what he regarded as the patrimony of his ancestors, the two parties into which the French were divided thought only of opposing each other. One night (May 23) one of the gates of Paris was secretly opened to a party of the Burgundians; they were joined by thousands of the citizens; the count of Armagnac, several ladies, and bishops, and lords, and members of the parliament were thrown into prison; and on the night of the 12th of June a mob of sixty thousand persons assembled, broke open the prisons, and massacred all in them without distinction of sex or rank, and then slaughtered all through the city those who were hostile to the Burgundian faction. The present dauphin, the third son of the king, was taken out of bed by a knight named Tannegui du Chastel, wrapped in a sheet and conveyed away. The queen and duke entered Paris next day in triumph, where they now exercised the royal authority without opposition. The adverse party retired to Poitiers and proclaimed the young dauphin regent. Both parties made proposals to Henry, who, as was his interest to do, only sought to play them off against each other. At length, the fall of Rouen awakening them to a sense of their danger, they renewed their negotiations, the dauphin even soliciting a personal interview with the duke of Burgundy. But he did not keep his appointment when made: the duke then proposed an interview between the two kings. It was arranged that Charles should come to Pontoise, Henry to Mante. In a plain near Meulant between these towns, a plot of ground, washed on one side by the Seine and enclosed by palisades on the other three, was marked out for the conference. At a mast which was raised in the centre stood two rich pavilions for the royal parties,

and tents were pitched on the right of the enclosure for the attendants of Henry, on the left for those of Charles.

On the appointed day (May 30) the king of France, having an attack of his disorder, could not appear; but in the morning the queen, the princess, and the duke of Burgundy came, escorted by one thousand horse, and Henry and his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester arrived, followed by one thousand men-at-arms; they met in the centre; the king bowed to the queen and princess, whom he had never seen before; Catherine, who was graceful and beautiful, employed, as instructed by her mother, all her charms on the heart of the king; and when, in spite of his efforts, the queen saw they had taken effect, the princess was removed and appeared no more. Henry's demands were Normandy and the provinces ceded by the peace of Bretigni in full sovereignty; the French ministers made no objection; the conferences were extended on one pretext or another for an entire month; at length Henry discovered that the whole was a feint, and that Burgundy had been meantime negotiating with the dauphin through a lady of the name of De Giac. They met soon after (July 11) at Melun, and vowed to forget past injuries and unite their forces against the English. Henry for the present could only avenge himself by the surprise and capture of Pontoise.

It would appear that Henry's hopes of the conquest of France were now at an end; yet, ere many months were passed, he gained all he could desire. The duke and dauphin, who still distrusted each other, agreed to a conference at Montereau on the Yonne. They were to meet on the bridge over that river, across which barriers were placed with gates in them; each entered the intermediate space with ten attendants; the duke bent his knee to the dauphin, and was addressing him, when he was struck in the face with a small axe by Tannegui du Chastel, and he was despatched by several wounds; one of his followers escaped, another was slain, the rest were made prisoners. The dauphin constantly denied his previous knowledge of this foul deed, but those who perpetrated it still retained his favor. It, however, ruined his cause; all France was filled with horror and indignation; and the heir of the murdered prince, thinking only of revenge, hastened to conclude a treaty with Henry, the queen engaging that Charles should ratify whatever was arranged. Henry's terms were the hand of the princess Catherine, the regency during the king's lifetime, and the crown on his death. These terms were at once acceded to. Henry marched at

the head of sixteen thousand men-at-arms to Troyes, where the court then was; the Perpetual Peace, as it was styled, was sworn to, (May 21, 1420;) the princess and he were affianced, and after a short interval married, (June 2;) and Henry then, accompanied by his bride, set out to conduct the siege of Sens.

In the winter the two kings returned to Paris, where the states-general met and gave their approbation to the treaty. Henry then (1421) conducted his lovely bride to England, and she was there crowned with a magnificence hitherto unknown. While the king remained in England his brother of Clarence, whom he had left in command in Normandy, made an irruption into Anjou, which adhered to the dauphin. The marshal La Fayette assembled what troops he could, among which were seven thousand Scots under the earl of Buchan, the regent's son. Clarence, advancing with only his men-at-arms, fell in with them at a place named Beaujé, and, being greatly outnumbered, his force was utterly routed, one thousand two hundred being slain and three hundred made prisoners. The duke himself was wounded by sir William Swynnton, and then slain by Buchan, whom the dauphin for this victory made constable of France. On the news of this disaster Henry returned without delay to France, with four thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers, and accompanied by the young king of Scots. He drove the dauphin from Chartres and forced him to take refuge in Bourges; then returning to Paris, he, to gratify the Parisians, laid siege to Meaux, which he reduced after a siege of five months; and now (1422) all France north of the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, obeyed him.

To crown his happiness, his queen, who had been delivered of a son, came over with her babe to join him. The two courts met in Paris to keep their Whitsuntide, which was celebrated with the utmost magnificence. But this was the last of the glories of king Henry; a fatal disease was secretly preying on him. On his march to raise the siege of Cosne he felt himself so unwell (July 30) that he was obliged to resign the command to the duke of Bedford and return to Vincennes. He was soon aware that recovery was hopeless. The infancy of his son gave him uneasiness, and on the day of his death he strongly recommended his queen and her child to his brothers and his other nobles. He advised them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and to offer him the regency of France, and never to release the princes taken at Agincourt; he charged them in the worst

of cases not to make peace unless Normandy was ceded to the crown of England. In a few hours after, he breathed his last, with the utmost piety and resignation. He was only in the thirty-fourth year of his age and the tenth of his reign.

This great prince was justly a favorite with his people. He was handsome in person and affable in manners. His valor was undoubted, and it was united with skill and prudence. In the pursuit of his unfounded claim to the crown of France he is as much to be admired in the capacity of the statesman as in that of the warrior.

The queen-dowager Catherine afterwards married sir Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales. They had two sons, Edmund created earl of Richmond, and Jasper earl of Pembroke. As we proceed we shall behold their descendants seated on the throne of England.

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY VI.

1422—1461.

A MINORITY for the fourth time appears in the royal line of England, the new monarch being an infant only nine months old. The English parliament, regardless of the will of the late king, refused the duke of Gloucester the title and authority of regent; a council of regency with the duke of Bedford, and during his absence the duke of Gloucester, at its head, under the title of protector, was appointed, and the parliament was then dissolved.

The duke of Burgundy having declined the regency of France, it was conferred on the duke of Bedford by king Charles. This imbecile monarch followed his gallant son-in-law to the grave within two months, and his death seriously affected the English interest, by withdrawing from it the semblance of royal authority which it had hitherto possessed. The dauphin forthwith assumed the regal title, and was crowned and anointed at Chartres. Bedford, who equalled his late brother in ability and valor, and surpassed him in manners, sought by every means to attach the dukes of

Burgundy and Brittany; and at a conference held at Arras the three princes bound themselves to each other by oaths, cemented by the marriage of the dukes of Bedford and Brittany to the sisters of the duke of Burgundy. As the Scottish government had lately sent Charles a reinforcement of five thousand men, and it was feared that they might invade the north of England, the English ministry offered king James his liberty on condition of his paying 40,000*l.* for the expenses of his nineteen years' captivity, and forbidding his subjects to enter the service of France. These terms were agreed to, and James, having espoused an English lady of high descent to whom he had long been betrothed, returned to his native kingdom, where he proved the ablest and best monarch that Scotland had ever possessed.

The war in France meantime was continued. The duke of Bedford occupied himself in reducing such towns and castles in the north as still held out. An army of French and Scots formed the siege of Crevent on the Yonne; the earl of Salisbury joined the Burgundians, and led his troops to its relief. The English forced the passage of the bridge, the Burgundians followed; the enemy were totally defeated, and their two commanders, the constable of Scotland and the count of Ventadour, were made prisoners. The capture of La Charité on the Loire opened a passage into the southern provinces. In the next campaign (1424) the duke of Bedford, with two thousand men-at-arms and seven thousand archers, laid siege to Yvri in Normandy, where the garrison had raised the standard of Charles. The constable of France with an army of eighteen thousand men came to its relief, but despairing of success he turned aside, and surprised Verneuil. The duke of Bedford advanced to attack the enemy, who did not refuse the combat. The English men-at-arms formed one compact mass with the archers, protected by their stakes on the flanks; a body of two thousand archers were set to guard the horses and the baggage in the rear, and they fastened the horses together by the heads and the tails and mixed them through the baggage so as to form an insuperable barrier. After the battle had lasted for an hour, without any advantage on either side, a body of French and Italian cavalry fell on the baggage; but unable to penetrate it they stood as marks for the arrows of the archers, who, when they had slain or driven them off, ran to the front and with a shout fell on the enemy. This decided the battle; the French fled, with a loss of three thousand men: sixteen hundred of the victors lay on the plain. The consta-

ble of France, his countrymen earl Douglas and his son, and other nobles were among the slain; the duke of Alençon and two hundred gentlemen were made prisoners.

The victory of Verneuil was productive of no consequences of importance; the blame has been laid on the ambition of the duke of Gloucester. Jacqueline heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, having been married to John, dauphin of France, was on his death married to her cousin-german the duke of Brabant, a weak minded youth, only in his sixteenth year. Jacqueline, a woman of masculine spirit, soon learned to despise her feeble helpmate, and at length (1420) she left him and repaired to England, where the duke of Gloucester, smitten with the charms of herself and her heritage, sought her hand; after the death of Henry V. he openly espoused her, alleging that her marriage with her cousin was void, though the council or Constance had granted a dispensation. The duke of Burgundy, who was cousin to the duke of Brabant, was highly offended; the duke of Bedford was in the utmost perplexity; it was proposed to leave the matter to the pope, but Gloucester refused, and at the head of five thousand men he took possession of Hainault, (1425.) The duke of Burgundy sent aid to his cousin; a challenge passed between him and Gloucester, but the duel did not take place. Gloucester returned to England, leaving Jacqueline at Mons; she was obliged to surrender, and was conducted to Ghent, whence she made her escape in man's attire and fled to Holland, where she maintained the war for two years, but at length was obliged to submit to the duke of Burgundy. Gloucester meantime seems to have given up all thoughts of her, for he married Eleanor daughter of lord Cobham, who had long lived with him as his mistress.

Gloucester also caused his brother much uneasiness by his quarrels with their uncle, Henry Beaufort the bishop of Winchester. This ambitious prelate was the second son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, and he held the high office of chancellor. Bedford was obliged to come over to England (1426) to effect an apparent reconciliation between them. The following year the prelate received a cardinal's hat from Rome.

For three years, owing to want of means on both sides, the war had languished in France. Meantime the duke of Brittany had yielded to the instances of his brother the count of Richemont, whom Charles had made constable of France, and began to separate himself from his English alliance

Bedford immediately poured his troops into Brittany, defeated the Bretons every where, and soon forced the duke to renew his engagements. On his return to Paris (1428) several councils were held, and it was resolved, contrary, it is said, to the opinion of the regent, to carry the war beyond the Loire. The campaign was to be opened by the siege of Orleans, a strong, well-garrisoned city on the right bank of that river. The English army of ten thousand men under the earl of Salisbury, one of their ablest generals, crossed the Loire, and carried by assault (Oct. 23) the Tourelles, or castle which defended the bridge on the left bank; but the garrison had broken down one of the arches, and a few days after, as Salisbury was looking out from one of the windows of the Tourelles, he was struck in the face by a shot from the ramparts, and he died of his wound. The command then devolved on the earl of Suffolk; reinforcements arrived; bastilles, or huts defended by intrenchments, were constructed round the city, but the spaces between them were so great, on account of the extent of the walls, that the enemy, who had large magazines at Blois, found little difficulty in conveying in supplies.

In the beginning of the Lent (1429) sir John Falstaff set out from Paris with one thousand five hundred men, and four hundred wagons laden with salt herrings and other provisions for the besiegers. At the village of Roveray (Feb. 12) he learned that the earl of Clermont was advancing with from four to five thousand horse to intercept him. He halted and formed round his men a circle of the wagons, leaving but two openings, each guarded by a strong body of archers. The commander of the Scots in the French army advised that the men-at-arms should dismount; Clermont refused, and it was finally agreed that each might do as they pleased. Before day the attack was made; the English arrows flew with their usual effect, and ere long the enemy fled leaving six hundred men slain. After this 'battle of the Herrings,' as it was named, Falstaff reached the camp in safety. Lines were now run from bastille to bastille, and the town was completely shut in. The besieged offered to surrender the town into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, but the regent insisted on its being given up to the English, who had won it with their blood.

The fate of Orleans now seemed decided; a general gloom overspread the French court, and Charles even meditated flight into Spain or Scotland; but his mistress, the fair Agnes Sore, it is said, recalled him to more manly thoughts, and

at length one of the most extraordinary appearances in history came to raise the fallen fortunes of France.

In the small hamlet of Domremy in Champagne dwelt a peasant named Jacques d'Arc, among whose children was a daughter whose name was Joan. The character of this maiden was stainless; she was remarkable for her piety and serious cast of thought. The misfortunes of her king and country made a strong impression on her imagination, and incessant solitary brooding soon produced visions; she fancied that the saints Margaret and Catherine used to appear to her and urge her to undertake the defence of her country. She addressed herself to Baudricourt, lord of the neighboring town of Vaucouleur, requiring to be sent to the dauphin, as she was appointed by Heaven to crown him. Baudricourt laughed at her pretensions, but afterwards, either believing in her mission or seeing the advantage that might be derived from it, he sent her with a small retinue to Chinon, where the court resided. Joan appeared clad in man's attire. After some delay she was admitted to the presence of the king, whom she assured that she was sent by Heaven to raise the siege of Orleans and conduct him to Rheims to be crowned. It is added that, though she had never before seen the king, she recognized him at once among his courtiers that she told him secrets known only to himself, and described and claimed a sword, in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, whose very existence had been forgotten. She was examined by a council of lawyers and divines at Poitiers, who pronounced her inspired. Mounted on a stately gray charger, which she managed with a dexterity acquired in her village, but which to those who knew not her origin appeared miraculous, and preceded by a banner, in which the Almighty, represented as usual as a venerable old man, bore a globe in his hand and was surrounded by fleurs-de-lis, the maid was exhibited to the people, whose joy and enthusiasm knew no bounds. Care at the same time was taken that the most exaggerated accounts of the heaven-sent deliverer should reach the English camp, where, in despite of the efforts of Suffolk and his officers, a secret terror soon began to pervade the minds of the soldiers.

As want was now felt in Orleans, a large supply of provisions was collected at Blois, to be sent thither under a convoy of seven thousand men led by the able La Hire. Joan repaired thither; she ordered the soldiers to confess themselves, and banished from the camp all the women of loose life. At the same time she wrote to Suffolk, ordering him

in the divine name to raise the siege. La Hire embarked the provisions in boats; his troops, headed by the Maid bearing her sacred banner, marched along the bank to protect them; a sally from the town distracted the attention of the English, and the Maid and the stores entered Orleans unopposed. A few days after she headed a party of volunteers, and attacked and carried two of the bastilles. She then assailed the Tourelles, and after an assault of fourteen hours, during which she was wounded in the neck, that fortress was carried. The hopes of the English now completely expired, and at dawn the next day (May 8) they set fire to their line of forts and departed from before Orleans.

The earl of Suffolk was now besieged for ten days in Jargeau, whither he had retired. The Maid headed the attack and scaled the wall; a stone struck her on the head, and she fell down into the ditch. "On, on! my countrymen," cried she as she lay; "fear nought; the Lord has delivered them into our hands." An unguarded place was discovered; the French rushed in: part of the garrison were slain, the rest made prisoners. "Are you a knight?" said Suffolk to the officer who demanded his sword: he replied in the negative. "Then," said the earl, "I make you one," and he gave him the blow of knighthood with his sword, which he then surrendered. Melun and other fortresses opened their gates; lord Talbot led the dispirited remains of the English army toward Paris, but at Patay he was overtaken by the French. Falstaff advised a retreat; Talbot disdained to show his back to an enemy. The English, however, made but a feeble stand; twelve hundred men were slain, and Talbot and lord Scales were made prisoners. Falstaff, who had fled in the beginning, was deprived of the order of the garter, but on his proving to the regent that it was little short of madness to fight at Patay, his honors were restored.

The heroic Maid of Orleans had performed the first part of her mission; she now urged the king to set out for Rheims, that the whole might be fulfilled; and, though all the intermediate country was in the hands of the English and Burgundians, Charles and his ministers resolved to hearken to her. Attended by ten thousand horse, the king set forth; at Auxerre the people, though they feared to open their gates, supplied him with provisions. Troyes and Châlons readily received him; the people of Rheims expelled their Burgundian garrison. The holy oil, brought, as the legend told, by a dove from heaven to the coronation of Clovis, the founder of the monarchy, sanctified him in the

eyes of his people; and then the Maid, who held her banner at his side, fell on her knees, and declaring her mission ended, craved with tears to be dismissed. But, unhappily for her, her further presence was deemed of too much importance; she was induced to remain, and a patent of nobility for herself and her family, with a pension equal to the income of a count, was conferred on her.

The duke of Bedford was now in a condition of great difficulty; he could obtain neither men nor money from home, and disaffection was spreading all around him. Yet his abilities rose superior to his difficulties; he kept the duke of Burgundy steady, and having prevailed on the cardinal of Winchester to lend him five thousand men whom he was leading against the Hussites of Bohemia, he advanced to engage king Charles. The armies came in view near Senlis; but the French, though greatly superior in number, thought on Agincourt and Verneuil, and feared to engage. Bedford withdrew to Normandy, and Charles then advanced to Paris. An attack was made on the fauxbourg of St. Honoré; the Maid was wounded, and lay unnoticed in the ditch till the evening, when she was found by a party sent in quest of her. Charles then returned to Bourges for the winter.

The following spring (1430) the duke of Burgundy laid siege to Compeigne. A force led by the Maid advanced to its relief. On her way she routed a Burgundian corps; she surprised the post of Marigni, but reinforcements arriving she was forced to retire. In the retreat she repeatedly faced about on her pursuers; but at length an archer seized and dragged her off her horse. She surrendered to the bastard of Vendôme, by whom she was conducted to John of Luxembourg, who commanded the army. The greatest rejoicings were made for her capture, the solemn *Te Deum* was sung at Paris, and Bedford purchased her at a large price from her captors.

The bishop of Beauvais, a creature of the English, forthwith claimed a right to try her for sorcery and imposture, as she was taken in his diocese; the university of Paris also demanded her trial. She was removed to Rouen, where a commission of prelates, among whom the cardinal of Winchester alone was English, aided by the inquisitor-general, assembled to try her. She was produced before them in her male attire and laden with chains, (Feb. 12, 1431,) from which she prayed to be relieved. But as she had already attempted to escape, and declared she would do so again,

her request was refused. She was brought sixteen times before the court; she answered all the questions put to her calmly and firmly; she maintained the reality of her visions and the truth of her mission; she was condemned as a heretic, and sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. The natural love of life then operated in her bosom, and she was induced to recant; she owned that her visions were illusions of the devil, and swore never again to wear man's attire. Her sentence then was commuted to perpetual imprisonment. But in her dungeon her visions returned, or, as it is said, her enemies left men's clothes in her cell, and being tempted at the sight to put them on, she was caught in them; and, as now guilty of a relapse, she was delivered over to the secular arm (Dec. 30) in that form of mockery and insult which had been devised by the church for such occasions. She was led to the market-place, where the pile was formed. When the fire was kindled she uttered loud exclamations, and as the flames enveloped her she was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for mercy.

Thus perished, in the 20th year of her age, the admirable, the heroic Maid of Orleans, to whom, as our philosophic historian remarks, "the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars." She perished, the victim of national enmity and of a sanguinary superstition. In excuse for her judges and enemies can only be alleged the general belief in sorcery, in which they may have shared: for the heartless neglect of her by the French king and his nobles, after she had served their purpose, no excuse can be offered. It is but one instance among many of the selfishness and want of generosity which, we fear, form a part of the French national character. Posterity, however, has done justice to the noble Maid, and by none are her virtues more freely acknowledged or more warmly eulogized; and her hard fate more sincerely deplored, than by the descendants of those whom she deprived of dominion in France, and who in their ignorance and bigotry were the authors of her death.*

The execution of the Maid produced none of the good effects expected from it; of as little effect was the coronation of the young king at Paris, (Dec. 17;) the petty warfare, to which the want of means confined both parties, was mostly to the disadvantage of the English. The death of the duchess of Bedford (1433) weakened the ties between the dukes of

Compare the Joan of Arc of Southey with the Pucelle of Voltaire

Burgundy and Bedford, and the precipitate union of the latter with Jacquette of Luxembourg, a vassal of the former, greatly widened the breach. Burgundy began to listen to proposals for an accommodation with his sovereign; but as he had sworn not to make peace without the consent of the English, a congress for a general pacification, under the mediation of the pope, was proposed to be held at Arras. This congress met, (1435;) but either from the high demands of the English, or because it was not wished to conciliate them, all their proposals were rejected; the cardinal of Winchester and the other English ministers withdrew, and peace was then made between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy. To add to the ill fortune of the English, the great duke of Bedford died at Rouen while the congress was sitting at Arras.

Bedford was succeeded by the duke of York, but ere he arrived the Parisians had admitted the French troops into the city; and lord Willoughby, the governor, having retired into the Bastille, was there forced to surrender. Lord Talbot sustained on various occasions the fame of the English arms; and when the duke of Burgundy was induced to declare against his former allies, and laid siege to Calais, (1436,) the duke of Gloucester forced him to retire; and the following year the brave Talbot obliged him to raise the siege of Crotoi. A dreadful famine and pestilence then ravaged both countries during two successive years; in 1440 the constable of France took the city of Meaux, while Talbot and the earl of Somerset recovered Harfleur, which the French had taken in 1432. The next event of importance was the capture of Pontoise by Charles in person, (1441.) In the two succeeding years the war was prosecuted both in the north and south, but nothing decisive occurred. Negotiations were then set on foot, and at length (1444) an armistice was concluded for two years.

Having briefly traced thus far the events of the war in France, we now return to the internal history of England. As the young king advanced in years he developed a character the very opposite of that of his illustrious father. He was mild and pious, but of so slender a capacity and so feeble a temper that it was evident he would never be able to govern himself, much less to rule a great kingdom, and that he would be nothing more than a mere puppet in the hands of others. The court and parliament were divided into the factions of the cardinal and his nephew; the former ambitious, avaricious, and intriguing; the latter generous, open,

and impetuous. The great wealth which the cardinal had amassed enabled him to gain the favor of the needy king by making him loans of money, and his influence visibly predominated over that of Gloucester. He was the advocate of peace with France, which Gloucester, filled with ideas of the glory acquired in the late reign, strenuously opposed. The question of the liberation of the duke of Orleans, one of the princes taken at Agincourt, tried the strength of the two parties, (1439,) but the arguments and the opposition of Gloucester proved unavailing; he then stated his reasons in a detailed protest on the rolls of chancery; and he entered his barge, to avoid being present when that prince was taking the oaths not to act against England.

About two years after, (1441,) the duchess of Gloucester was accused of treason and sorcery. The charge was, that with the aid of Roger Bolingbrooke, one of the duke's chaplains, who was said to deal in the black art, and Margery Jourdain the witch of Eye, she had made a waxen image of the king, to whom the duke was next heir, which was exposed to a gentle heat; for, according to the rules of magic, as it melted away the king's health and strength would decay. She owned to having applied to the witch for love-potions to secure the affections of her husband, and to having directed Bolingbrooke to calculate the duration of the king's life. The result was that Bolingbrooke and Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, were found guilty of treason; the latter died in prison, the former was executed; the witch was burnt by the church as a relapsed heretic; the duchess, after being made to walk three several times through the city without a hood, and bearing a lighted taper, was consigned for life to the custody of sir John Stanley. It is probable enough that the charges made against the duchess were true. We have no direct proof that the cardinal had any concern in the business, but it is scarcely credible that any but the powerful faction of which he was the head would have ventured to offer so dire an insult to the first prince of the blood.

The marriage of the young king, who was now three-and-twenty, next came under consideration. It was proposed to match him with a daughter of the count of Armagnac, whose territories bordered on Guienne; but this project, which had the full approval of Gloucester, was counteracted by Suffolk, and Charles hearing of it made the count and his family prisoners. The cardinal and his party then cast their eyes on Margaret, daughter of René, titular king of Jerusalem and Sicily, and duke of Anjou, Maine and Bar, a woman of great

beauty and accomplishments, and of masculine energy of mind. That she would absolutely rule the feeble king was not to be doubted; and as she was nearly related to Charles, who had always shown much regard for her, it was perhaps hoped that she would be the means of procuring an honorable peace. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was sent over to negotiate the match, and of his own authority he not merely consented that the princess should be taken without dower, a thing of course to be expected, as René was but a royal pauper, but actually agreed that Anjou and Maine, which the English still held, should be restored to him, that is, in effect, given up to the king of France. On Suffolk's return the majority of the council sanctioned what he had done; he was created a marquess, and sent back to espouse the princess as his royal master's proxy, and conduct her to England. Henry met and married her at Tichfield, and she was crowned with great magnificence at Westminster, (May 30, 1445.)

The absolute power of Margaret over her husband was soon apparent. Suffolk naturally stood high in her favor, and, united with the cardinal and his nephew the duke of Somerset, they overbore all opposition and ruled the kingdom. We are in ignorance of the details of affairs for nearly two years, but on the 10th of February, 1447, a parliament met by summons at Bury St. Edmund's, to which the knights of the shire were directed to repair in arms; guards were placed round the king's residence, and the men of Suffolk were arrayed. Gloucester came from his castle at Devizes; on the second day (Feb. 11) he was arrested on a charge of high treason; on the eighteenth (Feb. 28) he was found dead in his bed. His death was ascribed to apoplexy or chagrin by those who maintained that it was natural; others, however, asserted that he had been murdered. His body, like those of Edward II., Richard II., and Thomas of Gloucester, was exposed to public view, but these we know had all been murdered. Certain it is that, at the present day and in free countries, state-prisoners do not die thus suddenly and opportunely. It is remarkable that a great part of his estates went to Suffolk and his relatives and friends, and that even before his death his county of Pembroke had been granted to that nobleman in case of his dying without issue. If he was murdered, Suffolk beyond doubt was guilty; his death, as the chronicler says, may have been "not unprocured" by the cardinal, and not unapproved by the young queen. The unhappy duchess was refused her dower. Five gentlemen of the duke's household were sentenced to death as sharers in his treasons. They

were hung up, but immediately cut down and marked for quartering: when Suffolk, who was present, announced the king's pardon, and their lives were preserved.

The duke of Gloucester was generally lamented, and the memory of the good duke Humphrey, as he was called, was long cherished. This prince had been honorably distinguished by his patronage of letters; his death, as we shall see, proved the ruin of the house of Lancaster, by opening a field to the ambition of a rival family.

The cardinal, whether guilty or innocent, followed his nephew to the grave within six weeks, lamenting, we are told, that money could not purchase life, and that he should be thus cut off when, Gloucester being removed, he had hopes of the papal crown. It seems no doubt strange that such a notion should be entertained by a man eighty years old, and with a mortal disease on him; but both public and private life yield abundant instances of similar fatuity. It is curious that, somewhat like the emperor Charles V., he caused his obsequies to be celebrated in his presence a short time before he died. The character of this prelate is thus drawn by the chronicler Hall: "More noble of blood than notable in learning, haut of stomach and high in countenance, rich above measure of all men, and to few liberal, disdainful to his kin and dreadful to his lovers, preferring money before friendship, many things beginning and nothing performing."

The surrender of Maine and Anjou, the keys of Normandy, was speedily followed by the loss of that great province; town after town, and castle after castle, opened their gates, or were taken by assault. The French troops were then led into Guienne; no resistance was offered, and at length (1451) Calais alone remained of all the English conquests and possessions in France.

The popular indignation in England was high, and was chiefly directed against the favorite, Suffolk, (now a duke.) Moleyns, the bishop of Chichester, who had had the inglorious task of delivering up Maine to the French, was slain in a popular commotion at Portsmouth, (1450;) and it was said that before his death he declared that Suffolk was a traitor, who had sold Maine to the French, and boasted of having as much influence in their council as in the English. Suffolk resolved to anticipate the stroke that he saw was aimed at him. When parliament met, he rose, and, addressing the king said, that his father and his four brothers had lost their lives in the royal service in France; that he himself had served the king thirty-four years in arms; that he had been

fifteen years of the king's council ; that he had been born in England, where all his inheritance lay ; and that therefore it was absurd to suppose he could be a traitor. He then required that any one who would make a charge against him, should come forward and do so openly.

A few days after, the commons having charged him with supplying his castle of Wallingford with provisions and stores for the purpose of aiding the king of France, he was committed to the Tower. Ten days later, eight articles of impeachment were exhibited against him, of which the first and chief was that of having a design to set the crown, with the aid of the French king, on the head of his own son, whom he had married to the heiress of the late duke of Somerset, "presuming her to be the next inheritable to the crown." After a month's delay the commons, probably aware of the futility of these articles, sent up sixteen new ones, charging him with embezzling the public money, advising the king to make improvident grants, giving office to improper persons, procuring pardons for traitors, etc. In his defence he treated the first article as ridiculous, since, as many peers then present well knew, he had intended to marry his son to a daughter of the earl of Warwick ; as to the cession of Maine and Anjou, he was no more guilty (if it was a crime) than the other lords of the council or of parliament. The other charges he said were frivolous and vexatious ; of the second set of articles he took no notice.

As the commons seemed bent on his ruin, the following expedient was adopted to save him. The king, on his own authority, pronouncing him neither guilty nor innocent of treason, commanded him, on the second impeachment, to quit the kingdom for the space of five years. The parliament was then prorogued. The life of the duke was openly threatened, and two thousand people met in St. George's Fields to intercept him ; he however escaped down to his estates in Suffolk, and on the appointed day (April 30) he sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels. He sent a boat into Calais to know if he might land there ; but the boat was detained, and the Nicholas of the Tower, a large vessel of the state, carrying a hundred and fifty men, came alongside his bark and ordered him on board. "Welcome, traitor, as men say," cried the captain as he came on deck. He remained two nights in the Nicholas, his confessor being with him. He was put to a mock trial before the sailors, and condemned to death ; and on the second morning a small boat with a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner, came alongside. The duke was

lowered into it ; his head was severed from his body at the sixth blow. His body was placed on the sands at Dover, where it was watched by the sheriff of Kent till it was delivered to his widow by the king's order. No inquiry was instituted into this murder, as the parties who had planned and executed it were probably too powerful to be brought to justice.

The popular discontent caused by the feebleness and corruption of the government and the disasters in France, and perhaps secretly excited by the partisans of the house of York, had already broken out in several places. But immediately after the murder of Suffolk, a body of twenty thousand Kentishmen, led by a person of uncertain rank and origin,* who was named John Cade, but assumed the name of Mortimer, appeared in arms at Blackheath. Two papers, named "The complaints of the commons of Kent," and "The requests of the captain of the great assembly in Kent," were forwarded to the king. These contained sundry complaints of oppressive government, and concluded by requiring that the relatives of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and the dukes of York and Exeter, and some others who were named, be called to the king's councils ; that those who had caused the deaths of the duke of Gloucester, cardinal Beaufort, and the dukes of Exeter and Warwick, and occasioned the loss of the dominions in France, should be punished ; that all extortions should be abolished, and the great extortioners be brought to justice.

The king having collected a force, the insurgents retired ; but when sir Humphrey Stafford came up with them at Sevenoaks, with a part of the royal forces, they turned, and defeated and slew him. Cade then arrayed himself in the fallen knight's armor, and led his men back to Blackheath. The king, finding his men not inclined to fight, disbanded them and retired to Kenilworth, lord Scales with one thousand men undertaking the defence of the Tower. Cade then advanced to Southwark, and, as the citizens had resolved to make no resistance, he entered the city in triumph, giving strict orders to his men not to pillage, and in the evening he led them back to Southwark. Next day he returned, and, having obliged the mayor and judges to sit at Guildhall, arraigned before them lord Say, the royal chamberlain, who having vainly pleaded his privilege as a peer, was beheaded at the

* He was said to have been an Irishman. In a letter written at this time he is called Mr. John Aylmere, physician.

Standard in Cheapside, and his son-in-law Cromer, the sheriff of Kent, shared his fate.

Some pillage having been committed on this day, the citizens grew apprehensive, and they agreed to join lord Scales in defending the bridge. A conflict ensued during the night; the bridge was taken and retaken several times, but finally remained in the hands of the citizens. A short truce ensued, during which the two archbishops, who were in the Tower, sent the bishop of Winchester over the river with pardons for those who would return to their homes. The pardons were gladly accepted, and the insurgents dispersed. But Cade soon repented, and collected more men; as their numbers however were not great, they retired from Southwark, and, quarrelling on the way, their leader left them, and fled toward Lewes, pursued by an esquire named Iden, who slew him in a garden after an obstinate defence. Iden received a reward of 1000 marks; several of the insurgents were afterwards executed as traitors; some of whom, it is said, confessed that it had been their intention to place the duke of York on the throne.

The duke of York was now in Ireland, the government of which country had been given to him when he was deprived of that of Normandy, which he had held for some years, in order to gratify the duke of Somerset, who coveted it. But the measures of this nobleman had been uniformly unfortunate; and his surrender of Caen, which belonged to the duke of York, had exasperated the mind of that prince against him. The queen's party resolved to oppose Somerset to the duke of York; the latter, aware of their machinations, suddenly left Ireland and proceeded to his castle at Ludlow in Wales; and having assembled his retainers set out for London, which he reached at the head of four thousand men, though a force under lord Lisle was sent to intercept him. He went to Westminster, knelt before the king, complained of the state of the kingdom, and implored him to summon a parliament. The king promised to do so, and the duke then retired to his castle of Fotheringay, (Sept. 30.) Somerset returned to England the following month at the desire of the queen and her party.

When parliament met, (Nov. 6,) York and Somerset mutually accused each other; a bill at the same time passed the commons to attain the memory of the late duke of Suffolk, and to remove from court the duchess of Suffolk, the duke of Somerset, and some other lords. The king, as instructed, refused his assent, and the duchess and some others

having demanded a trial, were tried and acquitted. For some months altercations in parliament and acts of violence out of it succeeded. At length the duke of York repaired to his castle of Ludlow on the marches of Wales, (1452,) raised the tenants of the house of Mortimer, and marched toward London, demanding a reformation of the government and the removal of Somerset. Finding the gates of the city closed against him, he turned into Kent; the king followed at the head of a superior force; the duke encamped at Dartford, the king at Blackheath. A parley ensued, Somerset was placed under arrest, and York dismissed his army and visited the king in his tent unarmed, (March 1.) Here, as he renewed his charges against Somerset, that nobleman stepped out from behind a curtain, and offered to maintain his innocence, and York, as he retired, was arrested and carried to London. Somerset advised an instant trial and execution; but the king was averse from blood, and the news of the approach of York's son, the earl of March, with an army, intimidated the council. The duke was dismissed on renewing his oath of fealty, and he retired to his castle of Wigmore.

In the autumn of this year the Gascons, weary of their new masters, and finding the demand for their wines in England on the decline, sent over a deputation, offering to return to their allegiance. The venerable Talbot, now earl of Shrewsbury, was sent with a force of 4000 men; his son lord Lisle followed with an equal number. The whole Bordelais with Chatillon in Perigord submitted before the winter. The next year (1453) the count of Penthievre invested Chatillon with twenty-five thousand men; Talbot hastened to its relief; the French retired to an entrenched camp, defended by three hundred pieces of cannon. Talbot ordered an assault; in the action his horse was killed under him, and his leg was broken, and as he lay he was slain with a bayonet; his son lost his life in attempting to rescue him, and the army dispersed and fled. Bordeaux, defended by six thousand citizens and four thousand English, held out till famine compelled it to surrender. The English were permitted to depart with their property, the citizens were received to favor, and Guienne was lost for ever to England.

Though this loss was a real gain, it was not so considered by the nation, and it augmented the odium under which the queen and her party lay. The birth of a prince, however, (Oct. 13,) extinguished the hopes the duke of York enter-

tained of a peaceable succession, and, instead of lightening, only darkened the political hemisphere. It was openly said by the common people that he was not the king's son; "his noble mother," says the chronicler, "sustained not a little disclaunder of the common people." The duke, however, was too moderate to take any direct advantage of such rumors, and had his enemies been equally so, the subsequent disasters might perhaps have been averted. Unfortunately for the queen's party, the king, soon after the birth of the prince, fell into such a state of bodily as well as mental debility, that he could no longer be made to enact the royal pageant with any propriety. This caused the return of the duke of York to the cabinet, and Somerset was speedily committed to the Tower. Early in the following year, (1454,) a committee of the peers having ascertained the total incapacity of the king, York was appointed protector of the kingdom till the king should recover or the prince be of age.

The following Christmas, however, the king having shown some glimpse of reason, advantage was taken of it to make him resume his authority; and he forthwith deprived York of the protectorate, and released Somerset and restored him to favor, (1455.) York retired to his estates, and soon after, being joined by the duke of Norfolk and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, he advanced toward London at the head of three thousand men. The royal phantom moved to meet them with a force of about two thousand men, and had only proceeded as far as St. Albans when the banners of the Yorkists were seen. The duke of Buckingham being sent to demand the cause of their appearance in arms, they replied by professions of the utmost loyalty, but required that Somerset and his associates should be given up to them as prisoners. Henry was made to return a stern reply, commanding them to disperse, and declaring his resolution to die rather than surrender any lord who was faithful to him. York forthwith assaulted the barriers, which were gallantly defended by lord Clifford. Warwick meantime forced his way through the gardens into the town, the barriers were soon burst, and the royalists turned and fled. This scuffle, which is dignified with the name of the battle of St. Albans, cost the king's party the lives of Somerset, Northumberland, Clifford, and about six score others.* Buckingham and his

* We have here a glaring instance of how little the numbers given by chroniclers are to be relied on. The number of the slain, in the text, is from the letter of one who had been in the battle, while Hal gives it at 8000, and Stow at 5000.

son were wounded, as also was the king himself in the neck; he took refuge in the house of a tanner, where he was waited on by York with all humility and conducted to the abbey.

Writs were immediately issued in the king's name for a parliament, and when it met, the royal idiot appeared seated on his throne, and pronounced York and his friends guiltless of the slaughter of St. Albans, as their letters explaining their views and motives had been kept back by the arts of the late duke of Somerset. The parliament was then prorogued. When it met again, (Nov. 12,) the duke of York, at the instance of the commons, was once more declared protector on the same terms as before. But this protectorate was also of brief duration, for on the reassembling of parliament (Jan. 14, 1456) Henry was so well that the queen and her party had a sufficient pretext for asserting his sanity, and he went in person to the house (Feb. 25) and revoked the duke's commission. This prince made no opposition, and the royal puppet and his authority were henceforth wielded by the queen and her party.

During two years the ill-blood continued to ferment on both sides; the nation gradually divided into the two parties of Yorkists and Lancastrians, and a civil war was evidently on the eve of breaking out. Still the primate Bouchier and some other moderate men thought that the evil might be averted, and the king, at their suggestion, directed that the heads of both parties should meet in London to compose the feuds caused by the affray at St. Albans. They therefore repaired thither with their retainers; the Yorkists were quartered within, the Lancastrians without the city; the mayor, with five thousand armed citizens, was to keep the peace. York and his friends met every morning at the Blackfriars, the other party at the Whitefriars; the primate and other prelates went between them; and the proceedings were communicated to the king and the judges at Berkhamstead in the evening. An award was finally made, to which both agreed, and next day Henry went to St. Paul's with his whole court, the queen being led by the duke of York, the lords of each party walking arm-in-arm to exhibit the reconciliation to the eyes of the people.

Small, however, is the force of reconciliations when ambition, revenge, and other strong passions are at work. Not long after, (Nov. 9,) as Warwick was attending the court one day, a quarrel arose between one of his and one of the king's servants; the latter being wounded, his fellows armed themselves with swords, spits, and forks, and assailed War-

wick on his way from the council to his barge, and he escaped with difficulty out of their hands. Thinking that his life was no longer safe and strongly suspecting the queen, he retired to his castle of Warwick, and thence went to Calais, of which place he was governor. All confidence was now at an end; both parties prepared for arms; and a civil war, which was to fill England with blood and misery, was no longer to be averted.

As the duke of York now first advanced his claim to the crown, we will pause in our narrative to examine the state of the case between him and the king.

The king derived his title from Henry IV., who was undoubtedly raised to the throne by the choice of the nation. His house had now exercised dominion for sixty years, and had received repeated and voluntary oaths of allegiance from the whole nation, and the successive heads of the house of York; it had therefore everything on its side but hereditary right: but if sixty years' undisturbed possession did not suffice to efface any claims to the contrary, what length of time would suffice? And how therefore could any descendant of Edward III. have a better or so good a claim as the king of Scots, for instance, who was the representative of the Saxon line? * Nay, Wales might send forth de-

* [The relative claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, may, to place the matter more clearly before the reader, be thus recapitulated. Edward III. had seven sons, (see *ante*, p. 214.) Of these, two died in infancy. Edward, the Black Prince, was the eldest of the survivors, and his son, Richard II., succeeded Edward III. Lionel, duke of Clarence, was second; his only representative was a daughter, who was married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; and thus the claims of her father became vested in March's descendants. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and Edmund, duke of York, were the next, but which was the elder was disputed, (see Note, *ante*, p. 231 :) in some pedigrees (see Petavius Rat. Temp. vol. i. p. 694) Lancaster is placed as elder; in which case, his *hereditary* title was clearly superior to that of York. The claim of the house of York did not, however, rest on this disputed point, but on the marriage of Richard, son of Edmund, and father of the claimant mentioned in the text, with Anne Mortimer, daughter of the earl of March, and sole representative of Lionel, duke of Clarence. The *fact* is, however, as stated in the text, that the house of Lancaster, in the person of Henry IV., was chosen, and freely elected, by the *people*, and, therefore, held the crown by the only just right; and it was only when the strength of that house was weakened by bodily infirmity and civil dissension, that the house of York assumed any pretension to the right. The claims of both houses were united in the person of Henry VIII.; his father, Henry VII., being the representative of the house of Lancaster, and his mother, Elizabeth, (daughter of Edward IV.,) of that of York. Thomas, duke of Gloucester, was the fifth son of Edward III. — J. T. S.]

scendants of British princes to assert a right of still more remote antiquity, of which force alone had deprived them. To reasoning of this kind the Yorkists had only to oppose the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right; but their chief reliance was on the amiable and popular character of their chief, and on the odium which the queen and her party had drawn on themselves by their arbitrary and oppressive government, for the innocent king was to the last an object of popular favor. The strength of the Yorkists lay in London and the adjoining counties; the duke's main supporters among the nobility were his brother-in-law, Neville earl of Salisbury and his son the earl of Warwick, and Mowbray earl of Norfolk; but the larger portion of the nobility were faithful to the king, and "the rose of Lancaster blushed upon the banners of the Staffords, the Percies, the Veres, the Hollands, the Courtneys,"* the Cliffords, the Talbots, and other illustrious names. As the red rose was the cognizance of the house of Lancaster, and the white of that of York, the war is named that of the Roses.

To return to the narrative. A plan for a simultaneous rising was arranged between York, Salisbury, and Warwick. The court, aware of the coming contest, distributed in profusion collars of white swans, the badge of the young prince, and invited the king's friends to meet him in arms at Leicester. The winter was spent in preparations on both sides; the ensuing spring and summer (1459) passed away in inactivity. At length Salisbury set out from his castle of Middleham to join the duke of York at Ludlow. Lord Audley lay with ten thousand men at Bloreheath in Staffordshire to intercept him. Salisbury, whose force was small, feigned a flight; Audley pursued; Salisbury crossed a rapid stream in a valley, and when one half of the pursuers were over it, he turned and completely defeated them, (Sept. 23.) Audley and two thousand men were slain, lord Dudley and several others were taken. Salisbury met the duke at Ludlow, where they were soon joined by Warwick with a large body of veterans from Calais under sir John Blount and sir Andrew Trollop. The royal army of sixty thousand men meantime was advancing from Worcester. Offers of pardon if they submitted

* Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii. 293. This author's judicious remarks on this point should be read, and also those of Mackintosh. See also a valuable note in Turner's *History of England*, (vol. iii. 171, 8vo. edit.) showing how almost every dynasty since the Conquest, has reigned by parliamentary, [that is, by popular choice,] in opposition to hereditary, right.

were sent to the Yorkists, who replied that they had only taken up arms in their own defence and were loyal to the king. Both sides prepared for action; but in the night (Oct. 13) Trollop went over to the king with his veterans, and his defection caused such distrust and dismay in the Yorkists, that they separated without striking a blow. York retired to Ireland; his son the earl of March, Salisbury, and Warwick fled to Devon and thence to Calais.

A parliament was held shortly after at Coventry, and an act of attainder was passed against York, Salisbury, their wives and children, and Warwick, lord Clinton, and some others. Their party however did not remit in its activity; and the following June, (1460,) when Warwick landed in Kent with a small force of fifteen hundred men, he was joined by the primate, by lord Cobham, and most of the gentry of the county. By the time he reached London he found himself at the head of twenty-five thousand men; the city gladly received him; he then set out to engage the royal forces which lay at Northampton. Lord Grey de Ruthyn having betrayed his post to the Yorkists, they obtained (July 10) an easy victory; the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, lord Beaumont, and about three hundred knights and gentlemen were slain on the royal side. Henry, who was found in his tent, was treated with every mark of respect by the victors; the queen and the prince escaped into Wales and thence sailed to Scotland.

Henry was conveyed to London, where he was made to issue writs for a new parliament. It had hardly met and reversed the acts of that of Coventry, when the duke of York, who had returned from Ireland, reached London at the head of five hundred horsemen, and, going straight to Westminster and passing through the hall, entered the upper house, and there stood with his hand on the throne. The primate asked him if he would not visit the king; he replied, "I know no one in this realm who ought not rather to visit me." He then went and occupied the royal apartments. Six days after, (Oct. 16,) the duke sent to the chancellor a statement of his claim to the crown, as representative of Lionel duke of Clarence, requesting a speedy answer. The chancellor asked if this paper should be read; the peers replied that it should, but not be answered without the king's command. Next day they went in a body to the king, who, having briefly and strongly stated the foundations of his rights, directed them to search for proofs against the claim of the duke. The lords then sent for the judges, but they declined to interfere.

as by their office they were not to act as counsel between party and party. The king's serjeants and attorney also sought to excuse themselves; but their excuses were not admitted, and they were ordered to draw up an answer. In this were urged the oaths of fealty taken to the present family, and the various acts of parliament and entails of the crown. The duke's counsel replied, that unlawful oaths are not binding, and that acts of parliament and entails are of no force against the rightful heir. The lords finally proposed a compromise, that the duke's claim should be acknowledged, but that Henry should retain the crown for his life, and at his death it should pass to the duke and his heirs. To this both agreed; the royal assent was given to a bill to this effect, and the king then, wearing the crown, went in state to St. Paul's, the duke attending as heir-apparent.

The high-spirited queen, however, would not thus tamely surrender the rights of her son; she was now in the north, where the earl of Northumberland and the lords Clifford, Dacres, and Neville had armed their followers in her cause; and at York they were joined by the duke of Somerset and earl of Devon, with their tenants from the west. The duke of York set out with about five thousand men to oppose them, and a few days before Christmas he arrived at Sandal castle near Wakefield. Here Salisbury and his other friends advised him to wait till the earl of March should arrive with succors; but, whether urged by his chivalrous spirit, or from some other cause, he accepted the challenge of the enemy and marched into Wakefield Green, (Dec. 30.) where he was instantly assailed on all sides. The rout of the Yorkists was speedy and complete; upwards of two thousand men lay on the Green; the duke himself was taken prisoner; his captors led him to an ant-hill, and, placing him on it as on a throne, set a crown of twisted grass on his head, and, bending the knee to him in derision, cried, "Hail, king without a kingdom! Hail, prince without a people!" They then struck off his head, which Clifford presented on a pole to the queen, saying, "Madam, your war is done; here is the ransom of your king." She burst into laughter, and, when she had glutted her eyes with the sight, sent it to be fixed on the walls of York. Salisbury and twelve other leaders who were captured were beheaded the next day at Pontefract. In the pursuit lord Clifford overtook on the bridge the earl of Rutland, a boy of but twelve years of age, whom his tutor, a venerable priest, was conveying to a place of safety; struck by his appearance and attire, he loudly demanded who he was;

the terrified boy fell on his knees to sue for mercy. "Save him," cried the tutor, "he is the son of a prince, and mayhap may do you good hereafter." "The son of York!" shouted the ruthless savage; "as thy father slew mine, so will I slay thee, and all of thy kin!" and plunged his dagger into the bosom of the helpless child.

The earl of March was at Gloucester when he heard of the defeat and death of his father. As he had with him a force of twenty three thousand men, he was preparing to march against the queen, but the earls of Pembroke and Ormond hung on his rear with a body of Welsh and Irish. He therefore turned and gave them battle and a total defeat (Feb. 1) at Mortimer's Cross near Hereford. Ormond and Pembroke escaped, but Owen Tudor the father of the latter was taken, and with some other leaders beheaded next day at Hereford, in retaliation for the executions at Wakefield. The queen meantime advanced toward London with her borderers, to whom their leaders had promised the pillage of the country south of the Trent. Warwick and the duke of Norfolk, taking the king with them, placed themselves at St. Albans to oppose her. An engagement ensued, (Feb. 17,) which ended in the defeat of the Yorkists, who lost two thousand men. Henry was left in his tent with lord Bonville and sir Thomas Kyriel, to whom he had promised his protection; but Margaret little heeded his promises, and they were beheaded the next day. Her troops pillaged the country round; but London and the adjacent counties remained steady to the cause of York. Edward advanced and united his forces with those of Warwick, and the queen found it necessary to return with all speed to the north. Edward entered London (Feb. 25) in triumph. A few days after, (March 3,) the lord Falconbridge and the bishop of Exeter harangued the people assembled in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, on the bad title of Henry and the good one of Edward to the crown. Falconbridge then asked them if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king; loud cries of "No, no!" arose: he then asked if they would love and obey Edward earl of March as their sovereign lord; "Yea, yea!" cried they, "King Edward!" and shouted and clapped their hands. Next day, (4th,) in a great council, it was resolved that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had violated the award, and therefore forfeited the crown, and Edward was forthwith proclaimed king.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD IV.

1461—1483.

THE new monarch found it necessary to take the field again in a few days. The Lancastrians, to the number of sixty thousand men, having taken their station at York, Edward and Warwick left London to engage them; and when they reached Pontefract their forces amounted to forty-nine thousand men. As it was of importance to secure the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge, lord Fitzwalter was sent forward for that purpose; he effected his object, but shortly after he was attacked and slain by lord Clifford, who in his turn was within a few hours slain by lord Falconbridge, and the passage recovered. The Yorkists then crossed the river, and next morning (March 29) in the plain, between the villages of Towton and Saxton, a general engagement commenced, under a heavy fall of snow, which drove in the faces of the Lancastrians. Both sides fought with obstinacy till toward evening, when the Lancastrians gave way;* they retired in good order till they reached the river Cock, where they broke and fled in all directions. Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, and nearly one half of the Lancastrians perished.† The earl of Northumberland and six barons were slain; the earls of Devon and Wiltshire were taken in the pursuit; the dukes of Somerset and Exeter reached York, whence they conveyed the king and queen to the borders.

The morning after this decisive victory, Edward entered York. The heads of his father and friends were taken down from the gates by his orders, and replaced by those of Devon and Wiltshire. Thence he proceeded to Newcastle, and then returned to London, where he was crowned with great magnificence, (June 29.) On this occasion he created his

* According to the fragment published by Hearne, the action began at 4 o'clock in the evening of Saturday, (March 29,) was continued through the night, and was decided next day (Palm Sunday) at noon, by the arrival of the duke of Norfolk, with a reinforcement to Edward.

† The number of the slain on both sides was stated variously at from 30,000 to 37,000

younger brothers George and Richard dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. A parliament met immediately; the last three kings were declared usurpers; their grants, with a few exceptions, were revoked, but their judicial acts and the honors conferred by them were ratified. A bill of attainder was then passed against Henry, his wife and son, Somerset, Exeter, Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, and other nobles, knights, esquires, and priests, to the number of one hundred and fifty. The avowed object was the annihilation of the Lancastrian party; it may also have been intended to provide rewards for the victors.

Meantime Margaret was making every effort to renew the contest. By the surrender of Berwick the aid of the Scots was obtained, and the queen then sailed (1462) to the continent to try to raise men and money. From the duke of Brittany she obtained a present of twelve thousand crowns, and Louis XI. of France lent her twenty thousand on the security of Calais, and gave Brezé the seneschal of Normandy permission to aid her with two thousand men. After an absence of five months she landed with her French auxiliaries in Northumberland. Both English and Scottish borderers repaired to her standard; the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstanburgh were taken, and fortune seemed to smile. But when Warwick appeared with twenty thousand men, and rumor told of the approach of Edward with a larger force, her troops lost courage and dispersed to garrison these three fortresses. The queen embarked with the French; a storm scattered her fleet; and she and Brezé, after witnessing the loss of her treasure in the tempest, escaped in a fishing-boat to Berwick. Edward advanced to Newcastle, and then returned to London, leaving Warwick to besiege the fortresses. After an obstinate resistance they were surrendered, on condition of the duke of Somerset, sir Richard Percy, and some others being pardoned and restored to their estates and honors, and the garrisons being conducted to Scotland.

During this winter-campaign, as Margaret, her son, and Brezé were riding through a forest, they were seized and robbed by a party of bandits. While the robbers were quarrelling about the booty, the queen contrived to steal away with the prince, and plunged into the depths of the wood. While she rambled there she encountered a single robber: escape was hopeless; she boldly went up to him and said, "Friend, I commit to thy care the son of thy king." The outlaw was not without feelings of generosity; he accepted

the charge, and conducted them in safety to their friends. In the spring (1463) the queen, the duke of Exeter, Breze, and two hundred others sailed to Flanders. She thence proceeded to her father's duchy of Bar, where she remained watching the progress of events. Henry meantime was protected by a Welsh knight in his castle.

Still the spirit of the Lancastrians was unbroken, and the next year (1464) Henry was summoned from his retreat to put himself at the head of a body of exiles and Scots. Somerset and Percy, heedless of their oaths to Edward, resumed their arms; and sir Ralph Grey, a Yorkist, thinking himself ill used by Edward, seized the castle of Alnwick. But lord Montague, Warwick's brother, warden of the east marches, defeated and killed Percy at Hedgeley-moor, (April 25,) and then at the head of four thousand men advanced against Somerset, who was encamped with a small force of not more, it is said, than five hundred men on the banks of the Dils-water near Hexham, (May 15.) The defeat of the Lancastrians was immediate; Somerset was taken and beheaded the same day; a similar fate befell the lords Roos and Hungerford, and others. Grey was taken at Bamborough, and was executed as a traitor at Doncaster.

The unfortunate Henry, who had been at Hexham, had fled before the arrival of Montague. He was closely pursued; three of his servants were taken in their gowns of blue velvet, one of them bearing his cap of estate, which was embroidered with two crowns and adorned with pearls. He, however, escaped into Lancashire, where he was concealed by his friends for more than a year. At length a treacherous monk gave information to sir James Harrington, who seized him as he was sitting at dinner at Waddington-hall. He was forwarded to London. At Islington he was met by Warwick; orders were given that no respect should be shown him; his legs were tied under the belly of the horse on which he was placed; he was led thrice round the pillory, and then consigned to the Tower, where, however, he was treated with humanity. The services of Montague were rewarded by the earldom of Northumberland. Fresh attainders were passed against the Lancastrians, whose estate went to reward the victors; but these were followed by an act of amnesty: treaties of alliance were formed with most foreign princes; and Edward, deeming himself secure on the throne, launched into pleasure, leaving the charge of affairs to the Nevilles, namely, Warwick, Northumberland,

and their brother George, archbishop of York and chancellor.

The Nevilles were urgent with the king to marry some foreign princess, but it was not now in his power to comply. As he was one day hunting in Northamptonshire, he called to visit Jacquette, duchess-dowager of Bedford, who had given her hand to a knight named sir Richard Woodville of Grafton in that county. While he was there the duchess's daughter Elizabeth, the widow of sir John Gray of Groby, who had fallen on the Lancastrian side in the second battle of St. Alban's, came and threw herself at his feet, imploring him to reverse her husband's attainder in favor of her innocent children. Edward was moved to pity; though the countenance of the fair suitor was not beautiful, her manners were graceful and winning, her form elegant, and her language and sentiments distinguished by wit and propriety. Her suit was listened to with favor. Love soon took the place of pity: the virtue, the prudence, or the ambition of Elizabeth was proof against temptation; the wishes of the monarch could only be gratified under the sanction of marriage, and to this he resolved to stoop. About the end of April (1464) he repaired to Stoney Stratford, and early in the morning of Mayday he stole over to Grafton, where a priest united him to the fair relict in the presence of his clerk, the duchess, and two of her female attendants. He staid an hour or two, and then returned to Stratford, and went to bed pretending to be fatigued with hunting. Two days after he invited himself and his train to Grafton, where he remained four days, never entering the chamber of his bride till the duchess had ascertained that all were retired to rest. He then set out for the north, but the days of Hedgeley-moor and Hexham had occurred before he arrived.

On his return Edward resolved to acknowledge his wife as queen. A general council of the peers having met on his summons at Reading abbey the following Michaelmas, Elizabeth was led in by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, and was by all saluted as queen. In the May of the following year (1465) her uncle James of Luxembourg having been invited over to give her dignity in the eyes of those who objected to the humbleness of her birth, the ceremony of her coronation was performed. Her influence over the king was soon apparent in the advancement of her family: her father was created earl Rivers and made first treasurer, and then lord high constable: her five sisters were married

to young noblemen of the highest rank; her brother Antony to the heiress of lord Scales; and her brother John, a youth of twenty, to the wealthy dowager duchess of Norfolk, now in her eightieth year! To the queen's own son Thomas was given the king's niece, the heiress of Exeter, and he was created marquess of Dorset.

These promotions of the upstart Woodvilles naturally excited the jealousy of the Nevilles, who had expected to have a monopoly of power under the prince whom they had placed on the throne; and the king on his side, urged by the Woodvilles, became gradually estranged from them. The change was first manifested on the occasion of the marriage of the king's sister Margaret, (1467.) It was proposed to give her to the son and heir of the duke of Burgundy. Warwick, who was the avowed enemy of that prince, was for an alliance with one of the French princes. He was let to go over to Rouen to treat with Louis XI. for the purpose; but during his absence negotiations were carried on with the court of Burgundy, which ended in the marriage of Margaret into that house. Warwick on his return retired in discontent to his castle of Middleham; a reconciliation, however, was effected between the king and him, and when the princess was conducted by her brother to the coast she rode behind the earl of Warwick.

The next transaction of importance which we meet is the marriage of the duke of Clarence with the daughter of Warwick, in spite of the efforts of the king to prevent it, (1469.) The marriage took place at Calais, (July 11,) and it is singular that at this very time an insurrection of the peasantry broke out in Yorkshire. By a law of king Athelstan, the hospital of St. Leonard's near York had a right to a thrave of corn off each ploughland in the county. The peasantry complained of abuse of these funds, and at length refused payment: the officers distrained and imprisoned them; they flew to arms, and to the number of fifteen thousand, under one Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale, marched against York. They were there, however, attacked and routed by the earl of Northumberland, and their leader was taken and executed. But the insurrection now changed its character; the sons of the lords Fitz-Hugh and Latimer the nephew and cousin of Warwick, aided by the advice of sir John Conyers, an experienced officer, placed themselves at the head of it. The removal of the Woodvilles, the fancied authors of all the taxes and oppressions of which the people complained, was the ostensive object. The name of War-

wick was freely used, and in a few days the insurgents amounted to 60,000 men.

The king was in great perplexity ; he wrote to Clarence and Warwick to hasten from Calais to him ; lord Herbert advanced from Wales with eight thousand men, and lord Stafford joined him at Banbury with five thousand ; but a dispute arising about their quarters at an inn, Stafford retired to some distance, and the rebels next day (July 26) fell, at Edgecote, on Herbert and killed him and five thousand of his men. In the pursuit the victors found lord Rivers and his son John in the Forest of Dean, and brought them to Northampton, where they were executed by a real or pretended order from Clarence and Warwick.

These two noblemen were now arrived ; they met the king at Olney, and they actually placed him in confinement at Middleham under the custody of the archbishop of York. But a rising of the Lancastrians on the borders * obliged them to come to terms with him and set him at liberty. This was followed by a general pardon, and by the promise of the king's eldest daughter to George son of Northumberland, and presumptive heir to the three Nevilles, who was created duke of Bedford to raise him nearer in rank to the young princess. Yet it would seem that the reconciliation was any thing but sincere ; for not long after, (1470,) when the king went to an entertainment given by the archbishop at his seat, the Moor in Herts, as he was washing his hands before supper, it was whispered to him that one hundred men were lying in ambush to seize and carry him off. Without any inquiry he stole to the door, mounted his horse, and rode to Windsor. Under the mediation of the king's mother, however, a new reconciliation was effected.

Just at this time occurred a rising in Lincolnshire, headed by sir Robert Welles. The extortion of the royal purveyors was the ostensible, probably the real ground ; whether Warwick had any thing to do with it cannot be said with certainty. Lord Welles, the father of sir Robert, fled to sanctuary when summoned to the royal presence : he and sir Thomas Dymock, his companion, however, came forth on the promise of a pardon ; but, as sir Robert did not lay down his arms, the king, in violation of his word, beheaded them both. He gave

* It was headed by sir Humphrey Neville. After the battle of Hexham, this knight had remained for five years concealed in a cavern opening into the river Derwent.

the insurgents a defeat at Erpingham in Rutlandshire,* (March 12,) and their leaders, Welles and sir Charles Delaunide, were taken and beheaded.

Clarence and Warwick, who had been commissioned by the king to raise forces, had in reality intended joining the rebels. On their defeat they moved toward Manchester, in hopes that lord Stanley, who was married to Warwick's sister, would join them. On his refusal they turned southwards, and being proclaimed traitors and pursued by the royal forces, they embarked at Dartmouth (April 15) and made sail for Calais. But Vauclerc, a Gascon whom Warwick had left in command there, had resolved to play a double game; and while he turned the guns on them, and even refused to allow the duchess of Clarence, who was ill, to land, he sent secretly to assure Warwick of his own fidelity, but that the garrison could not be depended on; at the same time he sent protestations of his loyalty to the king. Warwick, feigning to be satisfied, sailed for Normandy, capturing what Flemish vessels he met; and landing at Harfleur, he and Clarence proceeded by invitation to the French court at Amboise, whither Louis also invited queen Margaret; and though she and Warwick hated one another mortally, and had most abundant reason so to do, the able monarch at length effected a reconciliation between them. Prince Edward, the son of Henry VI., married Warwick's second daughter Anne; it was agreed that all should unite to restore Henry to the throne, and if the prince should die without issue the crown was to go to Clarence. This prince, however, who had hoped to wrest the sceptre from his brother, was by no means pleased with this new arrangement; and he listened readily to the secret proposals made to him by king Edward, through a lady of his duchess's train who had been left behind in England, and engaged to prove a loyal subject on due occasion.

Preparations were now made for the invasion of England where Edward was passing his time in thoughtless gayety. His more active brother-in-law of Burgundy sent a fleet to blockade the mouth of the Seine; but a storm dispersed it, and the exiles effected their landing at Plymouth, (Sept. 13.) Warwick proclaimed king Henry, and summoned in his name all men from sixteen to sixty to his standard. He marched in a direct line for Nottingham, (his forces increas-

* This was popularly called the battle of Lose-coat Field, because the fugitives threw away their coats-of-mail to escape.

ing at every step,) as Edward had been drawn to the north by a pretended rising of Warwick's brother-in-law the lord Fitz-Hugh. Edward had summoned his friends to Doncaster; few came, and many of these soon went away again. One night, while he was in bed, intelligence came that Warwick was at hand; this was followed by tidings of six thousand of his troops having at the instigation of Montague flung away the white rose, and, tossing their bonnets into the air, shouted, "God bless king Harry!" No time was to be lost. He mounted his horse and rode to the town of Lynn, where finding three ships he embarked with about eight hundred followers, and making the mariners set sail for Holland, (Oct. 3,) landed near Alkmaar, whence he proceeded to the Hague.

Warwick and Clarence hastened to London; king Henry was taken from the Tower, and walked in procession with the crown on his head to St. Paul's, (Oct. 13.) A parliament was summoned, which among other acts confirmed the treaty of Amboise, and restored the Lancastrian lords who had lost their lands and honors. The Nevilles of course were reinstated in their former posts and offices, but their triumph, to their credit, was not sanguinary. No blood was shed but that of Tiptoft earl of Worcester, whose cruelty in his office of constable had earned him the title of *butcher*; he was taken in the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, and was tried before the earl of Oxford and executed. This nobleman was distinguished by his cultivation and patronage of literature, but letters did not produce on his mind the humanizing effect perhaps too indiscriminately ascribed to them.

It was not long, however, till Edward was again in arms, (1471.) The duke of Burgundy, afraid to assist him openly, sent him in secret 50,000 florins, and hired ships in which he and his followers embarked for England. Repulsed on the coast of Suffolk, he steered for the Humber, and landed, like Henry IV., at Ravenspur, (March 14.) Imitating that prince he pretended that he came only to claim the estates of the house of York, and his followers shouted "Long live king Henry!" as they passed through the towns and villages. At York he swore on the altar that he had no design on the crown. He passed near Pontefract, where Montague lay with a large force. Messages passed between them, and he went on unimpeded: his partisans flocked to him, and at Nottingham he saw himself at the head of more than fifty thousand men. He now flung off the mask; Clarence did the same; he ordered the men whom he had raised in the

name of Henry to place the white rose on their gorgets, and joined his brother. Warwick, who had advanced to Coventry, having declined the proffered combat, Edward pushed on for London, where his party was strong; for most of the wealthy citizens were his creditors; the city dames too were all in the interest of the gay and gallant monarch, and there were about two thousand of his partisans in sanctuary ready to break out when necessary. The archbishop of York, who had charge of the city, caused him to be admitted. Edward, taking Henry with him, advanced to Barnet to meet Warwick, who was now approaching. Clarence sent to his father-in-law, offering to mediate: "Go tell your master that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man than the false and perjured Clarence," was the indignant reply. Next morning, (Easter-day, April 14,) before sunrise, both armies were drawn out. The battle lasted six hours: at one time the Yorkists had the worst of it, and tidings of their defeat were conveyed to the city, but a mistake is said to have decided the fortune of the day. Edward's men wore on back and breast his badge, a sun; the earl of Oxford's men wore *his*, a star with rays, and Warwick's men taking them for enemies charged and drove them off the field. Warwick and Montague were both slain, Exeter was left for dead, Oxford alone of the Lancastrian leaders escaped. Important as was this victory, we are told by an eye-witness that the whole number of the slain did not exceed eleven hundred. Edward returned to London in triumph; Henry was once more consigned to his prison in the Tower; the bodies of Warwick and Montague, after being exposed to public view for three days at St. Paul's, were buried at Bilsam abbey. Thus at length perished in battle the renowned earl of Warwick, the King-maker, as he was called, it being the popular belief that the crown would always fall to the side which he espoused. It has been truly said of Warwick, that "he was distinguished by all the good and bad qualities which shine with most lustre in a barbarous age."

But another contest awaited Edward. The very day of the battle of Barnet, queen Margaret landed at Plymouth. When she heard of that fatal event, her firm spirit gave way, she sank to the ground in despair, and then took sanctuary with her son at the abbey of Beaulieu. But the earl of Devon, the lords Wenlock and St. John, and others, recalled her to energy. She advanced to Bath, where many resorted to her standard, and it was resolved to try to effect a junction with the earl of Pembroke, who had a large force in Wales

But the people of Gloucester had secured the only bridge over the Severn, and when she came to Tewkesbury she learned that Edward was at hand with a more numerous army. The Lancastrians took their post in a strong enclosure without the town, (May 4.) Edward on coming up ordered his brother the duke of Gloucester, who led the van, to attack them; they gallantly repelled the assaults of the Yorkists. But the duke of Somerset sallying forth with a part of the troops, while lord Wenlock kept back the remainder, his men were driven back and cut to pieces; the Yorkists rushed in; Somerset in his rage rode up to Wenlock and clove his skull with his battle-axe. The queen and prince were made prisoners; the latter, it is said, being led before Edward in his tent, the victor demanded what had brought him to England. "To recover my father's kingdom and heritage from his father and grandfather to him, and from him to me, lineally descended," replied the undaunted youth. Edward struck him in the face with his gauntlet, and Clarence, Gloucester, Hastings, and Dorset instantly despatched him with their swords.* The queen remained a prisoner.

The earl of Devon, sir Edmund Hampden, and about three thousand soldiers, fell on the side of the Lancastrians. Somerset, St. John, and some others sought refuge in the church of the abbey; and when Edward entered it to return thanks for his victory, he granted a free pardon to all who were in it. Two days after, however, he repented of his mercy; they were dragged out, tried before a military tribunal, and beheaded.

Edward reëntered London on the morning of Ascension-eve, (May 22,) and that evening the life of Henry was terminated by grief, as it was given out, but more probably (nay, we might say certainly) by order of Edward, who wished to put a complete end to the hopes of the Lancastrians. The reason why he had not done so before is plain,—it would have been a useless crime as long as prince Edward lived. The actual guilt of the murder has been charged on the duke of Gloucester, but without any proof. The body, having been exposed like those of other murdered princes, was interred at Chertsey, and it soon was given out that miracles

* In the Harleian MS., followed by Mr. Turner, it is said that he was taken and slain as he was flying to the town. Another MS. says, that he fell in battle, (*occiderat belligerens*) We do not think, however, with Mr. Turner, that these are positive contradictions of the common story.

were performed at the tomb of that pious, innocent monarch, who was revered as a martyr by his party.

Victorious over the Lancastrians, Edward now resolved on a war with France, and a league for this purpose was formed with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. Parliament was always liberal on occasion of these unjust and ridiculous claims to the crown of France: but their liberality not sufficing, Edward had recourse to a novel expedient; he summoned the most wealthy citizens before him, and pretending to be very poor, begged they would supply his wants. None of course dared to refuse, and the king facetiously named these compulsory gifts *benevolences*. In 1475 he passed over to Calais with fifteen hundred men-at-arms and fifteen thousand archers, and summoned the duke of Burgundy to join him. But that prince had already exhausted his resources, and Louis, who had no desire for a war, learning that lords Howard and Stanley, and others, were as little inclined to it, and Edward himself not extremely anxious for it, sent proposals of peace, and a truce was concluded for seven years. Edward was to be paid 75,000 crowns down and 50,000 crowns a-year; the dauphin was to marry his eldest daughter; queen Margaret was to be liberated, on the payment of 50,000 crowns by Louis. The two monarchs then had a personal interview on the bridge of Pecquigny near Amiens. A grating of wood was placed across it to prevent any treachery, and they conversed familiarly for some time. To keep up his influence in the English councils and avert future wars, Louis settled pensions on lord Hastings, lord Dorset, and others of the king's ministers and favorites.

The duke of Clarence had perhaps never recovered the place which he had held in the king's mind previous to his union with Warwick, and he had now also a powerful enemy in his younger brother Richard. For this ambitious youth, in order to gain a share of the immense possessions of Warwick, had formed a plan to marry the young widow of the late prince of Wales; while Clarence, who grasped at the whole inheritance, strove as much as he could to conceal his sister-in-law, who after a search of some months was found disguised as a cook-maid in London. Richard then espoused her, and arbitrators appointed by the king divided the property between them; but hatred still rankled in the bosoms of the brothers, (1474.) After the end of the French war the king, to avoid the odium of taxation, resumed most of the grants made of late years. Clarence by this regulation

lost several estates, and he withdrew in anger from court. Some time after, his duchess died, (1476;) and as the duke of Burgundy had been slain at Nanci, and his daughter Mary by his first marriage became the heiress of his dominions, Clarence, aided by his sister the dowager duchess, sought the hand of the princess; but the king, from dislike and jealousy of him, gave every opposition in his power. It is also said that the queen was hostile to him on this account, as her own brother lord Rivers aspired to the hand of the heiress of Burgundy. He thus had powerful enemies and few friends.

It happened one day, it is said, that as the king was hunting at Harrow in Warwickshire, the seat of a gentleman named Thomas Burdett, who was in the service of Clarence, he killed a white stag, the favorite of the owner. Burdett, on hearing of the death of his stag, in his grief and anger wished that its horns were in the belly of him who killed it. It is not clear whether he knew that the king was the person; he was, however, thrown into prison, tried, and executed for treason.* About this time too one Stacey, a clergyman and chaplain to Clarence, was accused of magic and executed for this offence. - Clarence loudly asserted the innocence of his friends; his words were repeated with exaggeration to the king, who committed him to the Tower, and then summoning a parliament, (1478,) accused him before it of high-treason. He was found guilty, sentence of death was passed on him, and he was recommitted to the Tower. His death was announced about ten days after; the manner of it is uncertain; the common report was that he was given his choice, and selected drowning in a butt of malmsey. His brother, it is said, afterwards regretted his severity to him. As the chief gainers by the death of Clarence were the queen's family, it is not unlikely that they had stimulated the cruelty of the king.

The remaining events of Edward's reign were of little importance. While, enraged at the perfidy of Louis respecting the marriage of the dauphin to his daughter, he was meditating war against him, he was seized with a disease which proved fatal. He died (April 6, 1483) in the forty-second year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign. On his death-bed he directed that restitution out of his treasures

* Such is the common story as told by More, Hollingshead, and others. The indictment against Burdett says nothing of it; it charges him with conspiring with Stacey and another to calculate the nativities of the king and his son, to know when they should die, and of distributing seditious verses in Holborn.

should be made to those whom he had wronged, or from whom he had extorted benevolences.

Edward was remarkably handsome in person, though toward the close of his life he became extremely corpulent. He was addicted to pleasure and indulgence of every kind. In his family he was kind and affectionate, and though notoriously faithless to his queen, he was lavish in his grants to her and her relations. Like Mark Antony, whom he resembled in many points, he united with his love of pleasure a great capacity for business, a dauntless valor, and much skill in the field; but his conduct after victory was generally tarnished by cruelty. His manners were showy and popular, and he retained to the last the affections of the people.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD V.

1483.

THE new king was a boy only in his thirteenth year, and therefore unable to assume the government. The court was split into two parties, the one composed of the family of the queen, of whom the principal were the accomplished earl Rivers her brother, and the marquess of Dorset her son. The other party consisted of the lords Hastings, Howard, Stanley, and other members of the ancient nobility, who, though sincerely attached to the person and cause of the king, could ill brook the favor of the upstart Woodvilles. While Edward lived he kept both within bounds, but he feared lest the scenes of the minority of Henry VI. might be renewed; and when he found himself dying, he summoned both parties to his chamber, and made them embrace in his presence, fondly deeming thus to extinguish their long-cherished enmity.

The young king was proclaimed in the usual manner, (April 9.) He was now residing at Ludlow with his uncle Rivers and his uterine brother lord Gray, under the pretext that his presence would restrain the turbulent Welsh, but in reality that he might become attached to his mother's family. The queen proposed that directions should be sent

to lord Rivers to raise an army, and conduct his nephew to London ; but Hastings and his friends, taking alarm, strenuously opposed this course, and the queen in an evil hour consented that her son should travel with an escort of only two thousand horse.

The two first princes of the blood were Richard duke of Gloucester and Henry duke of Buckingham, who was descended from the youngest son of Henry III. The former, who was at this time commanding an army on the borders of Scotland, when he heard of his brother's death repaired to York, and summoned the gentry of the county to swear allegiance to his nephew, himself setting them the example. He wrote in terms of the utmost friendship to the queen and her family, and then moved toward London to be present at the coronation, which was fixed for the 4th of May. Meantime secret messages, of the exact import of which we are uninformed, passed between him, Hastings, and Buckingham.

On the same day (April 29) that the young king reached Stoney Stratford, Gloucester arrived at Northampton, distant about ten miles. When Rivers and Gray heard he was there, they turned back to salute him in the name of the king. He received them with the greatest cordiality, and invited them to dinner. In the evening Buckingham arrived with three hundred horsemen. Rivers and Gray stopped for the night, and in the morning rode with the two dukes to wait on the king ; but just as they were entering Stoney Stratford, Gloucester turned and charged them with alienating from him the affections of his nephew ; they denied the charge, but were arrested and conveyed to the rear. The two dukes then waited on the king, and with bended knee professed their loyalty, assuring him that the marquess his brother and Rivers his uncle had compassed to rule the realm and to destroy its noble blood. "What my lord marquess," replied he, "may have done in London I cannot say, but I dare answer for my uncle Rivers and my brother here, that they be innocent of any such matter." The dukes then arrested sir Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Hawse, two of his principal attendants, and commanded the rest of his retinue to disperse. They led the king back to Northampton, and sent the four prisoners northwards.

When intelligence of what had occurred at Stratford reached London, the queen in alarm and terror took sanctuary at Westminster, with her five daughters, and her sons the marquess of Dorset and the duke of York. On the 4th

of May, Gloucester led the young king to London, where he was lodged in the bishop's palace, and received the homage of all present. A few days after, on the motion of Buckingham, he was removed to the Tower; the coronation was fixed for the 22d of June; Gloucester was named protector, and many of the great officers of state were displaced to make room for his creatures.

So far, the conduct of Gloucester is at least suspicious; as we proceed it gradually darkens. Finding Hastings, Stanley, and others, though hostile to the Woodvilles, firmly attached to the young king, he divided the council, letting them and their friends sit at the Tower, while *he* and his partisans met at Crosby-place, his own residence. When his secret plans were matured he went one day (June 13) to the Tower, and took his seat at the council-board. He assumed a gay and cheerful humor; and praising the strawberries which grew in the bishop of Ely's garden at Holborn, requested to have a dish of them for dinner. The bishop sent a servant to fetch them; the protector withdrew, as if on business; in about an hour after he returned, with an altered countenance, and sat down in silence. At length he cried, "Of what are they worthy who have compassed the death of me, the king's protector by nature as well as by law?" "To be punished," said Hastings, "as heinous traitors." "And that," replied he, "bath that sorceress my brother's wife, with others her accomplices, endeavored to do." "See," continued he, "in what a miserable manner that sorceress, and Shore's wife, with others their associates, have, by their sorcery and witchcraft, miserably destroyed my body." He then unbuttoned his sleeve, and showed them his left arm shrunk and withered. As those present knew that his arm had always been so, they saw that he wanted to quarrel with them. Hastings, however, whose mistress Shore then was, replied, "Certainly, my lord, if they have indeed done any such thing, they deserve to be both severely punished." "Do you answer me with *ifs* and *ands*, as if I charged them falsely?" cried the protector, in a rage: "I tell you they have done it, and thou hast joined with them in this villany." He struck the table with his fist; a man without shouted Treason! armed men rushed in. "I arrest thee, traitor," cried Richard to Hastings; Stanley and the bishops of York and Ely were also arrested and sent to separate cells; to Hastings he said, "Shrive thyself apace, for by St. Paul I will not dine till I see thy head off!" He took a priest at a venture, and having made short shrift, was then

led down to the green before the chapel, and his head was struck off on a log of wood that was lying there. After his dinner Richard summoned the principal citizens to attend him. He and Buckingham came forth in rusty armor, (suddenly taken as it were in the Tower for their defence,) and told them that Hastings had intended murdering him and the duke; that he had not discovered this design till ten o'clock this morning, and had thus been obliged to provide for his defence. He requested them to inform their fellow-citizens of the truth of the case. A proclamation to the same effect was also issued, which was so neatly composed and fairly written that it was plain to most people it could not have been drawn up after the death of Hastings.

The ultimate object of Richard must have been now apparent to every one, and each day added confirmation to suspicion. On the 16th he entered his barge with several nobles and prelates, and followed by a large body of armed men, and proceeded to Westminster in order to obtain the duke of York by force, if not by fair means. He first sent a deputation of nobles, headed by the primate, to demand him from the queen, and Elizabeth, knowing the inutility of resistance, affected to acquiesce cheerfully. She called for her son, gave him a last embrace, and, turning about, burst into tears. The child was conveyed in great pomp to the Tower, and the two innocent, destined victims naturally received much delight at meeting again, little suspecting the fate that awaited them.

The protector now appeared in a new character, that of the rigid censor of morals. Among the mistresses of the late king was a woman named Jane Shore, the wife of a young and opulent citizen, whose virtue, however, had not been proof against the assaults of a king. "Proper she was and fair," says sir Thomas More, "yet delighted not men so much in her beauty as in her pleasant behavior; for a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor babbling. Many mistresses the king had, but her he loved; whose favor, to say the truth, (for sin it were to belie the devil,) she never abused to any man's hurt, but often employed to many a man's relief." After the death of the king she had become the mistress of Hastings, and she was now arrested as a participator in his conspiracy. The protector committed her to prison, seized her goods to the value of 3000 marks to his own use, and then had her tried in the spiritual court for lewdness and adultery. She was sentenced

to perform public penance; and, stripped to her kirtle, with her feet bare, carrying a lighted taper, and preceded by the cross, she was made to walk to St. Paul's through the crowded streets.*

Having thus revived the memory of the licentious habits of his brother, Richard next proceeded to arraign the legitimacy of his children. On the 22d of June, Dr. Shaw, an Augustine friar, brother to the lord-mayor, preached at St. Paul's cross.† His text was, "Bastard slips shall not strike deep roots," (Wisdom iv. 3;) and taking occasion to notice the profligate habits of the late king, who made no scruple of promising marriage to seduce a woman, he proceeded to say, that in this manner he had actually at one time caused a marriage to be celebrated between himself and Eleanor the widow of lord Boteler of Sudely, by Stillington, now bishop of Bath, who had since declared the same; and that consequently his marriage with Elizabeth Gray was illegal, and the issue illegitimate. It was even, he hinted, doubtful if Edward himself and the duke of Clarence (who, however, had been attainted) were the children of the duke of York, to whom they bore no resemblance. "But," cried the preacher, "my lord the protector, that very noble prince, the pattern of all heroic deeds, is the perfect image of his father; his features are the same, and the very express likeness of that noble duke." It had been arranged that the protector should have made his appearance at these words, and it was hoped that the people would be thus induced to cry, "God save king Richard!" but it was badly managed: Shaw was too quick, or the duke too slow. He did not enter till after the words had been uttered; the maladroit preacher repeated them; the people easily saw through the device and remained silent. The protector gave a look of anger, and the baffled divine slunk away to his own house, which it is said he never again left, dying shortly after of pure chagrin.

This plan having failed, it was resolved to employ a no-

* Jane afterwards lived with the marquess of Dorset. Lynom, the solicitor-general, was then about to marry her, and there is a letter extant from Richard to the chancellor on the subject, which is rather creditable to his feelings. The marriage, however, does not seem to have taken place. Jane lived to a great age in poverty and neglect, for she died in 1527. The popular tale of Richard's forbidding any one to relieve her, etc., is a popular tale, and nothing more.

† This cross, which we shall find so often mentioned, was a large ornamented cross in front of St. Paul's cathedral. It was the great preaching-place on public occasions.

bler advocate. On the following Tuesday, (June 24,) Buckingham harangued the people at Guildhall, and, having alluded to the topics handled in the sermon on the last Sunday, maintained that the right to the crown lay with Richard. Still the people were silent; he then demanded an answer one way or the other; a few hired voices from the end of the hall cried, "King Richard!" He gave them his thanks, and requested them to accompany him next day to the protector.

Next morning Buckingham, the mayor, and several lords and principal citizens, repaired to Baynard castle, where Richard resided, and demanded an audience. Richard, affecting terror, would only show himself from a window: Buckingham then read an address, as from the estates of the realm, embodying the charges made against the late king and his marriage, and calling on the duke of Gloucester to assume the crown, to which he was lawful heir. Richard pretended great reluctance, spoke of his affection for his nephews and of his aversion to royalty. "Sir," said Buckingham, "the free people of England will never submit to the rule of a bastard, and if the lawful heir refuses the sceptre, they know where to find one who will gladly accept it." Richard paused at this bold language, and then declared that he felt it to be his duty to obey the voice of his people. The farce thus terminated; next day a bill was presented to the parliament, claiming the crown for him, and on the following day (June 26) he took possession of the throne.

About this time Ratcliffe, one of Richard's principal confidants, came to Pontefract, where Rivers and his three friends now were. A court, presided over by the earl of Northumberland, was formed for their trial, and they were found guilty of conspiring the death of Richard. Their heads were struck off forthwith. The aged sir Thomas Vaughan, appealing when on the scaffold to the tribunal of God against this murder, Ratcliffe said with a sneer, "You have made a goodly appeal, — lay down your head!" "I die in the right," replied he, "take heed you die not in the wrong!" — words proved by the event to be prophetic.*

* More gives it as a report that these executions took place on the very same day with that of Hastings, and Lingard lays great stress on the circumstance. Turner refers to Rivers's will, dated on the 23d of June, at Sheriff Hutton.

CHAPTER XIV.

RICHARD III.

1483—1484

RICHARD lost no time in giving the sanction of a coronation to his title. He and his wife, the lady Anne Neville, were crowned (July 6) with great magnificence. He then proceeded to reward his adherents, and to seek to gain by clemency his opponents. Lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the household; his wife, the countess of Richmond, bore the queen's train at the coronation; the archbishop of York also was set free, and the bishop of Ely was committed to the charge of Buckingham. The king then set forth on a progress through the kingdom; he visited Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester, whence he went to Warwick, where he remained a week, and thence proceeded through Coventry, Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract to York, where, to gratify the people of the north, his most faithful adherents, he caused himself and his queen to be crowned over again with the same pomp as in London.

It was while he was in this progress, that he filled up the measure of his guilt. He sent orders from Warwick to sir Richard Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, to put the two princes to death. Brackenbury, however, refused; sir James Tyrrel, master of the horse, was then sent with orders to receive the keys and custody of the Tower for one night. Brackenbury dared not refuse, and that very night Tyrrel went with Dighton, one of his grooms, and Forest, 'a noted ruffian,' to the chamber where the princes lay; he himself remained outside, while his agents went in and smothered the sleeping children with the bed-clothes. They then called in Tyrrel to view the dead bodies, and by his command buried them at the foot of the staircase. All concerned were amply rewarded by the king: Brackenbury got manors and pensions; Tyrrel was made steward of the duchy of Cornwall and governor of Glamorganshire; Forest was made keeper of the wardrobe at Baynard castle; Dighton was appointed bailiff of Aiton in Staffordshire.*

At this very time there was an extensive conspiracy on

* See Appendix (Q.)

foot to dethrone the usurper, and to set the rightful prince in his place ; and, what may excite surprise, the duke of Buckingham was at the head of it. What his motives for so sudden a change could have been, it is difficult to say. He had been Richard's chief supporter all through ; but he had been most amply rewarded, and he had no ingratitude to complain of. He may have grown suspicious and fearful of the king whom he had set up ; he may have been urged by mortified vanity, or, as it is said, the eloquence of his prisoner Morton, bishop of Ely, may have wrought a change in him ; he was moreover married to a sister of the queen Elizabeth, and we know not what the influence of his wife may have been : at all events he resolved to restore the young prince. Richard, however, when he discovered the plot, caused the death of the princes to be made public. This somewhat disconcerted the conspirators ; but as they could not now recede, they gave ear to the proposal of the bishop of Ely on the part of the Lancastrians, that they should offer the crown to Henry earl of Richmond, the head of that party, on condition of his espousing Elizabeth, now the heiress of the house of York, and thus uniting the rival claims. All being agreed on, a messenger was sent to the earl in Brittany, to hasten his return to England, and the 18th of October was appointed as the day for a general rising.

On the appointed day the marquess of Dorset proclaimed Henry at Exeter, the bishop of Salisbury did the same in Wiltshire, the gentry of Kent met at Maidstone, those of Berks at Newbury, and Buckingham assembled his Welshmen at Brecknock. Richard, who had already proclaimed the duke a traitor, joined his troops at Leicester, (Oct. 28,) where he issued another proclamation, vaunting his zeal for morality, calling his enemies " traitors, adulterers, and bawds," whose chief object was " the letting of virtue and the damnable maintainance of vice," and offering pardon to those who should leave, and rewards to those who should take them. Fortune moreover stood his friend ; Henry, who had sailed with forty ships from St. Malo, was driven back by tempests ; and Buckingham, when he had led his men through the Forest of Dean to the Severn, found the bridges broken, and the river so swollen by the rains as to be nowhere fordable. His followers lost spirit and dispersed ; he himself and Morton took refuge at Weby, the seat of lord Ferrars, whence the latter made his way in disguise to the Isle of Ely and thence to Flanders ; the duke also made his way

in disguise to the house of one Ralph Bannister, his servant, near Shrewsbury, but he was discovered through the perfidy of his host, or the imprudence of those who knew of his retreat. He was taken and led to Richard, who was now at Salisbury; his solicitations for an audience were rejected,* and his head was struck off instantly in the market, (Nov. 2.) Dorset and the bishop of Exeter made their escape to Brittany, most of the others concealed themselves, and very few executions took place.

Richard thought he might now venture to summon a parliament. Whether, as is said, fear was the motive or not, no more obsequious assembly could be than that which met, (Nov. 11.) His title was fully recognized, and the succession settled on his son Edward prince of Wales. An act of attainder and forfeiture was then passed against the heads of the late insurrection.

Though Richard had caused the marriage of his brother to be declared null, and had deprived his widow of her dower as queen, he knew that the validity of that marriage was generally acknowledged, and that the Yorkists now regarded her eldest daughter as the rightful heir to the crown. He had also learned that at the festival of Christmas five hundred of the Yorkist exiles had sworn fealty to Henry in Brittany, on his pledging himself to make her his queen in case of his defeating the usurper. To counteract this plan he addressed himself to the queen-dowager, and having pledged himself by a solemn oath that they should be treated with all due respect as his kinswomen, he induced her and her daughters to quit the sanctuary and come to court, (March 1, 1484.) It seems to have been his intention to have married the princess Elizabeth, whom he treated with marked attention, to his son Edward. But the very next month this young prince died suddenly, to the extreme grief of both his parents. The king's favor to Elizabeth, however, continued unchanged, and she was attached to the person of the queen. John earl of Lincoln, son to the king's sister the duchess of Suffolk, was declared heir presumptive to the crown.

At Christmas the king held his court at Westminster with extraordinary magnificence, and it was remarked that his niece always appeared attired like the queen. Soon after, the lat-

* Buckingham's son declared that it had been his father's intention, had he been admitted into Richard's presence, to rush on him and stab him with a knife which he had concealed about him.

ter fell sick, and Richard immediately offered his hand to Elizabeth, assuring her that the queen would die in February, and that he would then procure a dispensation from Rome for their marriage. To the disgrace of the queen-dowager she gave a ready consent to the union of her daughter with the murderer of her brother and her three sons; and an extant letter of the princess shows the indecent impatience which she felt for this unnatural marriage.* Queen Anne did in effect die before the end of February, (1485,) and there are grounds for suspecting that he who foretold her death took means to cause his prophecy to be fulfilled.† But now an unexpected difficulty arose; when he communicated his project to Ratcliffe and Catesby,† his chief advisers and confidants, they opposed it in the strongest manner, representing how the moral feeling of the nation would be shocked by this incestuous union, which would convert to certainty the suspicion people had of his having removed his queen by poison; and this might deprive him of the support of the men of the north, who were attached to him chiefly on her account as the daughter of Warwick. It is said that their secret motive was fear lest Elizabeth should take vengeance for the murder of her family; their arguments, however, prevailed, and in the hall of the Temple Richard solemnly declared before the mayor, aldermen, and commoners that he never had thought of such a marriage. He wrote to the same effect to the citizens of York.

The mind of the king is now said to have become a prey to terror and anxiety, and he was haunted, we are told, by fearful dreams caused by his crimes. His money too was all expended; he could not venture to apply to parliament, and he was therefore obliged to levy benevolences (which had been abolished in his preceding parliament) on the citizens, under another name, which lost him their favor. Many now deserted to Henry; the lord Stanley, whose influence was great, and who was married to Henry's mother, caused him great uneasiness, though he had lavished favors on him, and Stanley had never given him the slightest ground for suspicion. To secure the fidelity of that nobleman, he retained his son lord Strange at court by way of a hostage.

At length, being assured that the king of France had given

* See Appendix (R.)

† "The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our dog,
Rule all England under the hog,"
(the "bristled boar" was Richard's cognizance,) was a popular distich at this time. It cost its author his life.

Henry permission to hire troops, and that a fleet lay ready at the mouth of the Seine, Richard put forth a proclamation, (June 23,) calling the exiles "murderers, adulterers, and extortioners," and asserting that Henry meditated unheard-of slaughters and confiscations, etc., and calling on all true Englishmen to aid him in the defence of their wives and properties. He then fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham, (July 24,) and ere long he received intelligence of the landing of Henry at Milford Haven, (Aug. 7.)

Henry marched through North Wales, where, though none opposed, few joined him, and when he reached Shrewsbury he had but four thousand men. Urged by the secret assurances of many who could not yet declare themselves, he still pressed on toward Leicester, where Richard now lay with a numerous army, having been joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland, lord Lovel, and Brackenbury, with their levies. Lord Stanley had excused himself under the pretext of illness; but his son being detected in an attempt to escape, he was obliged, in order to save him, to hasten to join the royal standard.

On the 21st August, Richard moved from Leicester, and encamped about two miles from the town of Bosworth. Henry, having been joined by the Stanleys, moved from Tamworth to Atherston, and next morning both armies advanced to Redmore. Henry had now six thousand men, his rival double the number. Richard was dismayed when he saw the Stanleys opposed to him, but he roused his wonted courage; the vanguards, under the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford, engaged for some time; Richard then, seeing Northumberland inactive and the rest of his troops wavering, spurred his horse and rushed, crying "Treason, treason!" to where he espied Henry; he killed sir William Brandon the standard-bearer, unhorsed sir John Cheney, and had made a furious blow at Henry himself, which was warded off by sir William Stanley, when he was thrown from his horse and slain. Lord Stanley, taking up the crown which he wore, placed it on the head of Henry, and shouts of "Long live king Henry!" were instantly raised. The duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars, Ratcliffe, and Brackenbury, with about three thousand men, were slain; the victors lost but one hundred men. The body of Richard was stripped, thrown across a horse, and carried to Leicester, where it was interred in the church of the Gray friars. The blood of Catesby and two others alone was shed after the victory.

Richard was but two-and-thirty years old when he thus

perished, the victim of his ambition. In his person he was small, and the defect in his left arm and an elevation of one shoulder deformed him in some measure, but his face was handsome and like his father's. There is no foundation for the common tale of his being born with teeth, and only what we have stated for that of his being humpbacked. He was brave, loved magnificence, and justice also, when it did not interfere with his ambition, but in the gratification of this passion we have seen that he would stop at no crime. Had he come honestly by his crown, he would probably have worn it to his own honor and to the advantage of his people.

With Richard ended the Plantagenet dynasty, which had ruled England nearly three centuries and a half; and the battle of Bosworth terminated the Civil Wars of the Roses, which, with intermissions, had lasted for a space of thirty years. It was a remarkable feature in these wars that the evils of them fell chiefly on the nobility; for with one exception the slaughter in the field was not considerable, and there was none of that petty warfare in different parts of the country by which, in civil wars which interest the feelings and passions of the middle and lower orders, so much more blood is shed than in regular battles. Successive generations of the houses of Neville, Pole, and Clifford were cut off on the field or scaffold: many were reduced to the most abject state of poverty.* "I myself," says Comines, "saw the duke of Exeter, the king of England's brother-in-law, walking barefoot after the duke of Burgundy's train, and earning his bread from door to door." "In my remembrance," says the same writer, "eighty princes of the blood royal of England perished in these convulsions; seven or eight battles were fought in the course of thirty years; their own country was desolated by the English as cruelly as the former generation had wasted France." In this, however, there seems to be some exaggeration; there certainly did not fall that number of princes of the blood.

We have thus brought our history to the end of the Plantagenet dynasty, a race of princes not excelled in intellectual

* The story of the shepherd lord Clifford, to which Wordsworth's poetry has lent additional attractions, strongly resembles that of Feri doon, in the romantic annals of Persia.

vigor by any line of sovereigns. As with them the feudal and papal period of England may be said to terminate, the next period being one of transition to the present altered condition of society, we will conclude it by a sketch of the political and religious state of the country at this time.

The constitution of England under the Plantagenets was a monarchy limited by law, which law the king could not alter at his will. "A king of England," says sir John Fortescue, writing to the son of Henry VI., "cannot at his pleasure make any alterations in the law of the land, for the nature of his government is not only regal but political." Yet the king was not merely an hereditary executive magistrate; he had extensive prerogatives annexed to his dignity, and the great object of the patriots of this period was to limit these rights and restrain their abuse. Some of the principal prerogatives of the crown have been already enumerated, and the modes of restraining them described. Such were the feudal rights and the power of arbitrary taxation. The principal remaining grievances were the abuse of the rights of purveyance and of pardon. Purveyance was the right of taking, without the consent of the owner, but at a fair price, provisions and whatever else were necessary for the use of the royal household, also that of impressing horses and carriages for the king's journeys. This invested the purveyors with a very high degree of arbitrary power, and it was a subject of constant complaint. The royal privilege of pardon, too, was frequently found to operate against the best interests of society, as pardons were sold or granted to interest; and the criminal, when convicted, often eluded justice by producing the royal pardon, which had been bought or procured beforehand. The redress of these and other abuses was usually a matter of bargain between the king and the parliament, *they* giving a subsidy, and *he* engaging to correct what was complained of. Still the kings would, when they had the power, go on in their old course; but the parliament, by perseverance, and by taking advantage of foreign wars, disputed successions, and other circumstances, gradually set limits to prerogative; and an able writer of the present day has with reason thus expressed himself: "I know not whether there are any essential privileges of our countrymen, any fundamental securities against arbitrary power, so far as they depend upon positive institution, which may not be traced to the time when the house of Plantagenet filled the English throne."

The great cause of this rational limitation of power and establishment of the principles of true liberty seems to have

been the peculiar situation of the English aristocracy. The nobles were not, like those of the continent, the lords of extensive continuous territories, who might singly set the crown at defiance. Their manors lay scattered through various counties; the power of the sovereign could at once crush any refractory vassal; it was only by union among themselves, and by gaining the people to their side, that they could maintain their rights and limit the royal prerogative. In this manner the interests of the nobility became identified with those of the people, and hence their names are associated with every struggle for liberty throughout our history. This was further increased by the remarkable circumstance that the English was the only nobility which did not form a peculiar class, or caste. In England the actual holder of the title alone was noble; his sons and brothers were simple commoners, and ranked with the people. Hence arose that melting into one another of the various grades of our society; and as our nobles never claimed any exemption from taxes and other burdens, their privileges have never excited jealousy or hatred. For all these advantages we are mainly indebted to the high power of the crown established by the Anglo-Norman monarchs, combined with the free principles of government transmitted by our Saxon forefathers.

The religious aspect of England at this time is of a darker hue. The mighty tree of papal supremacy had spread its capacious shade over the whole of Europe, excluding the brightest beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and beneath it flourished a rank crop of baleful superstitions. We are far, however, from viewing Popery as a system purely pernicious; on the contrary, we deem that it was productive of much good, and was perhaps that which was best suited to the times in which it flourished. But since it has of late years, by audaciously perverting history, sought to represent itself as without stain or blemish, and the Reformation as in every sense a misfortune to the world, we will briefly state what the religion of England really *was* in the fifteenth century.

At the head of the doctrines taught by the clergy stood the portent of *transubstantiation*, which, for the sake of understanding literally one of the simplest of metaphors, sets reason and the testimony of all the senses at defiance, and establishes an absurdity hardly to be paralleled in the Brahminism of India or the Lamaism of Tibet. By this the creature creates the Creator, and the same body is actually and entirely present in the most distant regions at the very same instant of

time! Gregory VII. either rejected this doctrine or shrank from establishing it by the papal authority; but the intrepid Innocent III., in the fourth council of Lateran, (1215,) declared it to be the doctrine of the church, and it still remains the badge of Rome, a standing proof that she sets reason and sense at naught. Our fathers were further taught to believe that the priest who could thus create his Maker, and offer him up in sacrifice on the altar, possessed the power of removing or mitigating the penalties of sin in the future world. There was a place, they were told, on the confines of hell, and so situated as to receive a moderate portion of its flames. It was named Purgatory from its nature, and thither after death were sent the souls of all but the innocent baptized babes, the perfect saints, or the incorrigibly wicked, to purge away by fire the stains of sin. The period of their sufferings might, however, be shortened by prayers and masses; and the dying sinner, if wealthy, could, by leaving money to the church, obtain a relaxation or remission of his generally well-merited torments. He might also at any time during his life, by paying money or by visiting some place of devotion, obtain an *indulgence* to exempt him from the punishment due to one or more of his transgressions: for one drop of Christ's blood, it was said, sufficing to redeem the whole world, all the rest of His merits, which were infinite, together with all that the Saints had done beyond what was necessary for their own salvation, went to compose a great magazine of *merits* for the benefit of sinful men. The custody of this was committed to the pope, and money was the key that usually oped the holy treasure-house.

The church had adopted most of the practices and principles of the ancient heathenism. A system, equally tasteless as false, of accounting for the origin of the elegant polytheism of Greece, by supposing its gods to have been merely deified men, had been devised, and this the Fathers of the church adopted. But soon it became the belief that what was fabled of Jupiter and Apollo was true of Peter and Paul, and the other apostles, martyrs, and confessors. A new Olympus speedily appeared.* The courts of heaven were thronged with the beatified saints, who saw in God all

* The Romish saints are always termed *Divi*; thus Divus Thomas is the style of Thomas à Becket. "*Deos*," says a heathen, (Servius on *Æn.* xii. 139,) "*æternos dicimus, divos vero qui ex hominibus fiunt.*" In another place, (*Æn.* v. 45,) he adds, "*unde divos etiam imperatores vocamus.*" How closely papal Rome imitated heathen Rome!

that took place on earth, and heard the prayers addressed to them by their votaries below for the exercise of their power or their mediation in their favor. High above all in rank and power stood the Queen of Heaven of the new mythology, the Virgin, born without sin, dead without pain, and translated bodily, like her divine Son, to heaven, where she still exercises over him the mild authority of a mother. Such were the Virgin and the Saints in heaven; on earth churches and festivals were dedicated, and prayers were offered to them; their relics, that is, their bones, their hair, the very parings of their nails and the fragments of their garments, or the implements of their torture, were enclosed in costly shrines, adorned with precious gems, and worshiped by the people. Their images, especially those of the Virgin, were also the objects of adoration; pilgrimages were made to them and rich offerings deposited on their altars. Thus, while the ancient heathens directed their worship to beings whom they regarded as superior to man in nature, the Christians of the middle ages adored their fellow-mortals; their idolatry was as gross as that of the ancient world; the legends of their saints were frequently of a far more immoral tone than the mythes of Greece, and, what these (properly understood) were not, often highly impious.*

This system of polytheism and idolatry was, however, not without its bright spots. The aspect of the court of heaven, presented in the Romish books of devotion, is very magnificent and attractive. But by far the most seductive portion of the system is the worship of the Virgin, the most beautiful piece of superstition ever devised! The idea of the "pure god," Phœbus Apollo, in the Grecian system, was certainly beautiful, and, we may add, elevating; but who could think of comparing it with that of the Virgin? The Crishna of Hindoo, the Balder of Scandinavian polytheism, fall still more short of it. A woman lovely, gentle, pure, and stainless, whose heart wells forth streams of holy love and benevolence, exalted to supreme power in heaven and earth, must, in the eyes of the pious votary, have been invested with a radiance of mild, tempered divinity not to be conceived by

* Hallam, (*Middle Ages*, iii. 349,) after relating some of the impious legends of the Virgin circulated by the monks, thus expresses himself: "Whether the superstition of these dark ages had actually passed that point when it becomes more injurious to public morals and the welfare of society, than the entire absence of all religious notions, is a very complex question, upon which I would by no means pronounce an affirmative decision."

those who are not themselves believers. Unfortunately the beautiful conception was but too often spoiled by the vulgar and impious legend which made the divine object partial, revengeful, vain, and venal. Among the attractions of this system must also be enumerated the sensible ones of the splendid habits of the clergy; the well-marshalled processions, bearing crosses and banners; the magnificence of architecture; and the noble strains of music that pealed through the aisles of the stately cathedral and adorned the service of even the most humble chapel.

The clergy themselves, it is probable, believed implicitly in the popular religion. But their belief stood not in the way of their inventing the most monstrous and atrocious fables of the miracles performed by the Saints or their relics, and thus extorting money or lands from the credulous votaries. By means of these, and of the doctrines of purgatory and merits, the church had gradually contrived to gain possession of one fifth of the lands of the kingdom. The morals of the clergy were in general profligate, though beyond question there were among them in all ages shining models of goodness and piety. In the year 1449 the clergy had a petition presented in parliament, stating that many priests, secular as well as religious, had been grievously vexed and troubled wrongfully by divers indictments of felony, and praying that every priest might be pardoned for all manner of felonies of rape done before the 1st of June next coming, and from all forfeitures of taking excessive salaries, provided a noble (6s. 8d.) for every priest in the kingdom were paid to the king.* What, we may ask, must have been the morality of the clergy who could present such a petition?

Ignorance and immorality are usual, though not necessary, companions. We may therefore not be surprised to find that the great bulk of the clergy were grossly ignorant. But few of them knew the meaning of the prayers they muttered daily in an unknown tongue; and to read and study the Scriptures, even in the Latin version, was regarded as needless to those whose religion was almost totally made up of forms and ceremonies. The ignorance of the laity was of course greater if possible than that of their spiritual guides.

We are not, however, to suppose that the mind of Europe was totally enthralled to superstition in these times

* Rolls Parl., vol. v. p. 153; Turner, Hist. of England, iii. 140

It was far otherwise, as the dreadful crusade against the Albigenses, and the persecution of the Lollards and other heretics, as they were styled by the church, too clearly prove. Though the clergy exerted themselves to the utmost, though they filled the prisons with those who dared to think, and kindled the piles for those who refused to recant, the truth still continued to spread, and more and more was sown every day of the seed which was to yield such an abundant harvest of mental liberty. We have now strong grounds for believing that Dante, Petrarca, and their fellows, whose genius sheds such a lustre on the middle ages, were but the organs of an extensive sect or party, whose bond of union was hostility to the papacy, its claims, its doctrines, and its practices.* The middle ages thus rise in moral dignity while we view in them the struggle of man's intellectual nature against superstition, upheld by fraud and cruelty; and we learn to acknowledge our debt of gratitude to the men whose unremitting efforts achieved the victory of which we now enjoy the benefits.

* The writer here alludes to what he regards as the extraordinary discoveries of his most valued friend, Professor Gabriele Rossetti, in his "Comento Analitico" on Dante, his "Spirito Antipapale de Classici Italiani," and his "Mistero dell' Amor Platonico," a work which has not yet appeared, but of which the present author has had the advantage of seeing all that has been as yet printed

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF TUDOR.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VII.

1485—1509.

THE first act of the new king was to direct that the princess Elizabeth and her cousin, the earl of Warwick, whom the late tyrant had placed at Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, should be conveyed to London, the former to be restored to her mother, the latter to be immured in the Tower. He then proceeded by easy journeys to the capital. The lord mayor and aldermen met him without the city, (Aug. 28;) he passed through the streets in a close litter to St. Paul's, where a *Te Deum* was chanted, and he then took up his abode at the house of the bishop. While there he solemnly renewed his engagement to marry the princess Elizabeth, but declined espousing her till after he should have been crowned and have held a parliament.

The coronation would have taken place immediately but for the prevalence of the disease named the Sweating Sickness from its nature. It was a rapid fever, carrying people off in four-and-twenty hours, which time if they got through they were almost sure of recovery. It lasted but a month, and was regarded as being in the atmosphere, and not an epidemic or contagious malady.

The king was crowned on the 30th of October by the primate. He was frugal of his honors on this occasion, only making twelve bannerets, and raising his uncle, Jasper

earl of Pembroke, to the dignity of duke of Bedford, lord Stanley to that of earl of Derby, and sir Edward Courtenay to that of earl of Devon. He appointed a body of archers to attend him in future, under pretext of imitating the state of foreign princes. They were named Yeomen of the Guard.

When parliament met, (Nov. 11,) the matter of most importance that occupied it was the settlement of the crown. Henry's title rested on three grounds: his pledged marriage with Elizabeth; his descent from the house of Lancaster; the right of conquest. The last was too odious to be put forward prominently; the first was disagreeable to his own prejudices and those of his Lancastrian adherents, and would only secure the succession to his issue by Elizabeth. "He, therefore," says Bacon, "rested on the title of Lancaster in the main,* using the marriage and the victory as supporters;" and in the act of settlement it was merely enacted, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord king Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully coming." As all mention of the princess seemed studiously avoided, those of both parties who had looked forward to the termination of the differences between the White and the Red Rose grew alarmed. Shortly after, (Dec. 10,) the commons took occasion to petition the king to take the princess to wife; the peers readily expressed their concurrence; Henry gave a gracious promise, and during the recess he espoused Elizabeth, (Jan. 18, 1486.)

In this parliament an act of attainder was passed against Richard III., the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Zouch, Ferrars, and about two dozen of others, all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI. were resumed; and a general pardon was issued in the king's name to all the adherents of the late usurper.

After the dissolution the king set out on a progress through the kingdom, and as the North had been most attached to Richard, he proceeded thither first, hoping to gain the people by spending the summer among them. While he was keeping his Easter at Lincoln, he heard that lord Lovel had left the sanctuary at Colchester, and when he reached Pontefract he learned that Lovel had raised a force and intended

* No title could be weaker than this. Henry claimed through his mother, (who was still alive,) the sole heiress of the duke of Somerset, descended from one of the children whom Catherine Swynford bore to John of Gaunt before marriage, and who, when legitimated, were expressly excluded from all claim to the crown.

surprising him on his entry into York. But this lord, finding the royal army too numerous, gave up his project, and having permitted his followers to disperse, made his own escape to Flanders. The king remained three weeks in York, and he then returned to London by way of Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol. During his absence the queen held her court at Winchester, with her mother and sisters, and her mother-in-law the countess of Richmond. Here, in her eighth month, (Sept. 20,) she was delivered of her first child, a son, who was named Arthur, after the famous British hero, from whose lineage the king affected to be sprung on the father's side.

The evident favor shown by the king to the Lancastrian party gave great offence to the Yorkists; they were also displeased at the want of respect shown to the queen in deferring her coronation; the manners of the king too were cold and repulsive, totally different from those of the former kings of England. This state of discontent was taken advantage of for introducing the most extraordinary imposture recorded in history: for though many have personated dead or missing princes, who ever knew of an impostor pretending to be a prince who was known to be alive, and could be produced at any time?

There was a priest at Oxford named Richard Simons, or Symmonds, a man of a subtle, enterprising temper. He had a pupil about the age of fifteen years, named Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, or, as others said, of an organ-maker. This youth was of a handsome, engaging countenance; and the priest, whether actuated by hopes of great advantages to himself if the imposture should succeed, or, as is more probable, acting merely as the agent of higher persons, instructed him to assume the character of Richard duke of York, who, it was rumored, had escaped from the Tower in the late reign. But on a report of the escape of the young earl of Warwick, Simons, or his directors, changed the plan, and it was agreed that Simnel should personate this prince. As, during the abode of the duke of York in Ireland as chief governor in the time of Henry VI., the Anglo-Irish had become strongly attached to his person, family, and cause, it was resolved that the drama should open in that country. Accordingly Simons and his pupil landed in Dublin, where the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, without hesitation or inquiry, at once acknowledged the pretended Plantagenet. His example was followed by the nobility and people in general. The Butlers of Ormond, a

few of the prelates, and the citizens of Waterford also adhered to the cause of king Henry.

When these events reached the ears of Henry, he summoned a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice published a full pardon to all his former opponents, for the preceding one had been so clogged with conditions, and had been violated in so many points, as to have failed of its great object. He then had the earl of Warwick led from the Tower to St. Paul's, and thence brought to the palace of Shene, where the nobility and all others had daily opportunities of conversing with him. The king next (and this is a measure that has never been accounted for at all satisfactorily) seized the goods of the queen-dowager, and confined her in the convent of Bermondsey. The pretext assigned is, that she had put her daughters into the power of the late usurper; but surely if she did so to make her daughter a queen, it was not to be thence inferred that she would now engage in a plot to dethrone her!

The earl of Lincoln, whom Richard had declared heir to the throne, and whom Henry had treated with favor, now took the side of the pretender, and having established a correspondence with sir Thomas Broughton of Lancashire, went privately to the court of Margaret the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, who, as Bacon observes, "having the spirit of a man and the malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as that she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece as the means of the king's ascent to the crown and assurance therein." This may account for Margaret's readily engaging in the project; as for Lincoln, he may have hoped, if the present king was overthrown, to make good his title against the pretender, the real Warwick, and the daughters of king Edward.

Margaret having furnished Lincoln and lord Lovel with a body of two thousand German veterans, commanded by an able officer named Martin Schwartz, they sailed for Ireland and landed at Dublin. By the advice of Lincoln the impostor was crowned (May 24) as Edward VI. by the bishop of Meath, a crown for the occasion being taken from the statue of the Virgin; the new king was then borne from

the cathedral to the castle on the shoulders of a gigantic chieftain of English blood, named Darcy. A parliament was summoned, and immediate preparations were made for invading England, and but ten days after (June 4) the troops of the pretender effected a landing at Furness in Lancashire, where being joined by the tenantry of sir Thomas Broughton they pushed on for Yorkshire. The king meantime had assembled his troops at Kenilworth, whence he advanced to Nottingham; every day he was joined by additional troops, while Lincoln found all his efforts vain to rouse the partisans of the house of York. He resolved to make himself if possible master of the town of Newark, but the king got between him and that place, and at Stoke the two armies came in sight, (June 16.) Urged by despair, though his troops did not exceed eight thousand men, Lincoln accepted the proffered combat. The battle lasted but three hours, and ended in the destruction of the rebels, one half of whom were slain. Most of their leaders perished; Lincoln, Schwartz, sir Thomas Broughton, the earl of Kildare, and his brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, remained on the field. Lord Lovel was seen to escape, but he was never seen or heard of after.* Simons and his pupil were taken prisoners; the former, being made to confess the imposture, was thrown into prison and was heard of no more; the latter was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and he was afterwards raised to the more important office of one of the king's falconers. Thus ended this strange insurrection.

The king, who always felt or affected great devotion, caused a *Te Deum* to be sung at Lincoln, whither he proceeded after the battle; and he sent his banner to be offered to Our Lady of Walsingham, to whom he had made his vows. He then made a progress, or rather judicial circuit, through the North, where he punished the aiders and abettors of the rebels, in a few cases with death, in most by fines and ransoms, which mode was more congenial to his feelings, as it brought money into his coffers. On his return to London

* "Toward the close of the 17th century, at his seat at Minster-Lovel, in Oxfordshire, was discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclined on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was, perhaps, starved to death through neglect." (Lingard, from West's Furness, p. 210.) This incident has acquired additional interest from the use made of it in a romance, of which the scene is in the same neighborhood.

aware of the impolicy of having so long deferred the queen's coronation, he caused that ceremony to be performed with great magnificence. For this purpose, having been lodged according to custom in the Tower, she was conveyed on Saturday, November the 24th, to Westminster in a litter, over which four knights held a canopy of cloth of gold. She was attired in white cloth of gold damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. "Her faire yelow haire," says our authority, "hung downe pleyne byhynd her bak with a calle of pipes over it." Several other litters, and four baronesses mounted on gray palfreys, followed. On Sunday she was crowned, and she then dined in state in the hall. The lady Catherine Grey and mistress Ditton went and sat at her feet under the table, and the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt at each side of her, holding a kerchief at times before her. The king viewed the whole from behind a lattice.

Henry was now able to turn his attention to foreign affairs, and as the Scots were the people who could give him greatest annoyance, he took advantage of the friendly feeling which their king, James III., had toward him, to establish a truce for seven years between their respective kingdoms; to strengthen their amity, it was arranged that James, who was now a widower, should marry the queen-dowager, and his two sons two of her daughters.* This project, however, was frustrated, as the king of Scots was murdered the following year by his turbulent subjects. Henry renewed the truce with his son and successor.

The affairs of Brittany were at this time in a very ticklish condition. It was the only one of the great fiefs except Burgundy which had not been reunited to the crown of France; its duke was far advanced in years, and his only children were two daughters. The eldest, Anne, who was now in her thirteenth year, was sought in marriage by Maximilian, king of the Romans, by the duke of Orleans, and by the lord d'Albret of Béarn. But the young king of France, Charles VIII., who, as being contracted to the daughter of Maximilian, could not seek the hand of Anne, was resolved to assert some ancient feudal claim and take possession of the duchy. Some time after the French troops entered Brittany; both sides applied to Henry; his parliament gave him funds,

* Rymer, xii. 329. This fact, first adverted to by Lingard, seems to disprove completely the common notion that Henry treated his mother-in-law with great and unnecessary harshness.

and urged him to aid the duke; but though he took their money, he heeded not their advice. The French arms still advanced, (1488,) and the duke was obliged to sign a treaty allowing Charles to retain his conquests, and binding himself not to marry either of his daughters without the consent of his superior lord. A few weeks after, the duke and his youngest daughter both died; Charles then claimed the succession, and renewed the war, and he soon made himself master of one half of the duchy.

The English nation was eager to take the part of the persecuted princess. The parliament, when summoned again, freely granted supplies; "yet," says Bacon, "the subsidy granted bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the king's barn, but it was after a storm." The people of Durham and Yorkshire refused to pay it; the collectors appealed to the earl of Northumberland, who wrote to court for instructions; the king wrote back that he would not abate a penny; the earl assembled the freeholders and delivered the harsh mandate in a harsh manner; the people became irritated, and, attacking the earl's house, slew himself and some of his servants. An insurrection now broke out, headed by sir John Egremont and a fellow named John à Chamber. The king sent troops against them under the earl of Surrey, whom he had pardoned and released from the Tower, and the insurgents were speedily routed. Egremont escaped to the duchess of Burgundy; Chamber was taken, and executed at York.

A body of six thousand men, however, under lord Wiltoughby de Brook, was sent to Brittany; but as they were forbidden to act on the offensive they proved of little use, and as soon as the six months of their service were expired they returned home. The duchess afterwards (1491) married Maximilian by proxy, but the king of France having gained over her counsellors, and supporting their arguments by the terror of his arms, forced her to rescind that contract and become his queen.

Henry, seeing Brittany thus lost, resolved, since he could do nothing else, to make money of the affair. He summoned a parliament, and pretending great indignation, declared his determination to make war on France; the parliament, always liberal on these occasions, readily granted two tenths and two fifteenths, and the king himself renewed the practice of extorting money under the title of benevolence. We are told of a dilemma used by the chancellor Morton on this occasion, and which some called his fork, others his crutch

He directed the commissioners, that "if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them that they must needs have because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So, as the historian says, neither kind came amiss, and the king, having thus gotten plenty of money, at length landed at Calais, (Oct. 6,) with a force of sixteen hundred men-at-arms and twenty-five thousand foot, whence he advanced in a few days and laid siege to Boulogne. But this was all mere sham and pretence, for negotiations for peace were going on all the time; a treaty of peace and amity was finally concluded, (Nov. 3,) Charles engaging to pay, at the rate of 25,000 francs a year, the sum of 149,000*l.* in satisfaction of all claims on his queen, and of the arrears of the annuity due to Edward IV. Henry then returned to England; his counsellors, who had all gotten presents and pensions from Charles, praised his wisdom and policy; but his nobles, many of whom had sold or pledged their estates to furnish them for the war, were discontented, and said that "the king cared not to plume his nobility and people to feather himself."

The duchess of Burgundy was, by the classic fancy of the age, styled the king's Juno, as being to him what that goddess was to the "pious Æneas." She was unremitting in her hostility, and "at this time," says Bacon, "the king began again to be haunted with spirits by her magic and curious arts." For just as he had declared war against France, a vessel from Portugal arrived at Cork in Ireland, on board of which was a young man of engaging mien, and aged about twenty years. A rumor soon spread that he was Richard duke of York, who had escaped from the Tower. The answers he made when questioned satisfied his credulous auditors. The citizens, induced by O'Water, their late mayor, declared for him; the earl of Desmond, the great southern chief, did the same; but the earl of Kildare, when applied to, returned an ambiguous answer. Ere the pretender advanced any farther, he received an invitation from Charles to repair to France, which he accepted, and on his arrival he was treated as the true heir to the English crown; a guard of honor was assigned him, and the exiles, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services. Henry hurried on the peace, and Charles then ordered the pretender to quit his dominions, having now made the use of him he had proposed. He sought refuge with Margaret of Burgundy, by whom he was received with open arms; she styled him

the White Rose of England, and gave him a guard of thirty halberdiers. The English Yorkists, anxious to ascertain the truth, sent over sir Robert Clifford as their secret agent, and he reported that he was the real duke of York. The king also despatched his emissaries, in order to find out who he really was; and the result of their inquiries is said to have been, that his name was Peterkin, or Perkin, (i. e. Little Peter,) Osbeck or Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew of Tournay; that by frequenting the society of the English merchants in Flanders he had acquired their language and manners; that the lady Margaret had fixed upon him as a proper person to personate her nephew; and that fearing he would be suspected if he came direct from Flanders, she had sent him to Lisbon in the service of lady Brompton, the wife of one of the exiles. The king now required of the archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy, to banish or surrender Warbeck; but he replied that he could not control the duchess in the lands of her dower. Henry, in revenge, withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp, and forbade all intercourse between the two countries.

The gifts and promises of the king had gained Clifford, who communicated to him the names of the leading English Yorkists who were in correspondence with the partisans of the pretender; and on the same day the Lord Fitzwalter and several others were arrested on a charge of treason. Sentence of death was passed on them. Sir Simon Mountfort, sir Thomas Thwaites, and Robert Radcliffe were executed at once; Fitzwalter was imprisoned at Calais; the rest were pardoned. But a greater victim was to fall. After celebrating his Christmas, Henry removed his court to the Tower, (Jan. 7, 1495,) where Clifford was brought before him and received his pardon on his knees. Being required to reveal all he knew of the conspiracy, he named the lord chamberlain sir William Stanley, he who had saved the king's life at Bosworth. The king affected great horror, and refused to believe him; Clifford persisted, and Stanley, when examined the next day, actually confessed the charge. He was tried, condemned, and some time after beheaded; and as his personal property, much exceeding 40,000 marks, and his lands, yielding 3000*l.* a year "of old rent, a great matter in those times," fell to the king, they were thought to have stood in the way of his pardon. It is, however, probable that he was really guilty of some words or acts inconsistent with perfect loyalty. The chief charge against him seems to have been

his having said, "If I were sure that that young man were king Edward's son, I would never bear arms against him."

The pretender had now lain idle for three years, and the Flemings and the archduke were complaining of the losses which he caused them. He therefore found it necessary to make an effort, and while Henry was spending some time with his mother at Latham in Lancashire, he landed (July 3) a few hundred adventurers at Deal in Kent. But the people of the country rose and killed several of them, took one hundred and fifty prisoners, and drove the rest to their boats. The prisoners were led to London, "all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in cart," and by the king's order they were all hanged there or on different parts of the coast. Perkin returned to the Netherlands, but the great treaty of commerce, which was signed the next year between them and England, having deprived him of his asylum there, he put to sea once more. He now sailed to Cork, but he found no countenance there, as Henry had secured the obedience of the Irish. He therefore departed, and directed his course to Scotland, where having, it is said, presented to king James letters from the king of France and the lady Margaret, he was received with all due honor, and the king gave him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and a near relation of his own. In the winter the king assembled an army of borderers and invaded Northumberland; the adventurer, who had a body of about fourteen hundred English and other outlaws with him, issued a proclamation calling on his loyal subjects to arm in his cause, and enumerating the crimes of Henry Tudor, as he styled the king. But the English took no heed; the king of Scots then began to burn and waste the country, at which Perkin, it is said, was, or affected to be greatly moved, declaring "that no crown was so dear to his mind as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country;" the king, half in jest, made answer, "that he doubted much he was careful for that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy to save the country to his use."

The king used the pretext of this inroad to call a parliament and obtain a subsidy. The tax was paid in most places; but in Cornwall the people, excited by the harangues of one Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, and one Thomas Flammock, a prating lawyer, assembled in arms to the number of sixteen thousand men, and marched for London, to petition the king to punish the primate Morton and

sir Reginald Grey, whom they regarded as the authors of this impost. At Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, whom they made their leader; they then advanced into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath, within view of London. The king, who had his troops assembled, prepared to give them battle. He divided his army into three parts, of which one, under the earl of Oxford, was to get in the rear of the hill on which the rebels were posted; the second, under D'Aubigny the lord chamberlain, was to attack them in front; while the third, under himself in person, was to remain as a reserve in St. George's Fields. On Saturday, June 22d, (the king's lucky day, as he esteemed it,) the attack was made. The advance guard of the rebels defended Deptford-bridge at first stoutly, but they were driven back to their main body; D'Aubigny then gained the hill, and they scattered, and fled in all directions. About two thousand of them were slain, and fifteen hundred taken, among which last were their three leaders. Lord Audley was beheaded; Flammoek and Joseph were hanged at Tyburn; all the rest were pardoned.

Meantime the king of Scots again poured his light troops over the borders, and scoured the country as far as the Tees. But on the approach of the earl of Surrey he retired, and soon after, under the mediation of the Spanish ambassador, a truce for seven years was concluded. The pretender then left Scotland, and having made another ineffectual attempt at Cork, sailed over to Whitsand bay, whence he advanced to Bodmin and raised the banner of Richard IV. The Cornishmen to the number of three thousand repaired to him, and his army was doubled by the time he reached Exeter, to which town he laid siege. But the citizens defending themselves valiantly, and the nobility and gentry of the county coming to their aid, he retired, and led his men toward Taunton, at which place the royal army had now arrived. During the day (Sept. 20) he made all ready for battle with great alacrity; but about midnight he secretly departed with about sixty horse and took sanctuary at Bewdley, or Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The rebels next day, finding themselves abandoned, submitted, and were all pardoned except a few of the ringleaders. Some horsemen were sent to St. Michael's Mount to take the lady Catherine Gordon, who had been left there by her husband, "whom in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex." When she was brought to the king he treated her with great kindness: he afterwards

placed her about the queen, and assigned her an honorable pension. The name of the White Rose, originally "given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty." *

A guard was placed round the sanctuary to prevent the escape of Perkin; and, seeing that he had no hopes remaining, he consented to leave it on promise of a pardon. The king did not admit him into his presence, but he had his liberty, and on the return to London he rode in the royal suite. On the way multitudes flocked to gaze on him. When they came to London he was led on horseback through the city to the Tower and back to Westminster. He was ordered not to quit the precincts of the palace, and he was repeatedly examined about his history, and a portion of his confession was made public. After six months, being weary of restraint, he contrived to escape, and made for the coast, but he was so closely pursued that he took sanctuary once more at the priory of Bethlehem at Shene. At the request of the prior the king granted him his life; but he was made to stand an entire day in the stocks at Westminster-hall, and the next day in Cheapside, and read aloud the confession which he had made and signed. He was then committed to the Tower.

In the Tower Warbeck soon contrived to form an intimacy with the unhappy earl of Warwick. This ill-fated youth had spent nearly his whole life in prison merely because he happened to be a real Plantagenet. Being secluded from all society his faculties were never developed, and his ignorance was such that, as the chronicler says, "he could not discern a goose from a capon." He gave in to the projects of the pretender for their escape; four servants of the lieutenant, it is said, were gained, who were to murder their master and then convey the prisoners to a place of safety. But the plot was discovered in time; Perkin was then tried and convicted of treasons committed by him after his landing in the kingdom, and he was executed at Tyburn, where he once more read his confession and averred its truth.† Warwick was arraigned before the house of peers for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition and to destroy the king; the poor innocent youth pleaded guilty, and was beheaded on Tower-hill, (Nov. 28.)

* She afterwards married a Welsh knight named sir Matthew Cradock, (Caradoc,) and lies buried in the church of Swansea.

† See Appendix (S.)

Such was the end of the last male of the Plantagenets. His fate was lamented by the whole nation, and people did not hesitate to say that the late plot had been only a device of the king to have a pretext for destroying him; for he felt that as long as Warwick lived he had no chance of peace. Even this very year, a young man of Suffolk, named Ralph Wilford, aided by one Patrick, a friar, had personated the young earl in Kent, and though they had no success, and the former was executed and the latter imprisoned for life, the attempt might be renewed. Those odious reasons of state which are held to justify every crime, might therefore have induced the king to seize, if not make, the pretext for freeing himself from apprehension by shedding guiltless blood. But we are assured that it was not so much anxiety for his own safety, as the desire of procuring a high alliance for his son, that actuated Henry. He had been for some time in treaty with Ferdinand, king of Aragon, for a match between his eldest son and the infanta Catherine, and he caused, it is said, letters out of Spain to be shown at this time, in which Ferdinand had written to him "that he saw no hopes of his succession as long as the earl of Warwick lived; and that he was loath to send his daughter to troubles and dangers;" and many years after, that princess, on a sad occasion, declared "that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood."*

The king now had rest for the remainder of his reign. The state of almost constant hostility with Scotland was terminated by a marriage between the king of Scots and Henry's eldest daughter Margaret. When some of his council expressed their fears that in case of the failure of the male line England might fall to the king of Scotland, the more sagacious monarch replied, "that if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, for that the greater would draw the less." Time has verified the prediction.

The long-projected marriage between prince Arthur and the Spanish infanta took place (Nov. 14, 1501) as soon as the prince had passed his fifteenth year. There were splen-

* "Lord Bacon," says Mackintosh, "a witness against Henry above exception, positively affirms that the flagitious correspondence had been seen in England, and that it was shown by the king to excuse his assent to a deed of blood." Lingard, who would not willingly hear any thing bad of Ferdinand the Catholic, speaks of it as a mere "report to remove the odium from the king." Cardinal Pole, however, Warwick's nephew, seems to have believed it, for his biographers Becatelli and Dudith both assert it, and evidently on his authority.

did festivities on the occasion, and Ludlow in Shropshire was fixed on as the abode of the young couple. But their connubial felicity was destined to an early blight, for the amiable and accomplished prince fell sick and died in the spring of the following year, (April 2.) The king, as soon as he overcame his grief, which was great, began to think how he still might retain the Spanish connection, and get the princess's portion, which was 200,000 crowns; and for this purpose, when it had become apparent that the late marriage had been fruitless,† it was arranged that his second son, Henry, who was now twelve years old, should espouse his brother's widow when he attained the age of fifteen. The primate Warham strongly objected to this course, as contrary to the divine law, but his scruples were not regarded, and the necessary bull of dispensation was easily procured from pope Julius II.

The following year (1503) Henry lost his queen, who died in childbed in the Tower. As the dowager queen of Naples had been left an immense property by her husband, he had thoughts of seeking her hand; but when he learned that the reigning king refused to let the devise be executed, he laid his plan aside.

On the death of Isabel queen of Castile, her crown devolved to her daughter Joanna, who was married to the archduke Philip. As the new king and queen were sailing from the Netherlands to Spain, (1506,) stress of weather drove them into Weymouth. As soon as Henry heard of their arrival he sent to invite them to his court at Windsor, where he detained them for three months: in which time he made Philip consent to a treaty of commerce more to the advantage of England than the former one, and offered to marry his sister the dowager duchess of Savoy. He also took advantage of the captivity, as we may term it, of the archduke, to get into his power a man of whom he had his apprehensions. This was Edmund de la Pole, younger brother of the earl of Lincoln, who was slain at Stoke. On the death of his father, the duke of Suffolk, Edmund claimed the title and property, but Henry would only give him (and that as a boon) the title of earl and a small part of the property. When he afterwards had the misfortune to kill a man, the king granted him a pardon, but commanded him to plead it openly in the court of King's Bench. Suffolk's pride was wounded, and he retired to his

* Henry was not given the title of Prince of Wales for some months after Arthur's death.

aunt the duchess of Burgundy. Henry, however, induced him to return, and he was present at the marriage of prince Arthur; on which occasion the splendor of his equipages and other expenses involved him deeply in debt. Soon after, he ran away again, and the king then, suspecting a conspiracy, directed sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, to pretend to desert to him, and if possible to learn his secrets. On the information sent by Curson, the king arrested his own brother-in-law the earl of Devon, Suffolk's brother William, sir James Tyrrel, sir William Windham, and some others. The two first, against whom there was no charge but their kindred to Suffolk, were detained in prison; the two last were executed for having aided the king's enemy,* (1502.) This crushed the conspiracy, if there was one, and Suffolk was now living in penury in the archduke's dominions.

One day Henry drew the archduke into a private room, and laying his hand on his arm, said, "Sir, you have been saved upon my coast; I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." Philip asked what he meant. "I mean it," said he, "by that same harebrain wild fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it." "I had thought, sir," replied Philip, "your felicity had been above these thoughts, but if it trouble you I will banish him. "These hornets," said the king, "are best in their nests, and worst when they do fly abroad; my desire is to have him delivered to me." Philip mused, and said, "That can I not do with my honor, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner." "Then," cried Henry, "the matter is at an end; for I will take that dishonor upon me, and so your honor is saved." It was finally agreed that Suffolk should be induced to surrender, the king pledging himself not to touch his life. He came, therefore, and was committed to the Tower, and Philip then departed.

The king's avarice naturally increased with his years, and he scrupled at no means of extorting money from his subjects. His chief agents were two able but unprincipled lawyers, Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson; the former a man of good family, the latter the son of a sieve-maker. These men, (whom he made barons of the exchequer,) by reviving dormant claims of the crown, by taking advantage of various

* It was on this occasion that Tyrrel confessed the murder of the two princes in the Tower.

ancient and nearly obsolete statutes, which had created numberless offences punishable by fine, etc., and other modes, and by encouraging a host of informers, drew large sums into the royal coffers, and at the same time enriched themselves enormously, while they shared with the king in having the maledictions of all classes of the people.

If we may credit the following story, the king himself equalled his agents in the art of taking advantage of the letter of the law, without regard to good feeling or justice. He was one time entertained by the earl of Oxford, a man who had always been active and zealous in his cause. As he was departing from the castle, the earl's servants and retainers, dressed in his liveries, stood drawn up in two rows to do the monarch honor. "My lord," said the king, "I have heard much of your hospitality, but it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen that I see on each side of me are surely your menial servants." "That, may it please your grace," replied the earl, "were not for mine ease; they are most of them my retainers, come to do me service at a time like this, and chiefly to see your grace." Henry gave a start. "By my faith, my lord," said he, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." An act had been passed against this practice in the beginning of his reign, and the earl had to pay a fine of 10,000*l.* for having thus honored his king.

Henry had been for some time subject to the gout; every year the attacks became more severe, and he was finally carried off by one of them, (April 22, 1509,) in the fifty-third year of his age. On his death-bed he desired his son to put the earl of Suffolk to death; he also, it is said, charged him not to marry his brother's widow. He forgave all offences against the crown except murder and felony, and directed that reparation should be made to all who had suffered by the injustice of his ministers. His remains were deposited in the splendid chapel founded by himself at Westminster Abbey, which still remains, a noble monument of the king's munificence, and of the taste and skill of our forefathers in the art of architecture.

Henry VII. was personally brave, but he was a lover of peace. He was sagacious and circumspect, could conceal his own designs and fathom those of others. He was by nature distrustful; he appears to have been nearly incapable of friendship or any strong attachment. His clemency to rebels on various occasions shows him not to have been of

a cruel or sanguinary temper; while his murder of the earl of Warwick proves that he could even shed innocent blood out of policy. But the great blemish of his character was avarice; this low and grovelling passion tinged all his acts, led him to commit numerous deeds of oppression, and caused him to leave the world laden with the maledictions of his people. From the charge of studied neglect of his queen we think he has been cleared; he seems to have treated her with as much affection as it was in his nature to show to any woman, perhaps with as much as she deserved, when we consider her indecent haste to marry her uncle, the murderer of her brothers.

The court of Star Chamber, which afterwards became such an instrument of oppression, was invested by parliament in this reign with authority for suppressing the dangerous practice of *maintenance*, or giving of liveries. Its members, like those of the old Curia Regis, were the principal officers of state, with a power of adding two to their number; their powers were discretionary.

The New World was discovered while Henry VII. occupied the throne. He commissioned Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian who was settled at Bristol, to fit out vessels for discovery and conquest in the lands beyond the western ocean. Cabot discovered (1497) the coast of North America, from Labrador to the gulf of Florida.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII.

1509—1526.

THE new monarch was just eighteen years of age, handsome in person and popular in manners. The claims of the White and Red Roses were united in him, so that all chances of a disputed title were removed. The unpopularity of the late king, through his avarice, made men look with joyful anticipation to the reign of a young and gallant prince; and the treasures amassed by that avarice enabled him to fulfil these expectations.

Acting under the advice of his grandmother, the venerable

countess of Richmond, Henry retained all his father's faithful and experienced ministers. His next care was to celebrate his marriage with the princess Catherine, which the crafty, interested policy of their fathers had hitherto held in suspense. The ceremony was performed two months after his accession, (June 24;) the joint coronation immediately succeeded, and for two years pleasure and amusement formed the sole occupation of the court of England. The king, who excelled in martial exercises, loved to display his address and vigor before his consort, her ladies, the nobility, and the foreign ambassadors; and he frequently fought at barriers, and gained the prize in their presence.

On the very day of his accession, to gratify the people, he had ordered Empson, Dudley, and their chief agents or *promoters*, as they were termed, to be arrested. The latter were pilloried, and then led on horseback through the city, with their faces to the horses' tails, and finally imprisoned for different terms, the former were charged before the council with having usurped the authority of the courts of law, kept ~~heirs~~ out of their lands, etc. Empson made an ingenious and eloquent defence; and these charges not proving tenable, and it being resolved not to let them escape, an absurd one of a design to secure the person of the young king on the death of his father, and make themselves masters of the government, was brought against them. On this, which every one must have known to be false, juries readily found them guilty. They were respited, however, and might perhaps have been suffered to linger out their lives in prison, but that the king was so harassed with complaints against them in his progress the following summer, (1510.) that he signed the warrant for their execution, and they suffered on Tower-hill.

Our restricted limits will on this and on future occasions prevent our entering into details on the affairs of the continent, in which England now began for the first time to take a part. A very slight sketch of them must therefore suffice at present. The great scene of political contention at this period was Italy, where the republics, with the exception of Venice and Genoa, had, after their brilliant but unquiet career, sunk under the despotism of petty princes. These little potentates, by their marriages and alliances with the transalpine royal houses, had caused them to have claims on various parts of Italy; thus Charles VIII. of France, and Ferdinand of Aragon, had had a pretext for making the conquest of Naples, from which the latter afterwards expelled the

former; and Louis XII. of France had lately, in right of his mother, made himself master of the duchy of Milan. The emperor of Germany had a claim of feudal superiority over the different Italian states; while the valiant and turbulent, yet perhaps patriotic pontiff, Julius II., sought only to extend the papal dominions, to humble the pride of the Venetians, and then to drive the *Barbarians* (as the Italians styled the transalpine nations) out of Italy. The League of Cambray, (1508,) in which the pope, the emperor and the kings of France and Spain united against the Venetians, sufficed to humble their haughty aristocracy before the pontiff; but it gave occasion to hostilities between him and the king of France. Ferdinand, and at his desire his son-in-law of England, took the side of the pontiff, which party was also after some hesitation embraced by the emperor Maximilian.

Ferdinand, who never knew a generous sentiment, and thought only on his own interests, proposed to his son-in-law a joint invasion of Guienne, to which Henry now asserted his right. The Spanish monarch's real object, however, as will appear, was the acquisition of the little kingdom of Navarre, which was held in right of his wife by John d'Albret, lord of Béarn, a vassal of the crown of France. It was agreed that Henry should send a force of six thousand five hundred men, Ferdinand one of nine thousand; while a fleet, to be furnished in equal proportions, should keep the sea. Accordingly in the month of June (1512) the marquess of Dorset landed with the English army in Guipuscoa; while a fleet, under the lord admiral sir Edward Howard, cruised all the summer in the Bay of Biscay. Dorset proposed marching at once against Bayonne, but Ferdinand pretended that it was not safe to leave Navarre in their rear. A joint embassy was then sent to the king of Navarre to demand his neutrality; to this he agreed, but Ferdinand, affecting to distrust him, required the surrender of his fortresses; this was refused. The duke of Alva forthwith entered Navarre, and laid siege to Pampeluna, its capital, which was speedily reduced. The whole kingdom then submitted, and the king was obliged to seek a refuge in France. The Spanish general then called on Dorset to join in the invasion of Guienne; but the latter was now grown mistrustful; his troops were suffering from disease, a spirit of mutiny had spread among them, and they demanded to be sent home; and though, at the desire of the Spanish envoy Windsor herald was sent out with orders for them to remain, they obliged their leaders to embark and they landed at Portsmouth in December. Henry

was at first greatly displeased, but he was at length satisfied with the explanations of the marquess.

While the army was lying thus inactive in Spain, sir Edward Howard made frequent descents on the coast of Brittany. At length (Aug. 12) he fell in with the French fleet of twenty sail, commanded by admiral Primauguet. Sir Charles Brandon, without waiting for orders, bore down on the admiral's ship, the *Cordelier of Brest*. As this last was of great size, carrying a crew of one thousand six hundred men, her fire quickly dismasted the English vessel, to whose aid sir Thomas Knyvett hastened with the *Regent*, the largest ship in the English navy. The combat had lasted more than an hour, when another vessel came to the aid of Knyvett; Primauguet then, to save the honor of his flag, set fire to the *Cordelier*; the flames spread to the *Regent*, and both were consumed, and all on board of them perished. The rest of the French fleet escaped into Brest. Sir Edward Howard then made a vow never to see the face of the king till he had avenged the death of sir Thomas Knyvett. A still larger ship, named the *Henry Grace Dieu*, was built to replace the *Regent*. The following year (April 25) sir Edward Howard, (whose maxim was that a seaman should be brave even to madness, to be good for any thing,) while blockading Brest, attempted, with two galleys and four boats, to cut out a squadron of six galleys, moored in a bay between rocks planted with cannon. Followed by no more than eighteen men, he leaped aboard the largest vessel; but his own galley chancing to fall astern, he and his companions were left alone, and the crew with their pikes pushed them overboard, where they were drowned. The English fleet retired, and the French in return insulted the coast of Sussex, till sir Thomas Howard, who succeeded his brother, chased them into Brest.

The king had now assembled a gallant army of twenty-five thousand men for the invasion of France. Two divisions sailed under the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Herbert; Henry himself followed (June 30) with the third, leaving the queen "rectrix and governor of the realm," and having previously given orders for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who lay in the Tower. We have seen that the late king had enjoined him to rid himself of him if he would be safe; and as Suffolk's brother had been so imprudent as to take a command in the French army, and assume the title of the White Rose, the wrath of the king may have been thus excited against the unhappy prisoner. The envoys at foreign

courts were instructed to declare that a traitorous correspondence between the brothers had been discovered.

The king loitered for some weeks at Calais, spending his time in festivity, while his generals invested the city of Terouenne. At length (Aug. 4) he entered the camp, where he was joined by the emperor Maximilian with four thousand horse; and this monarch, so high in dignity, to flatter the vanity of his young ally, styled himself his volunteer, wore the red rose and St. George's cross, and accepted one hundred crowns a day as his pay. The French king had, on his part, advanced as far as Amiens for the relief of Terouenne. He mustered his cavalry, renowned in the wars of Italy, at Blangi, (Aug. 16,) and it advanced in two divisions on the opposite banks of the river Lis. Maximilian led out his German horse and the English mounted archers, while Henry followed with the infantry. A sudden panic seized the French; they turned, though greatly superior in numbers, and fled without striking a blow, leaving prisoners in the hands of the enemy their commander the duke de Longueville, Bussi d'Amboise, the chevalier Bayard, Clermont, La Fayette, and several other men of distinction. This rout was named the battle of Guinegate, from the place, but more usually that of Spurs, as the French made more use of their spurs than of their swords. Terouenne now surrendered, and the English army then advanced and laid siege to Tournai, which opened its gates on the eighth day, (Sept. 29 :) and Henry, having devoted some days to festivity, returned to England for the winter.

Though the king of Scotland was Henry's brother-in-law, he shared, to the misfortune of himself and kingdom, in the war against him. The union between the two British sovereigns had never been cordial: James had in vain demanded the jewels left by will to his queen by her late father; to as little purpose had he required that the bastard Heron of Ford should be tried for the murder of sir Robert Ker, warden of the Scottish marches; and, with far less justice, he insisted on satisfaction for the death of Andrew Barton. For having granted letters of reprisal against the Portuguese to three brothers of this name, they took not merely Portuguese but English ships, under pretence of their carrying Portuguese property. On the repeated complaints of his subjects, Henry pronounced the Bartons pirates, and two of their ships were captured in the Downs; on which occasion Andrew Barton received a wound of which he died. To James's demand of satisfaction, Henry scorn-

folly replied, that the fate of a pirate was beneath the notice of kings, and that the matter might be settled by commissioners on the borders. When Henry joined in the league against Louis, the latter sought earnestly to gain the Scottish king, to whom he sent many large sums of money; while his queen, Anne of Brittany, named James her knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. The English envoys, on the other hand, required him to remain neuter. Much diplomatic finesse, seasoned with the usual proportion of falsehood and insincerity, was employed on all sides; but when James found that the English had actually invaded France, he summoned his vassals to meet him at Burrowmoor, and sent his fleet with a force of three thousand men to the aid of Louis. At the head of a numerous army the king of Scotland then crossed the Tweed, (Aug. 22,) near its confluence with the Till, and turning northwards laid siege to the castle of Norham, which held out for six days against him: it then surrendered, and its example was followed by the castles of Wark, Etall, and Ford. The Scots crossed the Till, and encamped (Sept. 6) on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot range, bordering on the dale of the Tweed.

The earl of Surrey, to whom Henry had committed the Scottish war, was at Pontefract when James crossed the Tweed; he had summoned the gentry of the north to meet him at Newcastle, and when they repaired to his standard his forces amounted to twenty-six thousand men. He then advanced at their head (Sept. 7) to Wooler-haugh, within five miles of the enemy. When he saw their position, fortified by nature on all sides but one, and that defended by cannon, he feared to attack, and, sending a herald to James, required him to descend into the plain, and engage on equal terms. The monarch refused. Surrey then, by the advice of his son, resolved to march toward Scotland, and then return and take the army in the rear. The English therefore crossed the Till, and marched till evening up its right bank. At sunrise next morning (Sept. 9) they crossed it by the bridge of Twissel, and going down the left bank approached the Scottish camp. James, who now saw their object, ordered his men to fire their huts and retire to the hill of Brankston, more to the north. The smoke filled the entire valley, and when it cleared away the vanguard of the English found themselves at the foot of the hill, on which the Scots were posted in five solid masses. They halted till the rearguard came up, and both then advanced in one

line; the Scots meantime began to descend in good order and in perfect silence.

The right wing of the English vanguard was assailed by a body of Scottish spearmen under the lord Home. It gave way, and its leader lord Edmund Howard was unhorsed, and lay on the ground expecting to be slain or taken, when the bastard Heron came with a body of outlaws and restored the battle; and the lord Dacre, with a reserve of fifteen hundred men, took the Scots in the rear and put them to flight. A body of seven thousand Scots under the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, was meantime hotly engaged with the remainder of the English vanguard, till, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, Errol and Crawford fell, and their men broke and fled. The king in person, followed by a numerous body of gallant warriors cased in armor, assailed the rear guard, and bearing down all resistance had nearly reached the royal standard, when sir Edward Stanley, who had defeated and chased over the hill the earls of Lennox and Argyle, who were opposed to him, returned and took the body led by the king in the rear. James was slain by an unknown hand, within a spear's length of Surrey. The battle, which began after four in the evening, lasted but an hour. The approach of night and the want of cavalry caused the pursuit not to exceed four miles. The loss of the Scots was ten thousand men, among whom were their king, his natural son the archbishop of St. Andrews, two bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction. The body of the Scottish king was conveyed to London to be there interred. To reward the victors, Surrey was created duke of Norfolk; his son, lord Thomas, earl of Surrey; Brandon lord Lisle, duke of Suffolk; lord Herbert, earl of Somerset; and sir Edward Stanley, lord Mounteagle.

When the Scots had recovered a little from the consternation caused by this calamitous defeat, they proceeded to regulate the affairs of the realm. The queen was allowed to retain the regency as guardian to her infant son James V.; but when, shortly after the birth of her second son, of whom she had been left pregnant, she gave her hand to the earl of Angus, a young nobleman who had little but his personal beauty to recommend him, the regency was transferred to the duke of Albany. A deputation was sent to France, where he resided, to invite him over; and though Henry obtained from the French government a solemn promise that he should not be permitted to depart, he made his way to Scotland (1515) and assumed the royal authority. When he learned that

Henry was tampering with the queen to bring her children to England, he besieged her in the castle of Stirling, and forced her to surrender the two princes.

To return to continental affairs. While Henry during the winter was making every preparation for renewing the war with vigor in the spring, Louis was no less strenuous in his exertions to procure a general peace. The present pontiff, Leo X., a lover of pleasure rather than of war, was easily propitiated; the permission to retain Navarre rapidly infused pacific notions into the mind of Ferdinand; and even Maximilian listened readily to a proposal for the marriage of a daughter of Louis, with Milan for her portion, to his grandson Charles, though this prince was already engaged to the princess Mary, sister of the king of England. Louis lost no time in making Henry aware of this arrangement, which at first he could hardly credit. When he could no longer doubt of it he began to lend an ear to proposals for peace, and Louis's queen happening to die at this time, he offered his hand to Henry's sister Mary. Though Louis was fifty-three years old and the princess but sixteen, and her affections moreover were engaged to the accomplished duke of Suffolk, she was induced to give her consent. The marriage was celebrated by proxy at Greenwich and at Paris. The young queen was then conducted to Abbeville by the duke of Norfolk, where Louis met her, and the ceremony was renewed in the cathedral, (Oct. 9.) Next day, to the grief and surprise of the bride, all her English attendants, except Norfolk's niece Anne Boleyn, a child but seven years old, and two others, were ordered home. Louis then conducted her to St. Denis, where she was crowned. The amorous monarch was enraptured with the charms of his youthful bride; but his constitution had been enfeebled, the change in his habits and mode of life was more than he could bear, and in less than three months (Jan. 1, 1515) the bride became a widow.

Louis was succeeded by Francis count of Angoulême, the next male heir. The new monarch was naturally anxious that Mary should not espouse the archduke Charles. As Suffolk was at the head of the embassy sent by Henry to convey her back to England, Francis, who knew of his love, urged him to seek her hand at once; and Mary herself gave him a challenge which few men could refuse, by asking him if he had now the courage to marry her at once, and fixing the day by which he must resolve to marry her or lose her forever. Suffolk accepted the challenge; they were privately married in the month of March; Francis communicated

the affair to Henry, interceding for the lovers; and Mary wrote taking the whole blame on herself. Henry[†] was, or affected to be, extremely angry, but at length he relented and forgave them. Perhaps he was aware of the whole from the very commencement, as Suffolk had written to the favorite, Wolsey, in order to sound the king's disposition.* Indeed, from his fixing on Suffolk to convey his sister to England, and from the whole progress of the affair, it is not unlikely that Henry, who was far from being devoid of generosity, may have secretly wished to promote the union of the lovers, whom he ever after treated with the greatest affection.

It was about this time that the great power and influence of Wolsey attained its height, and during fifteen years he ruled the kingdom with a power nearly dictatorial. We will therefore sketch his history and character.

Thomas Wolsey, the son, as was said, of a butcher at Ipswich, having received a learned education, entered the church. He became tutor in the family of the marquess of Dorset, who, pleased with his talents, recommended him to Henry VII., by whom he was made one of the royal chaplains. The king employed him in a secret negotiation respecting his marriage with Margaret of Savoy, and was so pleased with his conduct in it, that he bestowed on him the deanery of Lincoln.[†] Soon after the accession of Henry VIII., Wolsey was made almoner, a situation which brought him in constant intercourse with the king; and the polish and gayety of the almoner's manners, and the readiness with which, though in orders, and nearly forty years of age, he entered into the royal pleasures, — even, it is said, singing, dancing, and carousing with the youthful courtiers, — quickly won him the heart of Henry, who was also aware of his talents for business and delighted with his skill in the theology of the schools. Preferments rapidly flowed in upon him. On the taking of Tournai he was made bishop of that see; he then became dean of York, then bishop of Lincoln, and finally archbishop of York, within the one year, (1514.) He was now courted by foreign princes, and even the pope, to secure his influence, sent him a cardinal's hat, (1515;) and the same year, on the resigna-

* On a subsequent occasion Wolsey told Suffolk that if it had not been for *him* he would have lost his head.

† Wolsey used such extraordinary despatch, and was so favored by circumstances, that, quitting the king at Richmond at noon, he went to Brussels, arranged all matters with the emperor, and was back at Richmond by the night of the third day. (Cavendish's Life of Wolsey p. 10-14.)

tion of archbishop Warham, the king conferred on him the office of chancellor. The pontiff finally (1518) invested him with the dignity of papal legate, and his ambitious mind now aspired even to the papacy itself.

The wealth of Wolsey was enormous. Beside his archbishopric, he farmed the revenues of the sees of Hereford and Worcester, which were held by foreigners; he held in *commendam* the abbey of St. Alban's and the see of Bath, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Durham, and this again for the more wealthy see of Winchester. His legatine court and the chancery brought him in large emoluments, and he had pensions from the pope, the emperor, and the king of France. Bound to celibacy by his order, profuse and vain by nature, he hoarded not his wealth; he lived in a style of princely magnificence, and barons and knights were among the officers of his household; palaces, abbeys, colleges, rose or were enlarged from his munificence; the learned men of all countries tasted of his bounty. At the same time, in his office of chancellor he was just and upright, and his improvements in the administration of justice entitled him to the gratitude of the people.

England was now in tranquillity both externally and internally. The king of France had recovered the Milanese; and on the death of the emperor Maximilian, he and Henry, and the late emperor's grandson Charles, who had already succeeded his maternal grandsire, Ferdinand, in his dominion over Spain, Naples, and the New World, became candidates for the vacant dignity. The contest in reality lay between Francis and Charles, and the decision of the electors in favor of the latter laid the foundation of a lasting enmity between the two monarchs. Each was solicitous to gain to his side the king of England and his powerful favorite. Francis, in reliance on his own address and powers of persuasion, eagerly desired a personal interview; he therefore (1520) summoned Henry to perform an article in the last treaty between them, by which it was stipulated that they should meet in person on the borders of their dominions. Henry, acting under the influence of the Spanish cabinet, sought to evade compliance; but Francis was too adroit for him, and the arrangement being committed by both monarchs to Wolsey, he appointed an interview to take place on the last day of May between Ardres and Guisnes, within the English territory; on which occasion a tournament should be held, in which the kings of France and England, each with eighteen

companions, should answer all opponents at tilt, tourney, and barriers.

Henry and his court set out for Calais, (May 21.) On reaching Canterbury, he learned that the emperor with a squadron of ships had cast anchor at Hythe; for Charles, in consequence (as he pretended) of most urgent affairs, being on his way from Spain to the Netherlands, and hearing as he came up the channel that the English court was so near the coast, could not, he said, omit the opportunity of paying his respects to his uncle and aunt. He came to court and remained for four days, during which short time he completely gained the affections of Henry, and he also secured the interest of Wolsey by assurances of the papacy on the next vacancy. On the very day of his departure (May 31) the king and court of England passed over to Calais.

A temporary palace of frame-work, which had been sent out from England, had been erected near the castle of Guisnes. It contained a stately chapel and numerous apartments, whose walls were hung with tapestry and the ceilings covered with silk. A similar edifice had been erected for Francis near the town of Ardres. When the two monarchs had arrived at their respective pavilions, Wolsey visited Francis, and an additional treaty for the marriage of the dauphin with Henry's only child Mary was concluded, Francis binding the crown of France to the payment of 100,000 crowns a year to that of England in case of their issue being seated on the English throne. When this arrangement had been made, the two monarchs rode (June 7) to the vale of Andern, within the territory of Guisnes; and while their attendants halted on the opposite eminences, they rode down into the valley, met and embraced, and then walked arm in arm into a pavilion which had been prepared for their reception, where they held a secret conference on the late treaty.

Serious business being now at an end, the martial exercises began. During six days the kings tilted with spears against all comers; the tourney with the broad-sword on horseback occupied two more, and on the concluding day they fought on foot at barriers. The queens and their ladies looked on from their galleries and awarded the prizes; and whether it were owing to their own superior skill and prowess, or to the flattering courtesy of their opponents, the monarchs were invariably the winners. The heralds duly registered the names, arms, and feats of the knights. The French and English nobles, like their sovereigns, vied with each other in the display of magnificence on the Field of the

Cloth of Gold, as the place of meeting was romantically styled; and debts were incurred which the frugality of a whole life proved in many cases unable to clear off.*

Yet, amidst all the gayety and courtesy of the tournament, mutual distrust still prevailed. The number of guards and attendants on both sides was duly counted; when the kings would visit the respective queens, each set forth at the signal of the discharge of a culverin; they passed each other in the middle spot, and when Henry entered the French, Francis entered the English territory. At length Francis, open and generous by nature, grew disgusted with these precautions; mounting his horse, he rode one morning with but three attendants to Guisnes, and entering the chamber where Henry was abed, told him he was his prisoner. Henry rose and embraced him, and Francis, saying he should have no valet but himself, aided him to dress. Next day Henry returned the compliment, yet, still dubious of treachery, he always disguised himself and his attendants on his return from Ardres. On the last day, (June 24,) when Francis was on his return from taking leave of queen Catherine, he met a body of maskers; Henry, who was one of them, discovered himself, and flung a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels, round the neck of Francis, who in return presented him with a costly bracelet. They then embraced, and bade each other farewell.

So ended this memorable but useless interview. Useless, for Henry forthwith visited the emperor at Gravelines, and any impression made by the more generous Francis was quickly effaced by the arts of his young but calculating rival, who made Wolsey more than ever his own by renewed assurances of the papacy, and by immediate possession of the revenues of three Spanish bishoprics. Charles, having conducted his uncle back to Calais, and spent three days with him there, returned to his own dominions.

The following year (1521) an event occurred in England which cast the first stain on the hitherto sufficiently blameless administration of Henry. Thomas duke of Buckingham, son of him who was put to death by Richard III., was one of the wealthiest subjects in England; he was, moreover, of the blood-royal, and held the great office of lord high constable. It is said that he incurred the enmity of Wolsey by complaining of the great expense caused by the interview

* "Many," says Bellay, "carried on their shoulders their mills their forests, and their meadows."

at Guisnes, and by laying the blame on the cardinal. He had certainly excited the king's suspicions and jealousy by his imprudence.

Buckingham, possessed with the usual folly of desiring to pry into futurity, had formed an intimacy with one Hopkins, a Carthusian friar, who pretended to the gift of prophecy; and the lucky guesses of this man on one or two occasions had confirmed the duke in his belief in his skill. Hopkins at times darkly intimated that Henry would leave no issue, and that great things were portended for Buckingham's son. What the effect of these hints may have been on the mind of the duke cannot be said positively, but he augmented his household, and sir William Bulmer, among others, quitted the king's to enter his service. For this offence Bulmer was brought before the star-chamber just before the king went to France, and Henry on pardoning him used very enigmatic language respecting Buckingham. Some time after, the duke discharged a relation of his own named Knevett, whom he had made his steward; and this man out of revenge went to Wolsey and revealed all he knew, with additions, as usual, of the projects of Buckingham. The duke was summoned (1521) to court, from his seat in Gloucestershire. On his way he observed that he was closely followed by three knights; at Windsor he met with insult; at York-place the cardinal refused to see him; and as he proceeded down the river in his barge to Greenwich, he was arrested and conveyed to the Tower. He was soon after arraigned for high treason before the duke of Norfolk, lord high steward, and a jury of twenty-one peers. Knevett, Hopkins, and his confessor and chancellor, were examined as witnesses against him. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; all the charges made against him did not amount to an overt act of treason, yet he was found guilty. The duke of Norfolk with tears pronounced his sentence; he replied with dignity, declaring his forgiveness of them and his resolution not to sue for mercy. He suffered on Tower-hill, (May 17,) amidst the lamentations of the people, who vented their rage on Wolsey, the supposed author of his death, by crying out "The butcher's son!"

Meanwhile the war had been renewed between Charles and Francis. Both parties, however, accepted the mediation of the king of England, and Wolsey being appointed arbitrator repaired to Calais to try to effect a peace. His commission, however, ended, as perhaps it was intended to do, in a league between the pope, the emperor, and the king of

England, against France. The princess Mary was engaged to the emperor, and the allies were simultaneously to invade France the following spring. The vacancy of the papal throne, by the sudden death of Leo, (Dec. 1,) raised Wolsey's hopes to their height; his own sovereign favored his aspirations; the emperor was bound to him by promises and obligations; he possessed in abundance that which was omnipotent at Rome — money; yet the duplicity of the emperor, the jealousy of the French cardinals, or the arts of the cardinal Julio de' Medici, foiled his projects, and the choice of the sacred college fell upon Adrian of Utrecht, the emperor's tutor. As, however, the new pontiff was advanced in years, Wolsey readily listened to the excuses and the renewed promises of Charles, who on his way back to Spain landed at Dover, (May 25, 1522,) and passed five weeks at the English court.

As the invasion of France had been arranged at this interview, the earl of Surrey passed over in the autumn to Calais with twelve thousand men of paid troops and four thousand volunteers, and being joined by one thousand German and Spanish horse, made an inroad into the French territory, (Aug. 31.) He wasted and plundered the country as far as Amiens; but as the French would as usual give no opportunity of fighting, and a dysentery broke out among his troops, he was obliged to lead them back to Calais, (Oct. 16.) The Scottish regent meantime, at the impulse of Francis, as the truce was expired, assembled an army of eighty thousand men for the invasion of England; but, deceived and terrified by the vaunts of lord Dacre, warden of the west marches, who menaced him with an army which actually did not exist, he disbanded his forces, glad to obtain a month's respite from war. The following year (1523) Surrey entered Scotland and burned the town of Jedburgh; the regent assembled a force of sixty thousand men on the Burrow-moor, and soon after formed the siege of Wark, (Nov. 1.) Surrey, whose forces had been increased from nine to fifty thousand, advanced to give him battle, but the Scottish army decamped at midnight and re-crossed the borders. Albany soon after left Scotland, never to return; the scandalous familiarity of queen Margaret with the son of lord Evandale alienated her friends; her husband, the earl of Angus, assumed the regency under the protection of Henry, and for eighteen years tranquillity prevailed on the borders.

Again was Wolsey doomed to meet with disappointmen

in his suit for the papacy. On the death of Adrian (1523) Henry called on Charles to perform his engagements to the cardinal; the English minister at Rome was directed to spare neither money nor promises; some members of the sacred college were gained, but the same causes operated against him as before, and by one of the manœuvres familiar to the conclave the election fell on Julio de' Medici, the nephew of Leo X., who took the name of Clement VII. Weissey was at length fully convinced of the insincerity of the emperor, for the papal throne was now occupied by a man much younger than himself. Dismissing, therefore, all his dreams of ambition, he began to think of the true interests of England; secret negotiations were entered into with the king of France, and when the defeat at Pavia (1525) had placed that monarch a captive in the hands of the emperor, Henry hastened to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive between the crowns of France and England. The following year the match between the emperor and the princess of Wales was broken off, and a marriage between her and Francis himself, or his son the duke of Orleans, was proposed. His domestic affairs, however, now began to occupy the attention of Henry, and as they were productive of most important results, we must devote ourselves for some time to them exclusively.

The character of Henry will now undergo an apparent change; the festive, jovial monarch will gradually display the lineaments of the barbarous, capricious tyrant, and deeds will be perpetrated deserving of the severest censure of the historian, and the reprobation of all good men.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED.)

1527—1535.

EUROPE had now for centuries bowed beneath the system of polytheistic idolatry taught by the papal hierarchy. The time was at length arrived when reason was to resume her rights, and forms of religion more in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel were to be established. The Reforma-

tion marks one of the most important æras in the history of mankind: as it speedily extended to England, and there produced its best fruits, we will here give a sketch of its commencement, and a slight account of the early life of the man who was the great agent in emancipating the human mind.

Among the mighty plans of pope Julius II. was one for erecting at Rome a magnificent temple in honor of the apostle from whom the popes pretend to derive their authority. When Leo X., of the tasteful family of the Medici, ascended the papal throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, his ambition excited him to continue and complete this noble edifice. But his generosity and extravagance had nearly drained the papal treasury, and, being perfectly ignorant of and careless about religion, he without any scruple had recourse to the old practice of selling indulgences. The archbishop of Mentz was the person selected for managing the holy traffic in Germany; and this prelate chose as his principal agent a Dominican friar named Tetzel, who filled the office of inquisitor, a man of scandalous life, ignorant, and matchlessly impudent. Tetzel, who had been already similarly employed, selected suitable assistants from among the brethren of his own order; and soon, from press and pulpit, streamed forth currents of declamation on the pains of purgatory and the sovereign power of indulgences, for the remission of sins, past, present, and to come, however deep might be their dye. The simple, good-hearted Germans gladly purchased the remission of their own sins, and those of their deceased kindred now languishing in purgatory. The per-centage allowed to Tetzel and his brethren was therefore considerable, and the tavern and the brothel we are assured shared largely in their gains. His ill-fortune at length led Tetzel to the neighborhood of the newly founded university of Wittemberg, in Saxony; and here Providence had prepared an overthrow not merely for indulgences, but for the whole system on which the papacy had been erected.

The professor of theology at this time at Wittemberg was Dr. Martin Luther. This extraordinary man was born at Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld, in the year 1483. His father, who was engaged in the mines of that country, gave him a good education, intending him for the study of the civil law. He had made some progress in this science when an accident changed the whole current of his thoughts and his future life. As he was walking alone one day in the fields, there came on a dreadful storm of lightning and thun-

der ; in his terror he flung himself on the ground, and made a vow to enter a monastery if he escaped. This vow he kept, notwithstanding the grief and entreaties of his parents, and he became an Augustinian friar in the year 1505. Two years after he found, by chance, in the library of his convent a Latin Bible, and thus to his surprise discovered that there were more Scriptures than those portions contained in the ordinary books of devotion. About this time too, as he was suffering under the distress of conscience incident to pious minds, he was comforted by an aged brother of his order, who showed him, from the Creed and a sermon of St. Bernard, that remission of sins was to be had by faith only. He applied himself diligently to the Scriptures, and to the writings of St. Augustine, and was soon regarded as the most learned man of his order in Germany. He was ordained in 1507, and Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony, by the advice of Staupitz the vicar-general of the Augustine order, made him professor of philosophy at Wittemberg. Three years after, Luther visited Rome on the affairs of his convent, and he returned with no very favorable impressions of the zeal and piety of the Italian clergy. After his return, he applied himself diligently to the study of the Scriptures, and in 1512, having taken his doctor's degree, he expounded the Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans. He held the doctrines of election and of justification by faith only, and he had begun to view the scholastic theology with indifference or contempt, on which account he was even then suspected of heresy.

While Luther was thus engaged in the search after and communication of truth, Tetzel came into his neighborhood. Some of those who made their confessions to Luther acknowledged sins of no common magnitude, for which they boldly demanded absolution. Luther refused, alleging that sincere contrition and heavy penance must precede. They produced the indulgences they had purchased from Tetzel. He bade them beware how they trusted to such things, and still refused them absolution. They complained to Tetzel, who pronounced Luther a heretic, against whom, in virtue of his office of inquisitor, he was bound to proceed. Luther then set himself to examine the authority for this power of granting indulgences, and finding that there was none, he began to preach openly against them.* The warfare between him

* The common story of Luther's opposition to Tetzel having arisen from the disappointed avarice of the Augustinians, and their jealousy

and the papacy thus began, but its progress and its glorious results fall not within the limits of a history of England.

In this country the doctrines of Wickliffe, in spite of the efforts of the clergy, and the terrors of the stake, had secretly spread to a great extent. The books of the Saxon reformer, whose tenets were so nearly akin to his, were speedily translated, and were eagerly purchased. The bishops, however, exerted themselves to suppress the reformed practices and opinions. They acted on the slightest suspicions, and it sufficed to bring a man to the stake that he should have taught his children the Creed, Lord's-prayer and Commandments in the vulgar tongue. To damp the spirit of the reformers still more, the king himself came forward as the literary champion of the church. His course of studies had lain much among the schoolmen; and the writings of that extraordinary genius Thomas Aquinas, named the Angelic Doctor, were his chief favorites. As Luther, in his "Babylonish Captivity," had violently assailed these works, which formed the great armory of the Romish party, the choler of the royal theologian was excited, and he resolved to enter the lists with the Saxon friar. With the aid of his bishops and of the learned sir Thomas More he produced (1521) a "Defence of the Seven Sacraments," respectable both in matter and style. It was dedicated to the pope, by whom it was received with gratitude, and the title of Defender of the Faith was bestowed on its royal author. Luther, however, treated it with little respect; and as Henry, after the usage of the time, had given him hard names, he repaid the compliment in kind and with interest. He afterwards, however, wrote an ample apology; but, with uncourtierlike simplicity, excused himself on the ground of his having been assured, that the work was not the king's own, but that it was the production of the cardinal of York, "that object of hatred to both God and man—that pest of the English realm." It may easily be supposed that an apology like this tended little to mollify the sceptred controversialist, of whose zealous coöperation the pope and clergy now felt quite assured. Yet a deadly enmity and a final separation were to take place between the papacy and its champion; the occasion was as follows.

Though Henry VII., in his anxiety to retain the Spanish portion and Spanish alliance, had disregarded the scruples of

at the sale of indulgences being given to the Dominicans, is utterly devoid of foundation. Yet Dr. Lingard cannot refrain from insinuating it.

Warham, and had obtained the papal dispensation, he was not at ease in his mind about the matter; and he obliged the prince, when he attained the age of fourteen years, to make a formal protest against the consummation of the marriage, and, when dying, conjured him to break it off. Catherine, however, had won the affections of young Henry, and of the people, by her amiable temper and her blameless manners, and he espoused her with general approbation. She bore him three sons and two daughters, but they all died in infancy, except the lady Mary, born in 1515. The queen now fell into ill health; her temper, naturally melancholy, became peevish, and though she retained the king's esteem, she lost her hold on his affections. Nature in fact had destined Catherine for the convent rather than the court;* and, though Henry had not been strictly faithful to the marriage-bed,† his attachment to her for so many years is not undeserving of praise.

Henry, who ardently longed for male issue, now gave up all hopes, and he therefore caused his daughter Mary to be proclaimed princess of Wales, (1518.) The early deaths of his offspring, who had but blossomed to die, probably led him to reflect on the nature of his marriage; he consulted the pages of the Angelic Doctor, and there found that the pope has not the power to dispense with the laws of God; among which is to be reckoned, as moral and eternal, that in the law of Moses prohibiting marriage with a brother's widow; and the very curse (that of childlessness) there denounced seemed to have fallen on him. It is not known when these scruples first began to affect him, but according to his own assertion,‡ he ceased in 1524 to cohabit with the queen.

In 1527, when a marriage was agreed on between the princess Mary and the king of France or his son, the bishop of Tarbes, the French ambassador, expressed some doubts as to her legitimacy. The king then mentioned his scruples to his confessor Longland, bishop of Lincoln. It is asserted by many writers, and it is perhaps the truth, that Wolsey, who

* See in Sanders (*De Scism. Anglic* p. 5) the account of her devotional exercises. Few, we fancy, would covet so *very* devout a wife.

† He had a natural son by Mary Blount, whom he created duke of Richmond. That he violated, and then retained as his mistress, Mary the elder sister of Anne Boleyn, rests on the very dubious authority of cardinal Pole, and is very improbable.

‡ He so said to Grineus; as the latter tells Bucer in his letter of September 10, 1531. See Burnet, i. 59. This may have been on account of the queen's infirmities, though Henry said otherwise, for he was not a man of strict veracity.

hated the queen because she rebuked him for his ill life, and ardently longed for revenge on the emperor for his conduct about the papacy, was at the bottom of the whole proceeding; that he first instilled doubts into the king's mind, and then engaged the bishop of Tarbes to raise objections. Whether he were the original author of the scruples or not, the cardinal entered warily into the project of procuring a divorce, and thus avenging himself on the queen and the emperor; at the same time he planned a French connection for his royal master. The person on whom he fixed was Renée, daughter to the late king Louis XII., and he went over himself to France in the summer of this year on that project. But while Wolsey was thus pursuing his schemes of ambition and revenge, a person of whom he little dreamed had acquired an invincible power over the heart of the king.

When the young widow of Louis XII. returned home from France, the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn remained behind. She was taken into the service of the queen of Francis I., and on her death in 1524 she passed to that of the duchess of Alençon, the king's sister, a favorer of the new religious opinions. She returned, however, to England in the beginning of the year 1527,* and became one of the maids of honor to the queen. Anne Boleyn, now in her twentieth year, was beautiful in person, accomplished in manners, sensible, witty, and animated in conversation. She soon became the object of general admiration, and lord Henry Percy, the heir of Northumberland, who was then in the family of the cardinal, paid his addresses to her. His suit was favorably received; but the king had also felt the charms of the fair maid of honor, and the cardinal was directed to prevent the match. He accordingly reminded Percy of the inferiority of Anne's family; but the lover, looking to her mother's side alone,† asserted that her lineage was equal to his own, and refused to give her up. The cardinal grew angry, and said he would send for his father out of the north, who would soon make him break it off; and when the old earl arrived, he used such arguments as convinced his son of the inutility of opposition, and he obliged him to espouse the lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. Anne was removed for some time from court,‡ but her exile was not of

* "There is not," says Turner, "the least evidence that she came to it earlier."

† Her mother was sister to the duke of Norfolk.

‡ "Whereat she smoked, (fumed,) for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose." (Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 67.)

long continuance, and very soon after the king revealed his passion to her. She fell on her knees, and said that he must be speaking only in jest and to prove her, and she concluded with these words: "Most noble king, I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." Henry replied that he would still hope. "I understand not, most mighty king," said Anne, "how you should retain any such hope; your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already, and your strumpet I will not be."* Erelong, however, she yielded so far, that she agreed to accept Henry's hand in case of his obtaining a divorce. Such conduct was indelicate, according to our present notions; her own times do not seem to have regarded it in that light.

Henry was now resolved on obtaining a divorce from the court of Rome. This he judged would be a matter of little difficulty, as divorces had been granted in much less dubious cases; and, moreover, the pope had a good excuse, the bull of Julius II. having been obtained under false pretences. By orders from the king, archbishop Warham assembled the bishops, and they all, except Fisher of Rochester, signed an instrument, expressing their doubts of the validity of the king's marriage. Dr. Knight, one of the royal secretaries, was then despatched to Rome, (July, 1527.) But the pontiff, Clement VII., was at this time shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, a captive to the troops of the emperor, who had lately taken and sacked the city of Rome. Knight found great difficulty in communicating with him, and Clement, a timid, vacillating man, trembled at the idea of offending the emperor. Henry meantime exerted himself for the pontiff's release; and when Clement at length made his escape to Orvieto, Knight had a personal interview with him, in which he was profuse in terms of gratitude to Henry, but implored for delay lest he should be ruined by the incensed emperor. He gave it, however, as his private opinion, to Cassali, one of the English agents, that the best course for Henry would be to marry another wife, and then to sue for a divorce. The king, however, and his advisers saw too much difficulty in this course, and it was resolved to send Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, to Italy. On their way (1528) they obtained, as directed, a promise from

* Turner, from the Sloane MS. No. 2495.

the king of France to use his influence with the pope. They found Clement still at Orvieto, (March 22) he shuffled, as usual, but on hearing that the French arms had had some success in Naples, he took courage, and issued a commission to the cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the cause in England. Nothing could be more pleasing to Henry than this, for he reckoned that both would equally stand his friends, as he had given to Campeggio when he was in England (1524) the wealthy see of Salisbury. Campeggio, acting in concert as we may suppose with the pope, made all the difficulty and delay possible, pleading his legatine commission at Rome, and the gout, with which he was afflicted. Wolsey wrote, urging his departure in the strongest terms, and at length Campeggio set out. He travelled, however, leisurely, and did not reach England till October. He was received by Henry with the utmost respect, but his instructions were to procrastinate. He advised the king to live with the queen: he counselled the queen to retire into a nunnery. But Henry wanted to marry Anne Boleyn, and Catherine had too much spirit to surrender her rights.

All hopes of accommodation being at an end, and all his subterfuges being exhausted, Campeggio was obliged to consent to the opening of the legatine court. It sat, (May 31, 1529,) in a hall of the convent of the Black Friars. The royal pair took up their abode in the adjoining palace of Bridewell, to be at hand. After going through the preliminary forms, the legates cited the king and queen to appear on the 18th of June. On that day Henry appeared by his proctors, the queen in person. She protested against the competency of the court as the cause had been evoked to Rome by the pope. This her nephew was exerting himself to effect, and with the delay of a few days she pledged herself to prove that it had been done. The court was then adjourned to the 21st, when both parties appeared in person. On their names being called, the king answered, "Here;" but the queen rose up, and going over knelt down before the king, and said, "she was a poor woman and a stranger in his dominions; she had been his wife for twenty years and more, and had borne him several children, and ever studied to please him; he had found her a true maid, as his own conscience could witness. If she had done any thing amiss she was willing to be put away with shame. Their parents were esteemed very wise princes, and no doubt had good and learned counsellors when the match was agreed on. She would not therefore submit to the court, as her

lawyers durst not speak freely for her; she therefore desired to be excused till she heard from Spain." She then rose and left the court, and would never again appear. The king publicly bore testimony to her virtues, and declared that nothing but the uneasiness of his conscience, and the doubts cast by foreign powers on the legitimacy of his daughter, could have induced him to take a step which thus wounded her feelings. At the desire of Wolsey he further declared that, instead of urging him to this course, as was reported, the cardinal had at first opposed his scruples.

The court sat again on the 25th; the queen, not appearing when summoned, was pronounced contumacious, and the legates proceeded on this and other days to hear the evidence on the king's part. The proofs given of Arthur's consummation of his marriage were such as can leave, we apprehend, little doubt on any reasonable mind; * and the king was in full expectation of a sentence in his favor,† when Campeggio (July 23) suddenly adjourned the court to the 1st of October, alleging that the vacation of the consistory at Rome, of which this court he said was a part, had commenced, and would last till that day. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other peers who were present, were greatly enraged at this artifice, and Suffolk, striking the table, cried, "By the mass, I see that the old saw is true; never was there legate or cardinal that did any good in England." Wolsey rebuked him with firmness for his conduct, and reminded him of the obligation which *he* had once been under to a cardinal. The court then broke up. The king, who was in an adjoining room, took the matter with wonderful patience, expecting a favorable sentence in October; but his hopes were crushed when, on the 4th of August, a messenger arrived with citations for him and the queen to appear in person or by proxy at Rome. The emperor had by this time, by his threats and promises, completely gained over the pontiff, from whose thoughts nothing now was further than any idea of gratifying Henry.

To Wolsey nothing could be more calamitous than the

* A summary of the depositions will be found in Herbert. See also the discourse between Wolsey and the queen's almoner, in the Illustrative Documents in Singer's edition of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. With all our respect for the piety and virtue of Catherine, we find it impossible to credit her assertion to the contrary.

† For Campeggio had brought over and shown him a bull for the divorce, in case the consummation of the former marriage should be proved.

turn things had taken. The queen and her friends looked on him as the source and origin of all the evil; Norfolk, Suffolk, and the other lay lords had long been envious and jealous of him, and they now took occasion to instil doubts and suspicions of him into the mind of the king and Anne Boleyn, with which last he had been on terms of great cordiality. For though, when Henry first informed him of his intentions with respect to her, he threw himself on his knees and earnestly endeavored to turn him from them, when he found him unalterable he entered in appearance cordially into his views. It is, however, likely that Anne was informed by her lover of his efforts to prevent her elevation, and this may have disposed her to join with the cardinal's enemies. It was therefore probably owing to her influence, that when, about the end of September, Wolsey accompanied Cataeggio to Grafton, in Northamptonshire, (where the king then was staying,) on his audience of leave previous to his return to Italy, though he was received with tolerable civility, there was an absence of Henry's former kindness. This was his last interview with the king.

An actor destined to be of great importance now makes his first appearance on the scene. As the king was returning to London he stopped for a few days at Waltham to take the pleasure of the chase. Fox and Gardiner, who were in his train, were there entertained by a gentleman named Cressy. Here they met an old college acquaintance, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a lecturer in theology at Cambridge, and well versed in the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the religious controversies at this time prevalent. At supper the king's case, the common topic of conversation, was introduced. Cranmer said he thought the opinions of universities and eminent divines and canonists should be taken, and the matter be thus decided. Fox and Gardiner were pleased with the idea, and when next day the court returned to Greenwich, and the king began to ask them what was now to be done, Fox mentioned this plan, honestly naming the author, for which Gardiner afterwards reproved him, as they might, he said, have taken the credit of it to themselves. The king was struck with it, and asked if Cranmer was still at Waltham. They said they had left him there. "Marry, then," said he, "I will surely speak to him. Let him be sent for out of hand, I perceive that this man hath the sow by the right ear. If I had but known this device two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness." Cranmer, who

had returned to Cambridge, was brought up to London. The king was greatly pleased with his modesty and his learning; he opened his mind to him, and desired him to put his sentiments on the case in writing, for which purpose he directed the lord Rochfort, Anne Boleyn's father,* to take him home to his house and furnish him with books and every thing else he required.

The fall of Wolsey was now at hand. At the opening of the Michaelmas term he proceeded to the court of chancery with his usual pomp and state. Three days after he was waited on by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with an order to resign the great seal and retire to Esher, in Surrey, where was a house belonging to his see of Winchester. He refused, alleging that he held the seals by patent; a warm altercation ensued; the two dukes, finding him inflexible, rode to Windsor, and next day returned with a letter from the king, at the sight of which Wolsey submitted. The seal was offered to archbishop Warham, but he declined it on account of his advanced age; the king then gave it to sir Thomas More. Wolsey, having caused an inventory to be made of his immense quantity of plate, linen, hangings, furniture, etc., at York Place, (afterwards named Whitehall,) the whole of which the king required him to give up, entered his barge to proceed toward his destination. The river was covered with boats, full of people expecting to see him taken to the Tower, but to their disappointment his barge went up the stream. At Putney he landed, and mounted his mule to go on to Esher. He was not quite clear of the village when he was met by Norris, groom of the stole, bearing him a ring and a kind message from the king. Abject in adversity as he had been insolent and haughty in prosperity,* he threw himself from his mule, took off his cap, and knelt in the mire to receive the communication. He then proceeded in better spirits to his place of exile.

The king now summoned a parliament for the first time for seven years. The house of lords forthwith voted a long and vague charge, in forty-four articles, against the fallen favorite; but when it was sent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, a servant of the cardinal, who had pro-

* He had been created viscount Rochfort in 1525, and he was raised to the dignity of earl of Wiltshire in this or the following year.

† How different from the noble-minded Becket! The times, however, were altered.

cured a seat in parliament for the express purpose, defended his patron with such fidelity and spirit as stopped the bill in that house, and laid the foundation of his own future favor with the king, who knew how to value worth and honesty. Wolsey was also indicted on the statute of provisions for having exercised his legatine authority. Though he had obtained the royal license for that purpose, he did not venture to plead it, and a sentence of *præmunire* was passed on him. The king, however, who, it would appear, only wished to humble him, hearing that he had fallen sick, directed his own physician to attend him; he also sent him another ring, accompanied by kind messages from himself and Anne Boleyn. He further (Feb. 12, 1530) granted him a full pardon; allowed him to retain the see of York, with a pension of 4000 marks a year out of that of Winchester; he made him a present of plate and furniture to the value of 6000*l.*, and gave him permission to remove to Richmond. But his enemies would not allow him to remain so near the court, and he received orders to go and reside in his diocese. He alleged his poverty; money was then sent him, and in Passion-week he set forth for the north in melancholy mood. His train consisted of one hundred and sixty servants, and seventy-two carts laden with provisions and furniture. He stopped till midsummer at Southwell, a house belonging to his see, and then moved to Scroby, another of his houses further north, and finally, about the end of September, fixed himself at Cawood, a village within a few miles of York. At these places he endeared himself to all classes of the people by his affability, his charity, and his strict discharge of his religious duties. The ceremony of his installation in the cathedral was fixed for Monday, the 1st of November, but on the preceding Friday his former servant Henry Percy, now earl of Northumberland, arrived, and arrested him on a charge of high treason. As he was departing, the peasantry assembled, crying, "God save your grace! God save your grace! The foul fiend take them that have thus hurried you from us! We pray God that every vengeance may light upon them!" He staid for a fortnight with the earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Park. Here he was seized with a dysentery; but he resumed his journey and got as far as Leicester, when the abbot of the convent of that place came forth with his monks to receive him. "Father abbot," said the dying cardinal, "I am come to leave my bones among you." He was then conveyed to a chamber, which he never

eft. When he found himself dying, he addressed sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, who had him in charge, praying him to recommend him to the king. "He is," said he, "a prince of a most royal carriage and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do assure you that I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince." Shortly after uttering these words he breathed his last, (Nov. 28.)

On the fall of the cardinal, the duke of Norfolk, Anne's uncle, became the leading person in the cabinet; Gardiner was made secretary, and sir Thomas More chancellor. As the pope and emperor were to meet at Bologna for the coronation of the latter, an embassy headed by Anne's father (lately created earl of Wiltshire) was sent thither to attend to Henry's interests: Cranmer and other divines* accompanied them. Charles, on their introduction to him, said to the earl, "Stop, sir; allow your colleagues to speak; you are a party in the cause." The earl replied with spirit that he was there not as a father but as his prince's minister, and that the emperor's opposition should not prevent his sovereign from demanding and obtaining justice. From the pope, however, no satisfaction could be obtained. Henry finally resolved to put Cranmer's plan into execution, and measures were adopted for collecting the opinions of universities, theologians, and canonists.

The king first applied to his own universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and, not without great difficulty and able management on the part of Fox and Gardiner, obtained from them an opinion that his marriage was unlawful; but they would say nothing respecting the power of the pope to dispense. The truth is, they feared the progress of the new opinions, and wished not to weaken the papal authority. Agents were also employed on the continent to procure the opinions of the universities and of eminent divines and

* "Among whom was Thomas Cranmer, a clergyman attached to the Boleyn family," says Lingard. The object of this first notice of Cranmer is evident.

civilians, and the result was highly favorable to the views of Henry. Not only the French universities (which might be suspected to be under the influence of their king) but those of Italy, even Bologna, which was in the dominions of the pope, included, decided in favor of the divorce; the principal divines and canonists did the same, though Henry's agents, it is said, gave no money but the usual fees to the canon lawyers, while the emperor showered preferments on those who gave sentence against it.* The Jews when consulted declared the prohibition in Leviticus to be universally binding, while the case of exception in Deuteronomy was restricted to Judæa. Zuinglius and the Swiss reformers pronounced the marriage unlawful: the German reformers in general took the most rational and moderate view of the case; they said that the marriage should not have taken place originally, but that since it had been contracted it should not now be dissolved. It may, therefore, be said that the general opinion of Europe was, that marriage with a brother's widow was against the law of God.

The whole question in effect comes to this: Was the law in Leviticus of universal obligation, or merely peculiar to the Hebrew nation; was the exception in Deuteronomy coëxtensive with the former prohibition; had the pope the power of dispensing with the divine law? At the present day the answer would be simple: it is now generally agreed that both the prohibition and the exception were for the Israelites alone, though the former has very properly been adopted in the codes of Christian nations; we should therefore say with the German reformers, that a man in Henry's case would not be justified in putting away his wife. But in Henry's time men had not generally arrived at this rational mode of viewing the Mosaic law. The prevalent opinion undoubtedly was, that such a marriage was incestuous, and should be dissolved. At all events, had Catherine not been aunt to the emperor, the holy father, who had always been so ready to oblige his royal children in these matters, would have granted Henry a divorce without hesitation.†

A memorial, signed by Warham and Wolsey, and by four

* The natural, we might say inevitable, supposition is, that bribery was employed on both sides; but the emperor and pope had certainly the means of giving much higher rewards than Henry.

† Only a few years before, Louis XII. of France had been divorced in order to enable him to marry Anne of Bretagne. In our own day we have seen a similar favor conferred on Napoleon.

bishops, twenty-two abbots, and several of the temporal nobility, was now transmitted to Rome, praying his holiness to attend to the opinions of so many eminent men, and to decide the question; but hinting that if he did not, it would be decided in England without him. Clement was in the utmost perplexity; he feared lest England might follow the example of the north of Germany, and cast off her allegiance to the holy see; at the same time he stood in awe of the emperor, who steadfastly maintained the cause of his aunt, and would only consent to Henry's espousing Anne by what is termed a left-handed marriage, thus reserving all their rights to Catherine and her daughter. But Henry spurned at this when it was hinted to him; he would be regularly divorced, and would have no compromise.

Thomas Cromwell, who had so honorably distinguished himself by fidelity to his patron Wolsey in his fall, was now in the service of the king. He was of humble origin, being the son of a fuller or a blacksmith at Putney. He served as a private soldier in Italy, and was then for some time in a mercantile house at Venice. On his return to England he commenced the study of the law, and Wolsey, who knew so well how to appreciate talent, having had occasion to notice his abilities, took him into his service. In a conversation one day with Reginald Pole, Cromwell spoke slightly of the notions of vice and virtue held by men who dwelt in academic shades away from the world, and said that the business of the man who would rise was to divine if possible the real thoughts and wishes of his prince, and gratify them in such a manner as to save all appearances. He also praised Machiavel, and offered to lend him that writer's Prince. Pole, who was really an upright, virtuous man, and who cordially detested the principles that work appeared to inculcate, and which he inferred were those on which Cromwell acted, instantly conceived the worst opinion possible of him; and that opinion has been of course propagated by all the writers of his communion, while Protestants are, perhaps, too anxious to justify the conduct of so important an agent in the Reformation. Cromwell was in fact an ambitious man, and little scrupulous about means, provided he could gratify the wishes of his royal master.

Cromwell, who had been appointed by Wolsey to manage the revenues of the monasteries which that prelate had dissolved with the papal approbation, had imbibed no very high notions of the rights and authority of the holy see. He now boldly advised Henry to take to himself the supremacy over

the church and clergy of England. Henry listened with approbation. As Wolsey had not pleaded the royal permission for exercising his legatine authority, the whole of the clergy were liable to the penalty of a *præmunire* for having submitted to it, and proceedings accordingly were instituted against them. Flagrantly unjust as this proceeding was, they saw no remedy but that of purchasing indemnity; and when the convocation met (1531) they voted the king 100,000*l.*, under the name of a benevolence for his services in writing against Luther and protecting the church. But this peace-offering did not suffice, and after some opposition, they were obliged to acknowledge him as "supreme head of the church of England, as far as the law of Christ allowed." A formal indemnity was then granted to them. The connection between the papacy and the English clergy was thus nearly dissolved; and in the parliament of the following year (1532) a further blow was given to the influence of the court of Rome, by a bill reducing the first fruits to be paid by bishops to five per cent. on the net income of the see, and adding that, if the bull of consecration was withheld on account of them, the bishop-elect should be consecrated by a mandate from the crown, and all interdicts and other censures be disregarded. Other measures against the papacy were proposed, but the appearance of the plague caused a prorogation. At this time sir Thomas More, who was sincerely devoted to the church, seeing whither the king and parliament were tending, desired, and with some difficulty obtained, permission to resign the great seal. It was then given to sir Thomas Audeley.

But while the clergy were thus made to infringe on the claims of the head of the church, they were left full power to persecute those who rejected the real presence and derived their religion from the Scriptures. At this time Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, was burnt as a heretic at Norwich; and Richard Bayfield, a Benedictine monk, James Bainham, of the Middle Temple, and a tradesman named Tewksbury, underwent the same fate in Smith field.

For a person of his temper, and in love with one whose virtue was invincible, Henry had shown marvellous patience. But that patience was now nearly exhausted. Hitherto he had treated Catherine with all due respect as his queen; but when she could not be induced to withdraw her appeal to Rome, it was signified to her, (July 14, 1531,) that she must leave Windsor, where the court then was, and retire to one

of three abodes which were specified. She replied, 'that to whatever place she might remove, nothing could remove her from being the king's lawful wife.' She went from one place to another, and finally fixed at Ampthill in Bedfordshire. The pope wrote to expostulate with Henry for thus putting away his queen; but he received rather a sharp reply. It was then proposed to cite Henry again to Rome. On hearing of this the king sent thither as his *excusator* sir Edward Karne, who was accompanied by one Edmund Bonner, afterwards so notorious. Karne purchased over some of the leading cardinals; but still the pope shuffled and twisted; and at length Karne told him that, as the church of England was an independent church, the matter could be decided without any reference to him whatever. Henry himself had an interview with the king of France, to confirm their friendship and alliance; and on the death of that estimable prelate archbishop Warham, (Aug. 22,) he resolved to confer the see of Canterbury on Cranmer, who had now been for some time in Germany.

Cranmer had by this time embraced most of the reformed doctrines; he had moreover formed a matrimonial union with the niece of Osiander, one of the German divines. He saw the difficulties which environed him, and would most willingly have declined the proffered honor; but he had to deal with one who would not lightly suffer his will to be disputed. He made all the delay he possibly could, and did not reach England till the month of November. He tried to turn Henry from his purpose, by stating that if he received the dignity it must be from the pope, which he neither would nor could do, as the king was the only governor of the church in all causes, temporal or spiritual. Henry, unable to overcome this objection, took the opinion of some eminent civilians on it, and they advised that the prelate elect should, previous to taking the oath to the pope, make a solemn protest that he did not consider himself thereby bound to do any thing contrary to the law of God or his duty as a subject. Cranmer, whose modesty and diffidence always led him to receive with deference the opinions of those learned in their profession, ceased from opposition. The king applied at Rome for the pall and the usual bulls. Clement, aware of Cranmer's principles, hesitated at first, but he finally sent them. The consecration was appointed to take place on the 30th of March in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster. On that day Cranmer went into the chapter-house, and in the presence of five most respectable witnesses made his pro-

test; he then proceeded to the chapel, where the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph's stood ready to perform the ceremony. He there again declared that he would take the oath only as limited by his protest, and on receiving the pall he made this declaration for the third time. Cranmer thus attained the highest dignity in the English church in the forty-fourth year of his age, and within four years of the time when he became first known to the king.

Opinions are divided with regard to the conduct of Cranmer on this occasion; we ourselves highly condemn the principle, and agree with Dr. Lingard that "oaths cease to offer any security if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested."*. But at the same time we are fully convinced that Cranmer was satisfied in conscience of the rectitude of his proceeding, and that Clement must have known in his heart that the new prelate would not and could not take the oath of canonical obedience unreservedly.

Either the virtue of Anne had at length yielded, and its consequences would soon be apparent, or the passion of the king would brook no longer delay. In the autumn of the preceding year he had raised her to the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke; he now resolved to advance her to the throne. Early in the morning of the 25th of January, 1533, he was secretly married to her by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains.

On Easter-eve Anne appeared as queen, and on the 8th of May Cranmer and those appointed to act with him repaired to Dunstable, within six miles of Ampthill, to hold a court for trying the question of the divorce. As Catherine took no notice of the citation she was pronounced contumacious; the former evidence was all gone through again, and on May the 23d the marriage between Henry and Catherine was pronounced to have been null and void from the commencement. On Whit-Sunday (June 1) Anne was crowned by the primate. Neither menaces nor promises could ever induce Catherine to forego what she deemed her right, and she insisted to the last on being treated as queen by all who approached her.

When the news of what had been done reached Rome, the

* In 1526, Francis I., before signing the treaty of Madrid, made a secret protest against it, and the pope felt no hesitation in freeing him from the oath.

conclave were furious; but the wary pontiff would go no farther than to declare Cranmer's sentence null, and Henry's second marriage illegal: a threat of excommunication was added, if he did not replace matters on their former footing. Clement's thoughts were now engrossed by a project for marrying his niece, the famous Catherine de' Medici, to the duke of Orleans, son of the king of France, who was on terms of great amity with Henry, and whom he was loath to offend. At the interview which took place in the following October between the pontiff and the king at Marseilles, when the marriage was celebrated, Francis exerted himself to effect an arrangement between the pontiff and the king of England. Clement seemed inclined to gratify Henry, provided he returned to his obedience; Bonner, however, who was Henry's agent there, when he found that he could get no definite answer from the pope, presented an appeal to a general council, with which he was intrusted. Clement was highly indignant, and rejected it as being unlawful.

On the 13th of September Henry's new queen had been safely delivered of a princess, who was baptized with great pomp by the name of Elizabeth, after her paternal grandmother, the primate and the duchess-dowager of Norfolk and marchioness-dowager of Dorset standing sponsors. Soon after she was declared princess of Wales, as her sister Mary had been, though she was only presumptive heiress to the throne.

It is melancholy to observe how the sanguinary spirit of the church of Rome still continued to prevail in England. On the 4th of July the flames consumed two more victims offered to the popish Moloch. The one was John Frith, one of the Cambridge men whom Wolsey had removed to Oxford, and the intimate friend of Tyndal, who was now engaged in translating and printing the Scriptures at Antwerp. Frith denied both transubstantiation and purgatory; he had put his sentiments on the former subject in writing, and the paper was treacherously conveyed to sir T. More, who attempted to refute it; and this drew forth a masterly reply from Frith, who was now a prisoner in the Tower. He was brought (June 20) before Stokesley bishop of London, who was assisted by Gardiner, (lately raised to the see of Winchester,) and Langland of Lincoln. He maintained his opinions. His judge delivered him over to the secular powers, "most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done on thee, may be so moderate that the rigor thereof be not extreme, nor yet

the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of the soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith; " the plain meaning of which hypocritical and blasphemous cant is, that he was to be roasted to death with all gentleness and moderation. Frith suffered with the greatest constancy in Smithfield; and with him was burnt a tailor's apprentice, named Andrew Hewit, whose natural sense had revolted against the corporal presence in the sacrament.

In the succeeding parliament (1534) rapid progress was made in casting off the yoke of Rome; provisions, bulls, etc., were abolished; no money was to be sent to Rome; monasteries were subjected to the king alone; bishops were to be elected on a *cong   d'  lire* from the crown. A law was passed to regulate the succession to the throne. In this the marriage with Catherine was declared unlawful and void, and that with Anne was confirmed; the crown was to descend to the issue of this marriage, and any person who did any thing in derogation of the lawfulness of the king's marriage with queen Anne, or to endanger the succession as thus limited, was to suffer death as a traitor.

An oath was enjoined to be taken by all persons to maintain this order of succession, under penalty of the consequences of misprision of treason. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir T. More were the only persons of note who refused to take this oath; but they only objected to the preamble, asserting the nullity of the king's former marriage and offered to swear without reservation to the succession as proposed. They were both committed to the Tower.

Fisher had already been punished for the countenance he had given to a notorious imposture. There was a woman at Aldington in Kent, named Elizabeth Barton, who was subject to hysterical fits, in which she used to utter much incoherent rhapsody. The priest of the parish, one Masters, thought that these ravings might be turned to a profitable account. He affected to regard them as inspirations of the Holy Spirit, and going to primate Warham, who was at that time living, reported the case, and received directions from the pious but credulous prelate to watch her future trances and give him an account of them. Masters gradually induced the poor woman to counterfeit these trances, and to utter in them what he should direct her. His great object was to make an image of the Virgin which stood in a chapel of his parish an object of pilgrimage, and consequently of emolument to himself, Elizabeth, therefore, was instructed to say that the Virgin had

appeared to her, and declared, that if she went to the chapel of Court-at-Street she would be cured. The news was spread, and on the appointed day more than two thousand persons assembled to witness the miracle, which took place in due form, and they went away satisfied of the sanctity of the image. Elizabeth was now removed to Canterbury, where she took the veil, and Dr. Bocking, a monk of Christ-Church and a confederate of Masters', became her ghostly director.

Others were now taken into the confederacy; the visions and revelations of the seer became more numerous, and one Deering made a book of them, which the primate put into the hands of the king, who showed it to sir Thomas More, by whom they were pronounced to be silly stuff. No further notice was taken of her till the question of the divorce and separation from Rome came to be warmly agitated. She was then put forward again; a monk wrote a letter in gold characters, which she was to pretend had been given her by Mary Magdalen, and she was also taught to assert that when the king was at Calais in 1532 she was invisibly present as he was hearing mass, and an angel had brought her the holy wafer from the priest. These fictions were merely intended to gain her credit with the people, and then the visions of real importance were to be produced. An angel now came to her, desiring her to go to the infidel king, and order him to do three things: to leave his rights to the pope, to destroy the folk of the new opinion, to keep his lawful wife. She also declared that if the king married Anne Boleyn he would not retain the throne more than a month, and would die a villain's death. Two agents of the pope now countenanced her, and bishop Fisher was so weak as to become one of her secret advisers. More, too, had an interview with her, in which he asked her to pray for him, and he expressed his belief that heaven was working "some good and great things by her." Queen Catherine's chaplain Abel also communicated with the seer. It would also seem that the Observant Friars, whom Henry VII. had greatly favored, were engaged in the conspiracy. It was in their chapel at Sion House that More saw her; and when in the summer of this year Henry was at Greenwich, father Peto of their order preaching before him, likened him and the queen to Ahab and Jezebel, and bade him beware lest the dogs should lick his blood. Henry bore this insolence with patience, and only directed that Dr. Curwin should preach the following Sunday in reply. In his sermon Curwin called Peto abundance of foul names, when another friar named Elstow, who was sitting in the rood

oft,* burst out into a torrent of invective, and was only silenced by the voice of the king. The next day the two friars were summoned before the council and reprimanded. Cromwell told them they deserved to be tied in a sack and flung into the Thames. "Threaten such things," said Elstow, "to rich and dainty folk which are clothed in purple, fare delicately, and have their chief hope in the present world; we esteem them not when for the discharge of our duty we are driven hence. Thank God, we know the way to heaven to be as near by water as by land; nor care we therefore by which of these two roads we travel thither." Who can question the sincerity of these men?

It was deemed advisable to arrest the Holy Maid of Kent and her accomplices. By the efforts of Cranmer, Cromwell, and a zealous divine named Hugh Latimer, their arts were traced out, and when brought before the star-chamber they made a voluntary confession. They were transmitted to Canterbury, and there during sermon-time exposed on a stage in the churchyard and rebuked by the preacher. They underwent a similar exposure at St. Paul's cross in London, and were made to read out a confession of their imposture. They were then sent to the Tower, and as it was found that the popish party was tampering with the nun to get her to deny all she had said, they were attainted of treason. The nun, Masters, Bocking, and three others were executed at Tyburn, (April 21, 1534.) She owned her guilt, but justly said that her accomplices, who were learned men, were more to blame than she, "a poor wench without learning." As the Observants persisted in assailing the king's divorce, their order was suppressed in the course of the year.

The king's supremacy was now generally acknowledged, and the rupture with Rome may be regarded as complete. But the regular clergy were highly dissatisfied with the change. The first symptoms of resistance appeared at the Charterhouse in London, the inmates of which, persuaded that the admission of the papal supremacy was necessary for salvation, had sought to instil this belief into the minds of their penitents. These monks prepared themselves for martyrdom in what they believed to be the cause of truth; the priors of two other houses came and joined them; the system of resistance to the government was gradually organized, and if not checked in time might spread over the whole kingdom. The three

* The place where the rood or cross was placed: it is now the organ-loft.

priors and three others were therefore arrested and tried for high treason; the jury hesitated to find such holy men guilty, but Cromwell forced them by menaces to give the verdict he desired. They were executed at Tyburn, (May 4, 1535.) Three more Carthusians at London and two at York suffered the same fate shortly after. About the same time, fourteen Dutch reformers, who had taken refuge in England, were burnt as anabaptists.

More illustrious victims were now to bleed. Fisher and More had lain for upwards of a twelvemonth in the Tower. The former, a man far advanced in life, would perhaps have been suffered to end his days in prison, were it not that Paul III., the successor of Clement, thought fit to subject him to the suspicions of the government by raising him to the dignity of cardinal, (May 21.) Fisher, now on the verge of eternity, made light of the honor. "If the red hat," said he, "were lying at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up." The king, on the other hand, is said to have declared that "the pope might send him a cardinal's hat, but that he should have no head to wear it." He was arraigned (June 17) before the chancellor, the judges, and some of the peers, on a charge of having denied the king's supremacy, and was sentenced to die as a traitor. On the morning of his execution (June 22) he had himself dressed with great care. "My lord," said his servant, "surely you forget that after the short space of some two hours you must strip off these things and never wear them more." "What of that," replied he; "dost thou not mark that this is my wedding-day?" On account of his infirmities he was carried on a chair to the place of execution. He held in his hand a New Testament, which he opened at a venture and lighted on this passage: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I have glorified thee on earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." He closed the book, saying, "Here is learning enough for me to my life's end." He mounted the scaffold without aid, briefly addressed the spectators, telling them he came to die for the faith of Christ's holy catholic church, then meekly laid his head on the block, and it was severed from his body at a single blow; and thus perished this venerable, upright, and pious prelate, a martyr to the rights of conscience.

It had probably been hoped that this severity toward Fisher would have the effect of intimidating More, whose acquiescence in the new order of things it was thought of the utmost importance to gain. But as no such result followed,

he also was arraigned (July 1) for imagining to deprive the king of his title and dignity. His refusal to answer some insnaring questions which had been previously put to him, was pronounced to be malicious; Rich, the solicitor-general, was base enough to give in evidence such expressions as he had drawn from him in a confidential interview, the truth of which, however, the prisoner denied, and which two persons who were present said they did not hear. He was, notwithstanding, pronounced guilty. When asked what he had to say why judgment should not be given against him, he asserted that the act on which he was indicted was repugnant to the laws of God and his holy church, the supreme government of which no temporal prince might presume to take on himself, it being granted by our Savior himself only to St. Peter and his successors, bishops of the same see. The chancellor observed that, seeing that the bishops, the universities, and best learned men in the realm had agreed to it, it was much marvelled that he alone should oppose it. More replied that, if numbers were to decide, most bishops and good men, both of those who were now alive and those who were glorified saints in heaven, would be found to be on his side. Sentence was then passed on him, and he was re-conducted to the Tower.

At the Tower wharf his favorite daughter Margaret Roper was waiting to meet him. When she beheld him she rushed through the guards, threw her arms about his neck and kissed him. He gave her his blessing and comforted her. She retired, but overcome by filial affection she ran back, took him again by the neck and kissed him several times "most lovingly." She then finally departed with a heavy heart, most of the bystanders shedding tears at this beautiful instance of natural affection.

On the 6th of July his friend sir Thomas Pope came to him early in the morning, with directions from the king and council to prepare himself to die by nine o'clock. "Master Pope," said More, "I have been always much bounden to the king's highness for the benefits and honors that he hath still from time to time most bountifully heaped upon me; and yet more bounden am I to his grace for putting me into this place, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end. And, so help me God, mozt of all, master Pope, am I beholden to his highness that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of all the miseries of this wretched world, and therefore will I not fail earnestly to pray for his grace both here and in the world to come." Pope then

told him that it was the king's wish that he should not make any address at his execution. More requested him to intercede with the king to allow his daughter Margaret Roper to be present at his burial; Pope assured him that the king was content that his wife and his family and friends should be present at it. "O, how much beholden then am I unto his grace," said More, "that unto my poor burial vouchsafest to have so gracious consideration!" Sir Thomas Pope then took leave of him with tears.

More now put on his best apparel, "as one that had been invited to a solemn feast," but at the suggestion of the lieutenant he changed it. On coming to the scaffold, observing it to be weak and shaking, he said in his usual jocose manner, "I pray you, master lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself." He called on the people to pray for him, and to bear witness that he suffered death in and for the faith of the Catholic church. He then knelt down and prayed; when he rose the executioner, as usual, asked his forgiveness. "Pluck up thy spirits, man," said he, "and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving of thy honesty," (honor.) As he knelt at the block he bade the executioner to stay till he had put his beard aside; "for," said he, "it never committed treason." He prayed to himself, and the axe descending terminated his mortal existence in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

None of the many violent acts which Henry committed has brought such obloquy on him as the execution of sir Thomas More. For, exclusively of his having suffered in the cause of the papacy, More was a scholar and a distinguished member of the republic of letters. A general outcry was therefore raised by the friends of literature and the papacy. Erasmus published under a feigned name an interesting narrative of his martyrdom, while Reginald Pole seized with avidity the occasion of pouring forth a torrent of declamation against Henry, whom the historian Giovio compares for this deed to Phalaris. The emperor told sir Thomas Elliot, the English ambassador, that he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions than such a counsellor. The English resident in Spain wrote that the greatest horror was felt there at the fate of the "thrice greatest" More and the holy maid of Kent—a union which does no great credit to More. Posterity have echoed these censures, and the judicial murder of More (as it certainly was) passes for one of the blackest deeds ever perpetrated.

Let us endeavor without prejudice to estimate the character of this eminent man. More was in private life the pattern of every social and domestic virtue; his piety was sincere and void of ostentation; in integrity and firm adherence to the dictates of conscience no man ever exceeded him. He was a good speaker, an elegant writer, and a well-read scholar; his conversation abounded with innocent pleasantries. Such were his merits. On the other hand, his jocularity frequently bordered on buffoonery; * his religion was akin to abject superstition, and he persecuted those who presumed to differ from the church.† In his controversial writings he indulged in the grossest scurrility. His greatest work, the *Utopia*, has we think been well described as giving us "the impression of having proceeded from a very ingenious rather than a profound mind," and such in fact his mind was. Perhaps this is evinced by the circumstance that More alone, among the lay scholars of his time, seems to have had a sincere belief in the doctrines of popery. To sum up his character, he was a devout, upright, sincere, amiable, learned, and ingenious man, good rather than great. What the poet says of Wolsey, that "his overthrow heaped happiness upon him," may be applied to More. If he had not died the victim of a tyrant his fame would never have attained its present eminence.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED.)

1535—1538.

WHEN intelligence of the deaths of More and Fisher reached Rome, the indignation of the pope and cardinals was boundless; and on the 30th of August, a "terrible thun-

* "I cannot tell," says Halle, "whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly he, beside his learning, had a great wit; but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken of, except he had ministered some mock in the communication."

† See Appendix (T.)

dering bull," as it is termed by Father Paul, was prepared. By this, if Henry did not retrace his steps, he and all his abettors were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days, under pain of excommunication; he was to be dethroned, his subjects released from their allegiance, his kingdom placed under interdict; the issue of Anne was declared illegitimate; all commerce with foreign states was forbidden, and all treaties with them annulled; the clergy were ordered to depart the kingdom, the nobility to take arms against their king! Such is the spirit of popery; it fosters rebellion, it commands bloodshed and carnage, sooner than yield even one of its impious pretensions. Henry took due precautions to prevent the bull from getting into his dominions; he drew more closely the bonds of alliance with France, and he entered into relations with the German Protestants,* whose leading divines he invited over to England. The vacant dioceses of Salisbury, Worcester, St. Asaph's, Hereford, and Rochester were respectively conferred on Shaxton, Latimer, Barlow, Fox the almoner, and Hilsey, superior of the Black Friars in London,—all professors of the new opinions.

The monks and friars, who saw their own ruin in the new state of things, were strongly opposed to the separation from Rome, and both secretly and openly excited the people against the changes. The suppression of at least a large number of their convents,—a measure of which Wolsey, with the pope's permission, had already given the example,—was resolved on. The king, as head of the church, appointed Cromwell his vicar-general for the visitation of the religious corporations, with power to nominate his deputies; and in October the visitors, armed with most ample inquisitorial powers, set out on their mission. They found, as was to be expected, feuds, and factions, and disorders of every kind, and in many the grossest immorality, lewdness, and debauchery, while pious frauds and false relics beguiled the credulity of the people. At the same time many, especially the larger abbeys, were quite free from all gross irregularities. Some, terrified by a consciousness of guilt, made a voluntary surrender of their revenues; that of Langden, whose superior the visitor had, we are told, caught in bed with a young woman, setting the example. In all the convents of both sexes the inmates under the age of four-and-twenty were set at liberty, if they desired it, of which permission many victims

* They were so named from having "protested" against the decree of the Diet at Spire, in 1529, forbidding innovation in religion.

of avarice and family pride took advantage; for here, as wherever monachism prevails, the younger children of a family were compelled to take the vows, in order that the fortune of the eldest son might not be diminished. The report of the visitors was soon after published, and the crimes of the religious exposed, with perhaps some exaggeration; a feeling was thus excited against them, and when parliament met (Feb. 1536) an act was passed for suppressing all monasteries possessing less than 200*l.* a year, and giving their property and estates to the king. The number suppressed was three hundred and seventy-six; their annual income was 32,000*l.*, and their property was valued at 100,000*l.* The universities also were visited, and the course of study in them was changed.

On the 8th of January, 1536, queen Catherine breathed her last at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before her death she dictated a letter to the king, styling him "her most dear lord, king, and husband," advising him to attend to his spiritual concerns, assuring him of her forgiveness, commending their daughter to his care, and making a few trifling requests. She thus concluded: "Lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes have desired you above all things." Henry was moved even to tears with this last proof of the affection of one whom he once had loved, and whom he had never ceased to esteem. He gave orders that her funeral should be suited to her birth, but he would not permit her to be buried, as she desired, in a convent of the Observants; the ashes of the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel repose at Peterborough. Her character remains the object of respect to all parties as that of an upright, pious, and virtuous matron, with the single drawback, in the estimation of the unprejudiced, that she persisted to her death in the assertion of a falsehood.

It could not be expected that queen Anne should feel much grief at the death of one whom she must have regarded as a rival, but she might have abstained from an indecent expression of joy at it.* How short-sighted are mortals! She probably deemed her state now secure, yet she was standing on the brink of the precipice over which she was to be ere long precipitated.

On the 29th of January, Anne was delivered of a stillborn

* "Anne Boleyn wore yellow for the mourning of Catherine of Aragon." (Hallé, Sanders.)

nale child, for which misfortune Henry is said to have reproached her brutally. She had in fact lost his capricious affections, which, as in her own case, had been transferred to one of her attendants, Jane, the daughter of sir John Seymour; and as it was a peculiarity in the character of this tyrant to marry instead of trying to seduce the women to whom he took a fancy, he was now on the look-out for a pretext to divorce his queen. Anne, who was aware of his passion for her maid, had reproached him with it on more than one occasion. The king's desire to frame a plausible charge against her was well known at court; the sprightliness of the queen's temper bordered on levity; some little matters which resulted from it were reported to him with exaggeration, and by him greedily received. A commission was issued (April 25) to several noblemen and judges, among whom was her own father, to investigate the affair. On May-day there was a tilting-match at Greenwich before the king and queen, in which her brother lord Rochford, and Norris, groom of the stole, were principal actors. In the midst of it something occurred which disturbed the king; he rose abruptly, quitted the gallery, and set out with a few attendants for Westminster. The queen also rose and retired to her apartments, where she remained in great anxiety. Next day she entered her barge and was proceeding to Westminster; on the river she was met by her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and some other lords of the council, and conducted to the Tower on a charge of adultery and treason. She asserted her innocence in the strongest terms. At the gate of that fatal fortress she fell on her knees and said, "O Lord, help me, as I am guiltless of this whereof I am accused!" When the lords were gone she said to the lieutenant, "Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?" "No, madam," said he, "you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation." "It is too good for me," she replied; "Jesu, have mercy on me!" and she knelt down and wept, and then burst into laughter, the usual effect of hysterics, for such appears to have been the effect of her sudden misfortunes on her frame. Her aunt lady Boleyn, and Mrs. Cousins, with both of whom she was on ill terms, lay in the room with her, with directions to draw her into discourse, and to report all that she said.

Cranmer had been directed by the king to come to Lambeth, but not to approach the court. His constitutional timidity did not prevent him from making an effort for his lovely and unhappy patroness, and on the 6th he wrote a persuasive let-

ter to Henry. On that same day Anne herself wrote to her hard-hearted lord that beautiful letter which is still extant, every line of which breathes the consciousness of innocence and the purity of virtue; but justice or mercy had now no room in the heart of Henry.

At the same time with the queen were arrested her brother lord Rochfort, and Norris, with sir Francis Weston and William Brereton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, who had been made a groom of the chamber for his musical talents. On the 10th an indictment was found by the grand jury at Westminster against the queen and them for high treason, as, by a forced interpretation of the statute 25 Edw. III., the adultery with which they were all charged was made out to be. On the 12th the four commoners were tried before a common jury and found guilty. The three gentlemen affirmed the queen's innocence and their own; Smeaton pleaded guilty, most likely induced so to do by some promise of mercy. When the king heard that Norris refused to confess, he cried, "Hang him up then! hang him up then!"

Three days after (May 15) the queen and her brother were tried in a temporary building within the Tower. Their uncle of Norfolk presided, and nine-and-twenty other peers (among whom, it is to be feared, was their father) sat in judgment. Rochfort was first tried "There was brought against him as a witness," says Wyatt, "his wicked wife, accuser of her own husband to the seeking of his blood." He made a noble defence, but to no purpose, for his destruction was resolved on. The queen had no counsel; she was only attended by her ladies: her countenance was cheerful and serene. When directed to lay aside the insignia of her rank, she complied, saying that she had never misconducted herself toward the king. She readily answered all the charges made against her; those not in the secret anticipated an acquittal, but a majority of the peers, on their honor, pronounced the brother and sister guilty of incestuous adultery, and she was sentenced to be burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. When she heard this sentence, she raised her hands, and cried, "O Father and Creator! O thou who art the way, the truth, and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." She then addressed her judges, and with dignity and calmness solemnly protested her innocence.*

* "The records of her trial and conviction have perished," says Lingard "perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory."

And what was the evidence on which a queen of England was thus sentenced to an ignominious death? Lady Wingfield, who had been in her service, was said when on her death-bed to have made some communications to some one; as if any one when well paid could not swear that any thing was said by a dead person. According to the disgusting language of the indictment, the queen was in every case the seducer. The act of criminality with Norris was placed in October, 1533, that with Brereton in the following December, with Weston in May, 1534, with Smeaton in April, 1535, with her brother in the last November; and although all remained in her service, no proof was offered of any repetitions of the offence. Such evidence would not be attended to in the present days by any honest jury.

On the 17th Rochfort and the others were led to execution. Rochfort exhorted his companions to die with courage: he warned the bystanders not to trust in courts, states, or kings, but in Heaven alone, and he prayed for the king a long and happy life. They all died protesting their innocence, except Smeaton, who was executed last, and may therefore still have had hopes of mercy. He said that he well deserved death; but this might only mean that he had calumniated others. When the queen was told next day what he had said, she indignantly exclaimed, "Has he not then cleared me from the public shame he has done me? Alas, I fear his soul will suffer from his false accusation."

An attempt, the true motive of which we cannot assign, to make the earl of Northumberland acknowledge a pre-contract with the queen, having failed, she was taken to Lambeth, (May 17,) where the unhappy primate had (with anguish of heart we make no doubt) to endure the mortification of pronouncing the marriage of his innocent friend utterly void, in consequence of certain just and legal impediments then confessed by her. What these were we know not, or how she was induced to confess them. She was taken back to the Tower; where Cranmer, who was appointed her confessor, was allowed to visit her. It was thought, even by herself, that she would only be banished, but her tyrant would not be so contented, and the fatal order came. All doubt and fear was now at an end. "I

"Had he read Burnet with any care," observes Hallam, "he would have found that they were seen by that historian."—See this able writer's just strictures on the malignity of Lingard toward Anne Boeyn. (Constit. Hist., i. 43.)

have seen," says Kingston, "many men and also women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow, to my knowledge this lady hath more joy and pleasure in death." She reviewed her past life, and it appearing to her that she had been rather harsh in her treatment of the lady Mary, she made lady Kingston sit in her chair of state, and kneeling before her, with tears expressed her sorrow and remorse, and made her promise that she would thus kneel before the princess and implore her forgiveness. "Mr. Kingston," said she, "I hear say I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore; I thought to be dead and past my pain." He told her "it would be no pain, it was so subtle." She replied, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a *little neck*," and she put her hand about it, laughing heartily.

Next day (May 19) a little before noon she was led to the scaffold, which was erected within the Tower: all strangers were excluded. There were present the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond (the king's natural son,) the chancellor, secretary Cromwell, the lord mayor and aldermen. She addressed her auditory in these words, probably suggested by Cranmer: "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law and by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it; I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the king and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler [nobler] nor more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, gentle, and sovereign lord; and if any person will meddle with my cause I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy upon me! To God I commend my soul." Then calmly removing her hat and collar, she knelt down and said, "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" One stroke terminated her existence. Her remains were thrown into an elm box and interred without ceremony in the chapel.*

Thus was completed this barbarous judicial murder, not to be paralleled in imperial Rome or the despotic East. That no doubts might remain as to his real motives, Henry married Jane Seymour the very next day. The lady Mary was now admitted to favor, on her signing articles acknowl

* See Appendix (U.)

edging the king's supremacy and her own bastardy; but she honorably refused to give up the names of her friends and advisers, nor did the king insist on it. A parliament was summoned, which ratified all the late proceedings, and enacted whatever the king required.

In the convocation, where Cromwell presided as the king's representative, ten articles of faith were agreed on. It was an attempt to take a middle course between the two parties, and was therefore pleasing to neither.

The suppression of the monasteries, which was effected in this summer, caused great discontent among the people. The loss of the alms distributed at them was felt by the poor and idle; the many associations of superstition as well as piety connected with them were harshly broken asunder; the prospect of the decay of these sacred edifices, or their conversion into secular dwellings, was displeasing, and moreover, then, as at all times, the clergy had been the most lenient of landlords. The sight of the ejected brethren, many of them advanced in years, wandering about the country, moved them to pity; and they were assured that this was only the first step toward depriving them of all religion, and subjecting them to an unheard-of tyranny.

These discontents having fermented in their bosoms all through the summer, as soon as the harvest was completed the peasantry of Lincolnshire assembled in arms to the number of twenty thousand. Their leader was Dr. Mackrel, late prior of Barlings, who assumed the title of captain Cobler. They sent to the king a statement of their grievances, which included all the late changes made in the church; and complaining of the admission of low-born persons to the royal councils, (meaning Cranmer and Cromwell,) they prayed the king to assemble his nobility and devise remedies. The answer returned was the appearance of the duke of Suffolk, with a body of troops, preceded by a royal reproof of the presumption of "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm," in attempting to find fault with their prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates, and commanding them to surrender their leaders and one hundred others, and then to go to their homes. By Suffolk's advice, however, a milder proclamation was put forth, and the insurgents finally dispersed.

The cause of this mildness was the breaking out of a far more formidable insurrection in the counties north of the Humber, where the people were more ignorant and

superstitious than in the southern parts. The clergy had secretly instigated them, and the harsh collection of the subsidy granted in the late parliament gave the occasion. The gentry, who shared their feelings, hesitated to risk their lives and fortunes by coming forward openly, but they found an efficient leader in one Robert Aske, a lawyer of some property in Yorkshire. The insurrection was named the Pilgrimage of Grace; priests bearing crosses appeared in the van; their banner displayed on one side the Redeemer, on the other the host and chalice; on the sleeve of every pilgrim were wrought the five wounds of Jesus, with his holy name in the midst of them. Aske first laid siege to Pontefract, in which the archbishop of York and the lord Darcy had taken refuge. The gates were opened, through the influence of the prelate and peer, who secretly wished well to the insurgents, and after a decent show of reluctance took the oath by which the pilgrims were bound. York and Hull surrendered; the castles of Skipton and Scarborough alone resisted.

The earl of Shrewsbury, though without orders, commenced levying troops to oppose the rebels. The royal commands to this effect were obeyed by the marquess of Exeter and other nobles; and at length the duke of Norfolk, as general of the royal forces, advanced to Doncaster. His army, which did not exceed five thousand men, was divided from that of the rebels, of forty thousand, by the river Don, which could only be passed by the bridge in the town, or a ford at a little distance. The rebels, relying on their numbers, resolved to attempt to force the passage of the ford, but there fell so much rain in the night that it became impassable. The duke then sent a herald to Aske, who received him sitting in a chair of state, with the archbishop on one side of him and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that they should send two gentlemen to the king to learn his pleasure. After being detained for some time, the deputies returned with an offer of pardon to all but six who were, and four who were to be, named. These terms were rejected; new negotiations were then opened, but to no effect. The rebels once more prepared to force the ford, and again the rains swelled the stream. Their superstitious minds saw in this a withdrawal from them of the favor of Heaven; they began to despond and to disperse, and the arrival of an act of amnesty caused them to retire to their homes. Aske was invited to court, where he was kindly treated, but lord Darcy, who made some delay when sum-

moned, was on his arrival cast into the Tower, as also was lord Hussey, who was charged with favoring the Lincolnshire rebels.

The people of the north were, however, soon again in arms, (1537,) and eight thousand men, headed by Nicholas Musgrave and Thomas Tilby, gentlemen of Cumberland, attempted to surprise Carlisle. They failed, and in their retreat were met and defeated with great slaughter by the duke of Norfolk. Musgrave escaped; the other leaders were taken and hanged, with seventy inferior persons, on the walls of Carlisle. An attempt on Hull by sir Francis Bigot and a Mr. Halem had a similar success. Aske, who made his escape when he heard of the rising, was taken and hanged at York: several other gentlemen were executed at other places. The venerable lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill, and lord Hussey at Lincoln. Six priors, among whom was Mackrel, were hung for their share in the rebellion. In the month of July a general amnesty was issued. One of the demands of the rebels was complied with, for a court was, by patent, erected at York for the decision of lawsuits in the north.

To the joy of the king and kingdom, queen Jane was delivered (Oct. 12) of a son, who was named Edward; but within a few days that joy was damped by the death of the mother, who died of a puerperal fever. The grief of the king was considerable, but it gave way to his satisfaction at the dangers of a disputed succession being now terminated. To the queen herself it may have been a fortunate event that nature, not the axe of injustice, terminated her mortal life, as a pretext would surely have been found for destroying her, if the despot's eye had been caught by some other object. The young prince was created prince of Wales; his uncle, sir William Seymour, earl of Hertford; sir William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton; sir William Paulet, lord St. John; sir John Russel, lord Russel.

Toward the close of the year a book, entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," compiled by the bishops and revised by the king, was published by the royal authority. It was divided into sections, treating of the Creed, the Sacraments, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory, and contained as much of the reformed opinions as Cranmer and his friends were able to introduce into it. This year was also signalized by the publication, with the royal sanction, of the Bible, translated into English by Tyndale and Coverdale.

The suppression of the remaining monasteries was now finally resolved on. Their wealth made them an object of cupidity to the king and his rapacious courtiers; the reformers viewed them as the strongholds of popery, which they thought could never be eradicated while they were let to remain; the convents of the north had openly aided the late rebellion, and those of the south had secretly furnished the rebels with money. The visitations were renewed; threats and artifices were employed, frequently with success, to obtain surrenders. The religious themselves, in anticipation of the coming storm, had been making preparations to meet it; they embezzled the movable property of their convents to a great extent; they renewed leases of the lands at low rents on receiving large fines. They had therefore often but little reluctance to give up their monastic seclusion; many of them were even glad to escape from the irksome monotony of a conventual life. The crown therefore met with but little opposition. Pensions, varying according to their rank and good conduct, were settled on the monks till they should receive livings in the church of equal dignity and value.* The suppression was effected in the course of two years, and the annual income which thus fell to the crown amounted to more than 130,000*l*.

The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester were executed on charges of having aided the northern rebels; the vices of others were made public, but still the people said these were the crimes of the individuals, not of the order. It was then determined to expose the false relics and the 'lying wonders' to be found in even the most respectable convents. Eleven houses, it was found, possessed a girdle belonging to the Virgin; eight had some of her milk to show; one exhibited some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the ear cut by the sword of St. Peter from the head of Malchus gave fame to one, and the parings of the toe-nails of St. Edmund to another, in which also the penknife and boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury assured pregnant women of a safe delivery. The teeth of St. Apollonia, which cured the toothache, were so multiplied that

* "The pensions to the superiors appear to have varied from 266*l*. to 6*l*. per annum. The priors of cells received generally 13*l*.; a few, whose services merited the distinction, obtained 20*l*. To the other monks were allotted pensions of 6*l*., 4*l*., 2*l*., with a small sum to each at his departure to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about 4*l*. — *Lingard*. He acknowledges that money was of about ten times the value then that it is now.

when collected they filled a tun. At Reading there was the wooden image of an angel, with but one wing, which had flown into England with the spear-head that pierced our Savior's side. The monastery at Hales in Gloucestershire had a vial containing a portion of the Redeemer's blood, to behold which pilgrims flocked from all quarters; but the votary often looked in vain for the beatific vision; his penitence, he was told, was incomplete; he had not purchased enough of masses; more money was paid, and at length perhaps his eyes were blessed with a sight of the divine blood. The secret was found to be that the vial, which contained the blood of a duck, was opake on one side, and was turned about by the priests to suit their purpose. At Boxley in Kent was the crucifix named the Rood of Grace, which moved its head, eyes, lips, etc., all effected by secret cords and wires. These various impostures were exposed at St. Paul's, whither also were brought other idols from various parts of the country, among which came a huge one from Wales, named Darvel Gatheren, to which large offerings used to be made; an old prophecy had said that it should *burn a forest*, and in cruel mockery it was made to form part of the fire that consumed one friar Forest, who denied the supremacy.*

St. Thomas of Canterbury was proceeded against, and condemned as a traitor; his name was struck out of the calendar; his office was expunged from the breviary, and his bones were taken up and burnt; the skull was found with the rest, though the monks used to exhibit it to the pilgrims. His shrine was broken up, and the gold and jewels it contained filled two chests, and required eight men to carry them. There was a festival called the translation of his body celebrated every year, and a jubilee of fifteen days every fiftieth year, which drew a great concourse of pilgrims to Canterbury, one hundred thousand being known to have been there at one time; the offerings therefore were numerous, for the saints, like eastern kings, were not to be approached without a present. On his own ground this "holy blissful martyr" so far eclipsed the Savior and the Virgin, that of the three great altars there, that of Christ received one year only 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, that of the Virgin 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, while the martyr's share was 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* but the next year it was still worse; on Christ's

* We search the pages of Lingard in vain for any allusion to these pious frauds.

altar nothing was offered, on the Virgin's but 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* while St. Thomas's displayed 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* !

While the evils and frauds of the monastic institutions were thus sedulously displayed, care was taken to persuade the nation that the transfer of their revenues to the crown would be productive of inestimable public benefits. There would be an end of pauperism and taxation, as the revenues which the crown would now possess would enable it to maintain fleets and armies, to build fortresses, execute public works, maintain the court, and form institutions for learning and charity, without applying any more to the purses of the subjects. Fortunately for the public liberties these splendid anticipations, as we shall see, were never realized.

With respect to the legal and moral character of the transaction, there are many points to be considered. If the Reformation was to proceed, the monasteries must be destroyed, as they were the strongholds of the dominant superstition. Property no doubt is sacred, of whatever kind it may be, and should not be touched without the most urgent state necessity, to which even the rights of private and much more those of corporate property must give way. In the latter case it is, however, a principle, that the rights of the actual possessors, and of those who have a reasonable certainty of succeeding them, should be regarded; hence it is said that the abolition should have been gradual, that the convents should have been prohibited to receive any more members, and that as the actual members died off the revenues should fall to the crown. But this would have been inconsistent with the success of the great object proposed, as the popish party would thus have retained for many years the means of checking the progress of the Reformation, and the claims of justice were perhaps sufficiently satisfied by giving pensions, as was done, to the members of the suppressed convents. Again, it is said that the monastic lands should have gone to the Representatives of the original donors; but where were they to be found? Who could prove himself, for instance, to be the heir of the baron or knight who, in the reign of Henry I. or II., gave lands to a monastery for the good of his soul? Besides, such a right of reversion is hardly ever contemplated; those who make grants or bequests of this kind part with all rights over them, which thus become subject to the control of the legislature. Lastly, it is said that the entire of these revenues should have been devoted to the support of religion and learning; but a fifth of the lands of the kingdom was

by far too much for this purpose, though we will not say that it might not have been better if tithes had been abolished, and lands to the same amount been retained for the support of the church. Yet many difficulties would probably have attended this plan, and perhaps under all circumstances no plan was preferable to the one which was adopted, that of sharing the lands among the nobility and gentry of the realm.*

This is said to have been a suggestion of Cromwell's, who, aware of the selfishness of human nature, knew that the surest way to make men adverse to Rome was to make it their interest to be so; and this effect was produced. One cannot, however, contemplate without disgust the unprincipled cupidity and rapacity of the vultures of the court, (though they were the founders of some of the noblest and wealthiest families now in the kingdom,) or the reckless prodigality of the monarch himself, who, for example, set a peal of church bells on a cast of the dice; gave, it is said, the revenues of one convent to a woman who made a pudding to please his palate; and those of another to the man who set his chair in a commodious position for him before the fire. Some abbey lands were bestowed on the courtiers, others were sold or exchanged at such low rates as to differ little from gifts; and after all the magnificent prospects that had been held out, parliament was called upon, the very year (1540) after it had vested the monastic property in the king, for a large subsidy, on account of the great expense of reforming the religion of the state — so completely had the voracious courtiers carried off the spoils of the church!

When we view the ruins of Fountains and other magnificent piles, the glory of architecture and pride of our island, it is impossible to suppress a sigh at such Vandalic devastation as was then committed, or to avoid wishing that some more of these stately edifices had been preserved, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to their maintenance. But the very lead which roofed them sufficed to attract the royal cupidity. The abbot's house and offices were left standing for the use of the grantee or purchaser; the church and all the other buildings were stripped and let to go to ruin. The de-

* Latimer and other reformers pleaded in vain for the preservation of some of the convents. Hume justly thinks that many of the nunneries might have been retained as places of honorable retreat for single women. In vain the gentry of the county pleaded for the blameless nunnery of Godstow near Oxford; purity and innocence were no defence against the rapacity of the king and his courtiers.

struction of books too was lamentable : the convent library was always given in with the bargain to him who obtained the house and lands. The books were torn up and used for the basest purposes, or they were sold to the shopkeepers ; whole shiploads of vellum manuscripts were sent over sea for the use of the bookbinders. We are told by a contemporary that one tradesman purchased two libraries for forty shillings, and that the contents had lasted him in his business for ten years, and were likely to last him as much longer. Much loss has thus been sustained by English history, and perhaps by classical literature. But the greatest injustice perpetrated at this time was in the case of the impropriated tithes. The regular clergy had gradually contrived to deprive the secular clergy of their tithes to the amount of two fifths of the whole, appointing vicars with paltry stipends to do the duty. In all justice these should have reverted to their original destination, but they shared the fate of the other monastic revenues, and went, where they still remain, into the possession of laymen. The more, in fact, we view the mode in which this secularization of monastic property was effected, the more we are disgusted with the scandalous rapacity of those who were the principal gainers ; for their subsequent conduct proved that religion was not their motive, as when a popish sovereign mounted the throne they readily returned to the ancient superstition on being secured in their lands. It certainly ill becomes the descendants of these men to look with contempt on the possessors of estates acquired by ability, prudence, and honorable diligence.*

In order to fulfil some part of the magnificent promises which had been made, Henry erected and slenderly endowed five new bishoprics. He completed Christ Church College at Oxford, and King's College at Cambridge, where he also founded Trinity College. A few grammar-schools and hospitals were established, and some money was laid out in public works.

When the intelligence of the suppression of the monasteries reached the Vatican, it excited the most unbounded wrath and indignation. Libels without number appeared at Rome, in which the impiety of the king of England was described as surpassing that of all the tyrants in history, sacred or profane : Julian alone was a parallel, as like him he was learned and a persecutor of the church he had left. Finally,

* It will not, we trust, be deemed invidious, if we contrast Woburn Abbey and Dravton Manor.

the bull which had been prepared three years before, but had only been held over him *in terrorem*, was now issued, and all hopes of an accommodation were thus terminated.

One of the most active agents in the cause of the papacy at this time was a member of the blood-royal of England. Reginald Pole was the fourth son of Margaret countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George duke of Clarence, and therefore first cousin of Henry's mother. Henry had always treated this his young kinsman with the greatest affection; as he designed to enter the church and had a turn for literature, he supplied him with ample means for pursuing his studies at home and at Padua. In the affair of the divorce, Pole's opinion was adverse to the king's wishes, and he had the manliness, in spite of the entreaties of his family to the contrary, to state to him both orally and in writing his reasons against it. This Henry took in good part, and at his request allowed him to return to Padua. He was residing there when Henry was declared to be the supreme head of the English church; the books which Gardiner and Sampson wrote on this occasion were transmitted to him, and Pole, who was now devoted body and soul to the papacy, determined to answer them. Early in the following year he composed his work "*Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*," addressed to his benefactor, assailing him with a virulence of scurrility hardly exceeded by Luther in his worst moods. This work was communicated as he wrote it to two of his Italian friends and to the pope, by whose permission it was read by some other persons. His friends advised him in vain to soften the personalities. All this time, we may observe, Pole was receiving his pension from Henry, and continued making professions of his intentions to serve him. In the May of the next year he sent his book to Henry, by whom it was received just four days after his murder of Anne Boleyn. The king contented himself with directing his prelates to draw up a refutation of the facts which it set forth. A second edition of Gardiner's book "*De Vera Obedientia*" was published, to which Bonner put a preface in which the pope was abused in the most virulent terms. At the same time the king invited Pole to come over to explain some parts of his book: but he was not to be thus caught, and he was therefore deprived of his dignities and pensions.

In the winter Pole went to Rome by the invitation of the pope, who offered him a cardinal's hat; this however, he

declined, and his reasons satisfied the pontiff. But the imperial party had particular reasons for wishing him to be invested with this dignity; the papal orders, which on his own principles he could not disobey, were sent to him, and on the 22d of December, 1537, he with an unwilling heart became a member of the sacred college.

There is something remarkable in Pole's strong repugnancy to accept the highest dignity the pontiff could bestow, and in the efforts of the imperial ministers to have it forced on him. Is it not possible that Pole secretly aspired to the hand of the princess Mary and the throne of England? The princess had been committed to the care of his mother the countess of Salisbury; and Pole's friend and biographer Beccatelli tells us that queen Catherine, on whose conscience the murder of the innocent earl of Warwick to secure the succession to her offspring weighed heavy, had projected with the countess, who was Warwick's sister, that by way of reparation one of her sons should marry the princess and thus obtain the throne. Pole was one of the youngest of these sons, and he was Mary's favorite. The same biographer actually assigns this as a reason why the imperial ministers were so eager to have him made a cardinal. One of the charges made against his relations in 1539 was that of having devised to "maintain, promote, and advance *him*, and to deprive the king." In 1540, Damiano à Goes, writing to Pole, says of him, "Whom, if there be any truth in my auguries, we shall yet see king of England;" and Pole in his reply does not absolutely reject the augury. Finally, when Mary mounted the throne her marriage with Pole was in contemplation, and might have taken place but for his advanced age and infirmities and the acts of the emperor.

Be this, however, as it may, Pole was now a member of the sacred college, and when the intelligence of the risings in England had reached the Vatican, the office of legate beyond the Alps was conferred on him, and he was directed to proceed to Flanders to be at hand to foment the rebellion. On reaching Lyons he heard of its suppression and of his being proclaimed a traitor by Henry, who had set a reward of 50,000 crowns on his head. Though the king of France would not surrender him, he would not admit him to his presence; the queen-regent of the Netherlands acted in a similar manner, and he was obliged to fix his abode at Liège, whence after a stay of three months he returned to Rome; for, though he had opened communications with the disaffected, he found



Henry VIII. and Cardinal Woolsey.



John Chandos at the head of his troops.

that nothing could be accomplished. He now remained for a year in Italy, and at the close of it (Nov. 1538) he was sent as legate to Spain to try to excite the emperor to a crusade against his country. He, however, met with but a cool reception; and he seems to have come to the conclusion that the papacy had in reality more to apprehend from Charles than Henry.

The cardinal, who was out of Henry's reach, might pursue his treasonable course in safety, but he thereby drew the monarch's vengeance on his family. At the time of his mission to Spain his brother lord Montague, Courtenay marquess of Exeter, and sir Edward Neville were committed to the Tower on a charge of treason, (Nov. 3.) On the last day of the year the two peers were arraigned on a charge of devising to maintain and advance one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy, beyond the seas, and to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity. The chief witness against them was sir Geoffrey Pole, who having been arrested on some other charge had attempted suicide, and when he failed in his attempt had in remorse (probably the result of the weakness caused by loss of blood) revealed the treason of his family. They were found guilty and executed, as three days after were Neville, two priests, and a sailor. Sir Geoffrey was tried and convicted with these last, but his life was spared for his services, and he was pardoned in the next reign. About three months later sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, was convicted and executed, as an accomplice of the marquess. Though conviction in this reign is no certain proof of guilt, there seems to be little reason to doubt of the reality of this conspiracy.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY VIII. (CONTINUED.)

1538—1547.

WHILE Henry was thus warring with the papacy on points of authority, he was strenuous in maintaining its most revolting doctrines, and another victim was at this time offered to his real presence. This was a man named Lambert, who

had adopted the view of Zuinglius, that the eucharist was merely commemorative. Hearing one day Dr. Taylor preach on the subject of transubstantiation, he went to him and offered to argue the matter. Taylor, pleading want of leisure, desired him to put his thoughts in writing. Lambert was so incautious as to do so. Taylor showed the paper to Dr. Barnes, who like himself held the reformed opinions, but still believed in the real presence, and Barnes advised him to proceed against Lambert for heresy in the archiepiscopal court. On the trial Lambert appealed to the king, to whom Gardiner suggested that this was a good opportunity for clearing himself from the charge of encouraging heresy. Westminster Hall was prepared, the nobles were summoned from all parts. The king took his seat, the bishops on his right, the temporal peers on his left; the hall was filled with spectators; the prisoner came surrounded by armed men. Bishop Sampson having made a speech, the king put a few questions to the prisoner in a haughty tone. Cranmer, Gardiner, Tunstall, Stokesly, and six other bishops then argued successively with him. He became exhausted; the king demanded whether he would live or die; he said he threw himself wholly on the royal mercy. Henry replied that he had none for heretics. Lambert persisted in his opinion, and Cromwell by the royal order read the sentence of death. He was burnt shortly after (Nov. 20, 1538) in Smithfield. Two Dutch anabaptists suffered also in the same place about this time.

It was, as we may have observed, the practice of Henry to carry all his measures under form of law, and indeed he found parliaments so very compliant that it would have been mere folly and wantonness in him to pursue any other course. The parliament met on the 28th of April, 1539, and its acts perfectly accorded with the royal wishes.

An act of attainder against the marquess of Exeter and those executed with him was easily obtained, but the king wished to extend his vengeance to the whole of the cardinal's family. Cromwell was therefore directed to ask the judges whether a person might not be attainted without trial or confession. They replied that, though such a thing might not be done by the lower courts, a sentence passed by the high court of parliament would be good in law. This was enough; Pole's mother the venerable countess of Salisbury, his nephew the son of lord Montague, the marchioness of Exeter, sir Adrian Fortescue, and sir Thomas Dingley, were all included in a bill of attainder, and as it would seem without any proof.

the two knights were executed, the countess was reprieved, the marchioness was pardoned.

An act was passed confirming the surrender of the monasteries. By another a formal surrender of the national liberties was made, for the legislature gave to the king's proclamations the force of statutes of parliament.

But the great measure of this parliament was that respecting religious doctrines. As soon as it met, a commission was appointed, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, and the bishops of Durham, Bath, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester, to prepare such articles of doctrine as might put an end to religious controversy. But as the two parties were nearly equal in the committee there was no rational chance of their agreement. On the 16th of May, therefore, the duke of Norfolk proposed six questions to the house as necessary to be previously determined. Cranmer and his friends argued them vigorously on the reformed side; the opposite view was supported by Lee, Tunstall, and the Romish party. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th: when it met again, on the 30th, each party was directed in the king's name to prepare a bill against the following Sunday. That of the Romish party received the royal approbation, and the lords were directed to discuss it. Henry himself came down to the house; his presence, and most probably his words, silenced all opposition, and the Act of Six Articles, 'the bloody statute, or whip with six strings,' as it was commonly called, was passed June 10.

These articles were as follows: 1. The natural body of Christ is present in the eucharist under the forms, but without the substance, of bread and wine; 2. Communion in both kinds is not necessary; 3. Priests may not marry; 4. Vows of chastity are to be kept; 5. Private masses should be retained; 6. Auricular confession is expedient and necessary. The penalty of opposing the first was death without mercy, the violation of the others was to be punished as felony. "Such," says Lingard, "were the enactments of this severe and barbarous statute." Latimer and Shaxton immediately resigned their sees, and they were both committed to the Tower. Vast numbers of other clergymen were cast into prison for having spoken against the popish doctrines. But it is extraordinary to remark Henry's steadiness to Cranmer; he assured him of his constant friendship, and at his desire the lords of parliament were entertained by him at Lambeth. The primate, however, bent before the storm, and sent his wife and children to Germany.

Henry was now in the second year of his widowhood, but the whole of this time he had been engaged in matrimonial treaties. The first was with the emperor for his niece the duchess-dowager of Milan, daughter of the king of Denmark; but this was broken off, and Henry turned his views to France. It has generally been observed that in love people affect their opposites; in Henry's eyes it seemed fitting that his wife should be of large dimensions to suit his own corpulence. He fixed his fancy on the duchess-dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise; but she was already contracted to the king of Scots, and Francis, refusing at Henry's solicitation to break off the match, sent her to Scotland. He offered him, however, Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but as Henry heard that the Scottish king had refused her, he would not listen to this proposal. Francis then offered him his choice of the sisters of the queen of Scots, who fully equalled her in size. Henry proposed that they should have a conference at Calais, to which Francis should bring the finest ladies of his court; but the delicacy of the French monarch would not allow him to treat the ladies of France as men, he said, did nags at a fair, where they were trotted out that the purchaser might choose. The negotiations therefore were broken off.

Henry now turned his thoughts to an alliance with one of the protestant princes of Germany, and Cromwell proposed to him Anne, daughter of the duke of Cleves. A picture of her by Hans Holbein having satisfied him of her beauty, he made his proposals, which were accepted, and the princess was sent over to England. She landed on the last day of the year at Dover. On New Year's Day (1540) she reached Rochester, whither the king's impatience had brought him to meet her. Great, however, was his consternation when he beheld her! Tall she was and large, no doubt, but her features were coarse, her manners ungraceful, and she only spoke her native German. As he had viewed her unseen, he had time to compose himself before he was announced. She knelt; he raised her and kissed her cheek, but he could not prevail on himself to deliver the presents he had brought. He retired to consult with his friends, to whom he swore that they had brought him a great Flanders mare. Next morning he rode back in melancholy mood to Greenwich. He here directed Cromwell to devise some mode of breaking off the marriage, but none could be found, and there was danger of offending the protestant princes. "There is no remedy," said the king in a sorrowful tone; "I must put my neck into the

yoke." The marriage ceremony was performed (Jan. 6) by Cranmer, but the bride could make no progress in gaining the affections of her capricious lord.

Within his heart Henry had determined on divorcing his queen, and destroying Cromwell, whom he regarded as the author of his calamity. Yet never, apparently, was Cromwell higher in his favor; he had made him knight of the garter and lord great chamberlain, an office hereditary in the family of Vere earls of Oxford; and on the second day after the meeting of parliament, (April 14,) which Cromwell had opened as usual, he received the earldom of Essex, which had just become extinct, and the estates belonging to it. But his enemies were numerous; the ancient nobility hated him as an upstart; the people regarded him as the cause of the high taxation; the Romish party viewed him with abhorrence on account of the dissolution of the monasteries; the reformers blamed him for suffering the act of Six Articles to pass. It seems too that the party opposed to him and the queen adopted the same tactics as had been employed against Catherine and Wolsey. At a dinner given to the king by Gardiner, one of the company was Catherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk, a young lady small in person, not remarkably handsome, but extremely agreeable in manners. She contrasted favorably with the coarse Anne of Cleves, and her conquest of the royal heart was immediate. The king's hatred of Cromwell was thereby augmented, and by his directions the duke of Norfolk arrested the minister (June 10) at the council-board as a traitor. The iniquitous mode of proceeding by attainder, which he himself had been the instrument of introducing the last year, was adopted. He was charged with encroaching on the royal authority in divers ways, with holding and favoring heretical opinions, and with declaring that he would fight even against the king in defence of them. Cranmer alone proved faithful to the fallen minister; he wrote to the king in his favor, but that availed him nought. The bill was rapidly passed through the lords: in the commons it met with some opposition, but was finally carried.

The great object, the divorce of the queen, was now proceeded with speedily. She was sent to Richmond for the benefit of the air, as it was pretended, and while there she was waited on (June 25) by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and acquainted with the king's intention of divorcing her on account of an alleged precontract with the duke of Lorraine. Apathetic as

she was, she fainted at the intelligence. When she recovered she was prevailed on to consent to refer the matter to the clergy, to relinquish the title of queen, and in lieu to accept that of the king's adopted sister; and she consented to write a letter to him to this effect, and another to her brother, acknowledging the justice of the whole proceeding; and she further engaged to show all the letters she should receive from her family.

In the mean time a very pretty farce was enacted by the legislature. A member of the upper house rose, and having lamented the hard fate of his majesty in being bound to a wife who had been affianced to another, and the dishonor thereby brought on him and the country, moved that he should be petitioned to refer his case to the consideration of the clergy. The motion was agreed to; the commons were equally alive to the interests of the king and nation; the joint address was most graciously received; the case was submitted to the convocation, (July 5;) Gardiner expatiated on the causes which urged the king to seek their interference; a committee, composed of the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, and Worcester, and seven inferior clergymen, was appointed to receive and report on the evidence. The marriage was declared null and void, as the precontract, it was alleged, had not been satisfactorily explained, as the king did not and could not consummate it, as it would be for the public good if he were to marry again, etc., in short, as Henry disliked his wife and wanted to marry another, and as his divines were most obsequious to his wishes. Parliament confirmed this sentence, and made it high treason to question it. The palace of Richmond and 3000*l.* a year, with precedence of all but the queen and the king's children, consoled Anne for the loss of a capricious husband. She had spirit enough to refuse to return to Germany: she died about sixteen years after this time, in the reign of queen Mary.

Henry had never been known to forgive, and Norfolk and the other enemies of Cromwell were now high in his favor. It was therefore in vain that he wrote in such piteous terms, imploring mercy, as even drew tears from the despot's eyes; no mercy was to be found. The warrant for his execution was sent, and on the 28th of July he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Aware of the king's temper, and actuated by affection for his son he acted like Anne Boleyn, and made no assertion of his innocence. He said he was by law condemned to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his prince, who had raised him from

a base degree. He died, he said, in the catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith or of any sacrament of the church; he had not been a supporter of those who held ill opinions; but he had been seduced, and now died in the catholic faith; and he desired those present to pray for the king, the prince, and himself. He then prayed for remission of his sins and admittance into heaven, and giving the sign, his head was cut off in a bungling, barbarous manner.

But two days after the death of Cromwell, the rekindling of the fires of Smithfield taught the reformers their loss of him. The victims were Dr. Barnes, and two clergymen named Jerome and Gerard; their offence was preaching the doctrine of justification by faith only; their persecutor was Gardiner. As they could not be brought within the Six Articles, the convenient mode of attainder was employed, and they were sentenced to be burnt as heretics; at the same time three of the other party, Abel, Powel, and Featherstone, were attainted for denying the supremacy. To prove the king's thorough impartiality, they were drawn on hurdles, one of each party on each, to the place of execution, where the reformers were burnt as heretics, the Romanists were hanged and quartered as traitors.

On the 8th of August, Catherine Howard was introduced at court as queen, and the Romish party now viewed their triumph as complete, for Catherine, according to the lords of the council, had entirely won the king's heart by "a notable appearance of honor, cleanness, and maidenly behavior."

In the following month of April (1541) the people of the northern counties were again in arms against the government; the cause was probably religion: the leader was sir John Neville, but the insurrection was speedily suppressed, and Neville and some others were executed at York. Whether it were that her son the cardinal had instigated it, or that she had herself given some offence, or from the mere wantonness of barbarity, Henry now gave orders for the execution of the countess of Salisbury. The venerable matron of seventy-two years, when placed on the scaffold, (May 27,) refused to lay her head on the block, saying, "So should traitors do, and I am none:" she added that if the executioner would have her head, he must take it by force. When held down she still kept moving it, and he was thus, says Herbert, "constrained to fetch it off slovenly."

When the insurrection in the north was quelled, Henry made a progress thither in person, in order to quiet the minds of the people; he had also in view a personal meeting with

his nephew the king of Scots, in whose realm the Reformation had likewise commenced, and whom he was urging to follow his example in seizing the property of the church. But his queen and the clergy had too much influence over the mind of James, and he sent excuses to his royal uncle, who was now at York. Henry, breathing vengeance, returned to London, where a trial he little anticipated now awaited him.

On Allhallows day, when the king was "receiving his Maker," he gave most humble and hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his queen, and he requested his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, to join with him in prayer and thanksgiving. Next day, after mass, Cranmer put into his hand a written statement of charges against his supposed immaculate consort.

It seems that while the king was in the north, a man named Lascelles had waited on the primate, and told him, that having been down to Sussex to see his sister, who had lived in the service of the old duchess of Norfolk, who had brought the queen up, he had advised her to apply for the situation of one of her women; she replied that she would not, as the queen was "of light living and conditions." She then went on to say that one Francis Derham, who had been also in the duchess's service, had lain with Catherine more than one hundred times; and that another servant, named Mannock, knew a private mark of her body. The archbishop on hearing this was in great perplexity, and he deemed it his wisest course to communicate it to the chancellor Audley and to the earl of Hertford; and after maturely weighing the matter they decided that he should inform the king. Henry was thunderstruck at the information, which he asserted was forged; he, however, summoned the lord privy seal, the lord admiral, sir Antony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, and directed that inquiry should be made.

The lord privy seal examined Lascelles, and when he was found to persist in his statement, the same nobleman went into Sussex, under pretence of hunting, and thus contrived to have an interview with Lascelles' sister, who confirmed the statement of her brother. Wriothesley meantime arrested Mannock and Derham, and they both confessed to the charges, the latter even naming three women who had lain in the same bed with him and Catherine. When this was all laid before the king, his rugged nature gave way, and after a long silence he burst into a copious flood of tears. The primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the lord chamberlain

and the bishop of Winchester, were sent to examine the queen. She at first stoutly denied every thing, but being pressed by the weight of evidence, she made that night a full confession to the primate, and put her subscription to it. She acknowledged her incontinence before marriage, but asserted that she had been faithful to the king. But it appeared that she had taken Derham as well as one of those women into her service, and that during the late progress a gentleman named Culpepper (related to her on the mother's side) had been secretly introduced into her chamber at Lincoln by lady Rochfort, where he remained from eleven at night till three in the morning.

Culpepper and Derham both pleaded guilty when they were arraigned; the former was beheaded, (Nov. 30,) the latter hanged, (Dec. 10.) The old duchess of Norfolk, lord William Howard the queen's uncle, his wife, and several other persons were charged with misprision of treason for not revealing her guilt, and were sentenced to imprisonment for life. When the parliament met, (Jan. 1542,) bills of attainder against the queen, lady Rochfort, and all the above-named persons were rapidly passed. On the 13th of February the queen and lady Rochfort were beheaded within the Tower. They expressed great contrition for their sins, but the queen persisted in affirming that she had never been faithless to the royal bed. Neither was much pitied. It was well remembered that lady Rochfort had been a principal agent in the murder of her husband, and his sister Anne Boleyn.*

In the act of attainder of Catherine it was enacted, that any woman who was about to be married to the king should, if she was not a maid, inform him of the fact, under penalty of treason; any other person who knew of this fact, and did not disclose it, should be held guilty of misprision of treason;

* The misrepresentations of Lingard in this and the three succeeding reigns are so numerous that it is impossible for us to notice them, yet we cannot let him pass here. He first of all says, without even the authority of Sanders, that "a plot was woven by the industry of the reformers which brought the young queen to the scaffold;" and finally, he says of her and lady Rochfort, "I fear that both were sacrificed to the manes of Anne Boleyn." "*I fear*, that is," says Hallam, "*I wish to insinuate*." Then again, Derham is styled a "*gentleman in the service of her grandmother*," but Norris and Weston were only *men-servants* when Anne Boleyn was to be injured by insinuation. This is almost beneath contempt. [Notwithstanding the bitter remarks of Mr. Keightley and of Mr. Hallam, there is too much reason to suppose that the supposition of Lingard is correct, and that the whole was in truth, a *plot of the reformers*. — J. T. S.]

if the queen or the prince's wife induced any one to commit adultery with her, they should be all punished as traitors. It was jestingly said that the king need not now expect any reputed maid to marry him.

In the convocation this year great complaints were made, by the Romish party, of the inaccuracy of Tyndal's and other translations of the Bible, and a new version was projected, in which Gardiner artfully proposed to retain about one hundred Latin words, the true meaning and force of which he said the English language was unable to express. As the people could not now be debarred the use of the Scriptures, it was reckoned that by means of a piebald version of this kind they might still be kept in the dark on many important points. Cranmer, however, saw through the artifice, and the project fell to the ground.

Many years had elapsed since the English nation had been engaged in foreign war, but hostilities were now to commence with both Scotland and France. In consequence of the insult offered him, as he conceived, by his nephew of Scotland, Henry ordered the duke of Norfolk to raise an army and invade that kingdom. The duke crossed the Tweed with twenty thousand men, and advanced along it to Kelso, but he re-crossed the river at that place and returned to England. King James, who had assembled an army, proposed to his nobles an inroad into England; they, however, refused, and a body of ten thousand men, whom he sent into England by Solway Firth, took panic and fled at the appearance of a party of but five hundred English, leaving several men of rank captives in their hands. James fell sick from chagrin, and he died just as he had learned the birth of his first child, a daughter. Henry, on hearing of this event, proposed to his prisoners and some other Scottish nobles a match between his son Edward and the infant princess, and he gave them their liberty on condition of their aiding him to effect it. But Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews, whom the pope had made a cardinal, had forged a will by which the king left the regency to himself and three other noblemen during the minority. He was the head of the Romish party, and the queen-dowager joined interest with him. On the other hand, the earl of Arran was the nearest akin to the young queen, and he was supported by the reformers. The cardinal's forgery being suspected, he was deprived of the regency and put in confinement; but he obtained his liberty, and by appealing to the national and religious prejudices of the people, he turned them completely

against the English match, and triumphed over his rival, (1543.)

As the king of France had favored the party hostile to his interests in Scotland, Henry now listened to the overtures of the emperor, and entered into a league with him against France, (1543.) The Romish party in England were now elate, but the reformers gained perhaps a more than countervailing advantage in the king's marriage (July 12) with Catherine Parr, the widow of lord Latimer, who inclined to the new opinions.

Henry crossed the sea the following year, (July 14, 1544.) with his principal nobility and a gallant army of thirty thousand men. He was joined by fifteen thousand imperialists but instead of marching direct to Paris, as good policy and the desires of his ally required, he laid siege to Boulogne and Montreal, because Charles had taken some towns and was besieging St. Dizier. The king of France in alarm made proposals of peace to the emperor, which were at once accepted, and Henry now, as ever, the dupe of his ally, having taken and garrisoned Boulogne, raised the siege of Montreal, and returned home, (Sept. 30.) The war with France and Scotland was continued through the following year, but in a languid manner, and it was terminated by a peace in 1546.

In the year 1543 a new exposition of faith and morals was put forth, under the title of "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christian Man," but it was commonly called "The King's Book." Like the Institution on which it was founded, it was of a motley character, with too much of popery to content the reformers, with too much of scriptural truth to please the Romanists. In the next parliament (1544) Cranmer succeeded in obtaining a mitigation of the provisions of the Act of Six Articles.

The cause of the reformers lost in 1545 two of its most powerful supporters in the persons of the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and the lord chancellor Audeley, who both died in this year; and Audeley's successor, Wriothesley, (now ennobled,) sided strongly with the opposite party. It was not long till an attempt was made to ruin the primate. The king was informed "that the primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavory doctrine as to fill all places with abominable heretics," and that the throne was in danger. Henry asked how it were best to proceed; and he was advised to commit him at once to the Tower. He objected to this as a harsh measure; he was

assured that the primate was so unpopular that charges in abundance would be brought against him when he was in confinement. He at length consented that the prelate should be summoned next day before the council, and be committed if they deemed it advisable.

Before midnight the king sent sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth to summon the primate to his presence. Cranmer, who was in bed, rose, and came to Whitehall. Henry told him what he had done: Cranmer declared himself indifferent about the committal, as he could easily clear himself. "O Lord God!" cried the king, "what fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you?" He then went on to tell him that *he* had taken better measures for his safety; he desired him to claim his right, as a privy councillor, of being confronted with his accusers, and if that was refused, to produce the ring which he then gave him, and appeal to *him*.

Cranmer returned home, and the next morning at eight o'clock he was summoned to appear before the council. When he came he was obliged to remain sitting in the anteroom among the servants. At length he was brought before the board and informed of the charges against him; his demand to be confronted with his accusers was at once refused. "I am sorry, my lords," said he, "that you drive me to such a step, but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you, I must appeal to his Majesty." He produced the ring, they gazed on it and each other for some time in silence; at length lord Russel said, with an oath, "Did I not tell you, my lords, what would come of this affair? I knew right well that the king would never permit my lord of Canterbury to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason." They then took the ring and papers to the king, who rated them well for their treatment of the primate. "I would have you to know," said he in conclusion, "that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man toward me as was ever prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe to God." The duke of Norfolk replied, that their only object had been to give the primate an opportunity of refuting the charges made against him. "I pray you," said the king, "use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you" At the royal command they all then shook hands

with the placable primate, and a few days after were entertained by him at Lambeth.

Shortly after, at Cranmer's desire, the king suppressed some popular superstitions, such as ringing bells and keeping watch the whole night before Allhallows' day; veiling the cross and the images in churches all through Lent, and unveiling them on Palm Sunday, and kneeling before the cross on that day. But the king himself went still further, and he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross and adoring it.

The king's last parliament met on the 23d of November: its chief business was to relieve his pecuniary difficulties. It granted large subsidies, and suppressed all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, transferring their revenues to the king. It even went so far as to empower him to seize those of the universities, he making a solemn promise "that all should be done to the glory of God and common profit to the realm." It further legalized all the transfers of property which the church dignitaries had been forced to make to the crown. The king then dissolved the parliament; (Dec. 24.) He made on this occasion a speech, which he concluded by complaining of the religious dissensions which prevailed. Of the clergy he said, "Some were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*; and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*,"* that they did nothing but rail at each other; while the laity censured the conduct of the clergy and debated Scripture in ale-houses and taverns. He exhorted both parties to give over calling one another ill names, and to live in peace and charity.

The next year (1546) showed how well the king's advice was attended to, for the flames of Smithfield blazed once more. The principal victim was a lady named Anne Askew, daughter of a knight of Lincolnshire. She had been married to a gentleman named Kyme, to whom she bore two children; but having adopted scriptural sentiments, her husband, a furious papist, turned her out of doors. She resumed her maiden name, and came to London, in hopes of obtaining a divorce. Here she transgressed the Six Articles, and she was also suspected of conveying religious books to the queen and some ladies at court. She was taken before Bonner bishop of London; a recantation was proffered to her to sign,

* The origin of this phrase is as follows: A priest had long read in his breviary *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*; his error was at length pointed out to him, but he angrily declared he would not change his old *mumpsintus* for their new *sumpsimus*.

and she wrote that she believed "all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church," and though this was ambiguous, Bonner was obliged to let her go on bail. This year she was again arrested; she was examined before the council by Gardiner and Wriothesley; they could not move or refute her; she was sent to Newgate, tried before a jury for heresy, and sentenced to die. It was hoped by means of the rack to get her to implicate some persons of rank. She was taken to the Tower, and placed on that horrid instrument. She bore the torture with the utmost firmness, not uttering even a cry. The lieutenant refusing to allow his man to torment her any further, Wriothesley and Rich threw off their gowns and worked the instrument themselves. When taken off she fainted, but on her recovering she maintained a conversation with them for two hours, sitting on the bare ground. She was carried in a chair to the stake, (July 16:) with her were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor — all, like Anne Askew, deniers of transubstantiation. Wriothesley sent to offer them a pardon if they would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." The others were equally firm, and all were burnt.

It was commonly said at this time of the bishop of Winchester, that "he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer." He had covertly shot at Cranmer; he now openly aimed at the queen. Henry, who was grown peevish and irritable from disease, was annoyed at her urging him on the subject of religion; and one day as she left the room he fretfully noticed it to Gardiner, who was present. The artful prelate saw his opportunity, and he succeeded in prevailing on the king to let articles of accusation be drawn up against her. When prepared they received the royal approbation; but, luckily for the queen, the paper was dropped (probably by design) by the person who was carrying it, and was picked up by one of her friends. Her alarm at her danger brought on an attack of illness; the king came to visit her; she expressed her regret at seeing so little of him, and her fear of having given him offence. They parted on good terms. Next evening she visited the king; he asked her opinion on some points of religion; she modestly replied, that the man was the woman's natural superior, and her judgment should be directed by his. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed by us." She

assured him that in arguing with him her only object had been to divert his mind and to derive information. "And is it even so, sweetheart?" cried he; "then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He embraced and dismissed her, and when she was gone, highly extolled her to those who were present; and yet the capricious tyrant had been on the point of sending her to the Tower, perhaps even to the stake!

Next day he sent for her to the garden. While they were there, the chancellor came with forty men to arrest her. The king frowned; the queen retired; the chancellor knelt; the words "Knave, fool, beast, avaunt, from my presence!" reached her ears, and she came forward to interpose. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, "thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been toward thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." Orders were now given that Gardiner should appear no more in the royal presence; the king also struck his name out of the list of executors named in his will.

The days of the monarch were now fast drawing to their close. He was become so corpulent and unwieldy that he could only be moved about in a chair, and an ulcer in one of his legs was at this time so fetid as to be hardly endurable by those about him. One more act of injustice and cruelty was, however, to be perpetrated. The head of the Romish party and of the ancient nobility was the duke of Norfolk, a man who had on several occasions done good service to the crown; his son, the earl of Surrey, was the most accomplished nobleman of the age. The Seymours, the uncles of the young prince, may be regarded as the chiefs of the reformed party, and there was a jealousy between them and the Howards, who despised them as upstarts. Whether it proceeded from the intrigues of the Seymours, or from the king's own caprice or apprehensions, the duke and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Feebler or more ill-supported charges never were made than on this occasion. Surrey's principal offences were his having quartered the arms of the Confessor with his own, a thing in which he was warranted by the heralds; his having spoken contemptuously of the new nobility; and his having two Italians in his service, whom one of the witnesses suspected to be spies. Being a commoner, he was tried by a jury at Guildhall, (Jan. 13,) before the chancellor and other

commissioners. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but vain was all defence in this reign; he was condemned as a traitor, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, (Jan 19, 1547.)

The duke of Norfolk was accused of various trifling acts of treason, and every effort was made to get up evidence against him. A good deal of the misfortune of himself and his son originated in family dissension; the duchess, who was separated from her husband, actuated by jealousy, wrote to the lord privy seal, accusing him; and his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, was one of the witnesses against her brother. Mrs. Holland, who was supposed to be the duke's mistress, testified all she could against him. The duke was induced to sign a confession of having divulged the king's secrets, concealed his son's treason in quartering the arms of the Confessor, and having himself quartered those of England. But all availed not; a bill of attainder was hurried through parliament, the royal assent was given on the 27th, and he was ordered for execution the next morning. Fortunately for Norfolk, the king died in the night, and a respite was sent to the Tower.

The king had gradually been growing worse, but his friends feared to apprise him of his danger. At length sir Anthony Denny ventured to inform him of his approaching dissolution. He received the intelligence with meekness, expressing his reliance on the merits of his Savior. Sir Anthony asked if he would have any divine to attend him; he said, if any, it should be the archbishop of Canterbury; but "Let me take a little sleep first," said he, "and when I awake again I shall think more about the matter." When he awoke, he directed that Cranmer should be fetched from Croydon. The prelate came in all haste, but found him speechless. He desired him to give a sign of his faith in the merits of Christ; the king pressed his hand, and expired.

Nothing can be more injudicious than the conduct of those Protestant writers who, identifying Henry with the Reformation, seem to think themselves bound to apologize for and even justify the various enormities with which his memory is charged. A slight knowledge of history will suffice to show that the worst instruments are often employed to produce the greatest and best results. We may, therefore, allow Henry to have been a bad man, and yet regard the Reformation, of which he was an instrument, as a benefit to mankind. It is, on the other hand, weak in the Romanists to charge the Reformation with the vices of Henry; it would



43. Edward the Sixth.



44. Richard and Saladin.

be equally so in us were we to impute to *their* religion the atrocities of pope Alexander VI. and his children Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia.

Thorough selfishness formed the basis of Henry's character.* He never was known to sacrifice an inclination to the interest or happiness of another. "He spared no man in his anger, no woman in his lust;" every thing must yield to his will. He was rapacious and profuse, vain and self-sufficient. At the same time he was courteous and affable, and when in good humor had a gay, jovial manner highly captivating in a ruler. His people remembered the magnificence of his early reign, his handsome person, his skill in martial exercises, and he was popular with them to the very last. The constancy of his friendship to Cranmer is the most estimable trait in his character; but the primate never had dared to oppose his will. Henry's patronage of letters was also highly commendable: he was skilful in selecting those whom he employed in church and state, and rarely promoted an inefficient person.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD VI.

1547—1553.

THE new monarch being only in his tenth year, Henry had in his will nominated a council of sixteen persons to administer the government till he should have completed his eighteenth year. A second council of twelve persons was appointed to aid them in cases of difficulty. Hertford and his friends formed a majority in the council of regency, and one of its first acts was to invest him with the office of

* See Wolsey's opinion of him, (p. 347.) He went to dine one day with Sir T. More, at Chelsea. After dinner he walked for an hour in the garden with him, with his arm round his neck. When More's son-in-law Roper congratulated him on the favor he seemed to be in, "I thank our Lord, son, (quoth he,) I find his Grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favor me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France it should not fail to go." This was in Henry's jovial days

protector of the realm and guardian of the king's person. The chief, or rather sole opponent of this measure was the chancellor Wriothesley, who, being from his office next in rank to the primate, whom he knew to have little talent or inclination for public affairs, had reckoned that the chief direction of them would fall to himself.

The members of the council next proceeded to bestow titles and estates on themselves, sir Anthony Denny, sir William Paget, and sir William Hertford having deposed that such was the late king's intention. Hertford was created duke of Somerset; Essex, (the queen's brother,) marquess of Northampton; lord Lisle, earl of Warwick; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton; and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield, barons of the same names. Manors and lordships were to be bestowed on them out of the church lands, to enable them to support their new dignities. Meantime Somerset and others took to themselves the revenues of sundry deaneries and prebends. When they had thus provided for themselves they proceeded to the ceremony of the young king's coronation, which was performed with the usual magnificence, (Feb. 20.)

The chief obstacle in the way of Somerset's ambition being the chancellor, he was on the watch for a pretext to get rid of him, and Southampton's imprudence soon furnished him with one. In order to be able to devote himself more exclusively to politics, he had, without consulting his colleagues, put the great seal into commission, and appointed four lawyers to hear and decide causes in chancery. Complaint was made to the council; the judges, on being consulted, declared the act illegal. The chancellor, when summoned before the council, defended himself, but he was obliged to surrender the great seal, and to remain a prisoner in his own house till the amount of the fine to be imposed on him should be settled. Southampton's opposition being thus removed, Somerset proceeded to enlarge his own authority, and he procured letters patent under the great seal, now held provisionally by lord St. John, making him Protector, with full regal power. He appointed a council, composed of the members of those nominated in the late king's will, but he reserved the power of increasing their number, and did not bind himself to follow their advice. By this plain usurpation Somerset was invested with more power than had ever yet been placed in the hands of a subject.

The Protestants, as we shall henceforth style the re-

formers,* now looked forward to the rapid spread of their principles. The young king had been brought up in them, the protector and the members of the council, with the exception of the bishop of Durham, were, from various motives — partly pure, partly interested — in favor of them. It was a great advantage that Cranmer, to whom the protector much deferred in these matters, was a man of extreme moderation and caution.

Cranmer commenced by petitioning the council (Feb. 7) to restore him to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; for, as he argued, it had proceeded from the crown, and therefore had expired with the late king. The other bishops were obliged to follow his example, and they were thus brought under obedience to the council. A royal visitation of all the dioceses in the kingdom was next appointed. The visitors received directions to suppress sundry superstitious practices, such as the sprinkling of beds with holy water, using blessed candles for driving away the devil, etc.; and to see that the clergy performed their functions in a decorous and proper manner. A book of homilies and Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament were to be provided for each church, and one of these homilies (which were mostly drawn up by Cranmer) was to be read on Sundays and holidays. Images which had not been objects of pilgrimage, and so forth, were to be retained, and every precaution was taken to shock the prejudices of the people as little as possible. To these innovations Bonner made some opposition at first, but he afterwards submitted. Gardiner, a man of more firmness and authority, resisted them vigorously, for which he was committed by the council to the Fleet.

In the autumn the protector invaded Scotland; his chief object was to endeavor to force the Scottish nation to agree to the measure (so evidently advantageous to both countries) of their union by the marriage of the two young sovereigns; but the queen-mother and the Romish party were strongly opposed to it, and the Scottish reformers had lately dis-

* We will call the other party Catholics, at the same time protesting against their claim to the exclusive right to this title. *Catholic* signifying *universal*, no church can have less right to it than the one which denies salvation to all without its pale. Roman Catholic (though, as Milton says, "one of the pope's bulls signifying particular universal") is, perhaps, appropriate enough as denoting the Romish branch of the church. We cannot see any reasonable objection to the term *Papist*, it merely denotes one who maintains the authority of the Pope, and is like *Imperialist*, etc.

graced their cause by one of those atrocities which distinguish their religious zeal from that of the English. The cardinal-primate having, by engaging the earl of Bothwell to break his faith, got into his hands a gentleman of the name of Wishart, a zealous preacher of the new doctrine, had him tried and condemned to the flames for heresy; and when Arran, the regent, refused to concur in the sentence, he of his own authority had caused him to be burnt, himself witnessing the execution from a window. Some of Wishart's friends determined on vengeance; they contrived early one morning (May 28, 1546) to enter the castle of St. Andrews, and they murdered the cardinal in his bedroom. Their friends then repaired to them, and they sent to London seeking aid from Henry, who promised them his protection. By means of the supplies forwarded to them from England they were enabled to hold out against the regent for more than a twelvemonth, but he at length reduced them by the aid of a fleet of French galleys.

Somerset, taking with him the earl of Warwick as second in command, crossed the Tweed (Sept. 2) at the head of twenty thousand men; whilst a fleet under lord Clinton moved in-view along the coast. He had previously put forth a manifesto stating all the reasons for the proposed marriage, but the ostensible cause assigned for his invasion were the depredations committed by the Scottish borderers. Arran, on the other hand, summoned all the fighting men to his standard, and having selected a force nearly double that of the English, took his post on the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. A skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the Scots had the worst; Somerset then proposed assailing their camp, but finding it too strong he sent, offering to evacuate the kingdom and make good all the damage done, provided the Scots would engage not to marry their queen to any foreign prince, and to keep her at home till she was of age to choose for herself. The moderation of these demands caused them to be rejected; the priests, who had flocked to the camp, inflamed the bigotry of the Scots against the English heretics; when they saw the protector move toward the sea they thought he intended to embark his troops and thus escape; and confident of victory they quitted their camp, crossed the river, and advanced in order of battle into the plain. In the engagement which ensued, the Scots, in consequence of their imprudence and impetuosity, found themselves exposed at once to the fire from the English ships and their artillery, and to the flights

of arrows from their archers. They soon broke and fled; the space thence to Edinburgh was strowed with the bodies of the slain, the priests especially finding no mercy. The loss of the Scots in the battle of Pinkey, as it is named, was more than ten thousand slain and fifteen hundred prisoners; the victors lost not two hundred men. The protector might now, by following up his successes, have imposed what terms he pleased; but intelligence of intrigues against him at court determined him to return to London without delay; and leaving Warwick at Berwick, with full powers to treat of peace with Arran, he quitted Scotland, in which he had been all together but sixteen days. The negotiations, however, came to nothing, and the following year the young queen was conveyed to France, where she was soon after betrothed to the Dauphin.

On the return of Somerset a parliament met. The law of treason was brought back to the statute of 25 Edw. III., and all the late laws, extending the crime of felony, and those against Lollardy, and that of the Six Articles, were repealed. Heresy, however, remained a capital crime, and was to be punished as heretofore by burning. The act making the king's proclamation of equal force with a statute was also annulled. An act was passed restoring the communion in both kinds to the laity, at the same time prohibiting all contempt and reviling of the eucharist—a practice to which the reformed were too much addicted. Those who sought to batten on the property of the church carried, in spite of the opposition of Cranmer and the other prelates, an act for vesting in the crown the revenues of such colleges, chantries, etc., as had as yet escaped the royal grasp. On the prorogation of parliament a general pardon was announced; Gardiner was therefore set at liberty.

On the approach of Lent (1548) an order of council was issued prohibiting various superstitious usages common at that season. It was directed that candles should not be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes be presented on Ash-Wednesday, or palms be borne on Palm-Sunday. Orders also were given for the removal of all images, without exception, from the churches; for it was found to be impossible to separate the use from the abuse of them. As many of the reformed preachers were very intemperate in their language, none were henceforth to preach who had not received a license for the purpose. A new communion service was put forth (May 8) by the royal authority. In the preface the

practice of auricular confession was left optional with the communicants. "A prelude," says Hume, "to the entire abolition of that invention, one of the most powerful engines that ever was contrived for degrading the laity, and giving their spiritual guides an entire ascendant over them." In the course of the year Cranmer, aided by several of the ablest divines among the reformers, compiled a liturgy in English. They proceeded with great moderation and judgment, selecting and translating such portions of the mass as were agreeable to Scripture, and making no innovation for the mere sake of change. This liturgy, the basis of the beautiful service still in use, and in which no pious catholic, we should suppose, could scruple to join, having been approved of by parliament, was ordered to be used in all the churches. By another act, permission was given to the clergy to follow the dictates of nature and enter into matrimony like other men.

The protector's brother had, as we have seen, been created a baron by the title of Seymour of Sudeley. Warwick had also resigned the post of high-admiral in his favor. Seymour was a haughty, aspiring man; he had been paying his addresses to Catherine Parr when Henry chose her for his queen; neither dared oppose the despot's will, but her heart was Seymour's, and the king was hardly consigned to the tomb when, with rather indecent haste,* she gave him her hand. Her death, however, in childbed, (Sept. 1548,) put an end to any hopes he might have formed of advancing his ambitious views through her wealth and influence; he therefore directed his thoughts to the lady Elizabeth, now fifteen years of age, his attentions to whom had excited the jealousy of the dowager-queen, under whose care she lived. He also sought to win the affections of the young king by supplying him secretly with money, and by insinuating that he was old enough to take the government on himself. Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, had engaged to furnish him with funds to a great extent, and he was said to have taken a large body of men into his pay, to have fortified his house of Holt in Denbighshire, and to have intended to carry off the young king. He also engaged several of the discontented nobles to enter into his plans. Information of what he was about being laid before the council.

* It was said in the articles against Seymour, with ridiculous exaggeration, that had she borne a child within the usual period, it could not have been said with certainty who was the father.

he was committed to the Tower, (Jan. 19, 1549.) A charge consisting of thirty-three articles was drawn up against him; so three of these, when exhibited to him, he replied, but he would not sign his replies; of the rest he took no notice, but persisted in demanding an open trial. On the 25th of February a bill of attainder against him was brought into the upper house; the judges declared the acts with which he was charged to be treasonable, and evidence was heard in proof of them. The bill passed the lords rapidly; in the commons it encountered much opposition, many expressing their dislike to this mode of proceeding by attainder, and saying that the admiral ought to be heard in his defence. A message from the king was brought, saying that all the evidence should be repeated before them if they desired it. This was not required, and the commons passed the bill, only ten or twelve members opposing it. It received the royal assent, (March 14,) and three days after (March 17) the warrant for the execution was signed by the council, Somerset and Cranmer being among those who affixed their names to it. On the 20th the admiral was beheaded. He declared that "he had never committed or meant any treason against the king or kingdom." One of his last acts was to write letters to be secretly delivered to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, urging them to avenge his death. It certainly does not appear that the admiral's guilt amounted to treason; it was against his brother, not the king, that he conspired; he was, however, a dangerous man, and he was evidently sacrificed to expediency.*

No one yet had thought of putting down heresy in any way but by violence, and the reformers would as little bear any attacks on such articles of faith as they retained, as the catholics themselves. In April a commission was issued to Cranmer, and other prelates and laymen, to take cognizance of anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer. Several such were brought before them, who recanted and bore fagots according to the custom. A woman of good birth and education in Kent, named Joan Bocher, was charged before the commissioners with maintaining an old, exploded heresy, namely, that Christ did not take flesh of the Virgin. Her words were, "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take

* The upright Latimer, in a sermon which he preached at this time asserted Seymour's guilt in the most positive terms, from his own knowledge.

none of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." * On her refusal to recant, Cranmer pronounced sentence on her, and she was delivered over to the secular arm. "It is a goodly matter," said she to her judges, "to consider your ignorance. Not long ago you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burnt her! And now, forsooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." These words ought to have made Cranmer and Ridley at least, who were probably the persons chiefly meant, doubt of their own infallibility.† The poor woman was kept an entire year in prison; Cranmer and Ridley had frequent conferences with her to no purpose. The young king had the greatest repugnance to signing the warrant; it was only the authority of Cranmer that at length overcame his scruples, and he signed it, saying, that the guilt, if any, must be on the primate's head.‡ She was consigned to the flames in Smithfield, (May 2, 1550.) Dr. Scory preached on the occasion; she cried to him, "You lie like a rogue; go search the Scriptures." She died of course with constancy. About a year after, a Dutchman named Van Parr was burnt for Arianism.

In the course of this summer insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom; the causes were partly religious, partly civil and domestic. Evil always has its attendant good; and monachism therefore, though injurious to the best interests of man, had its beneficial results. The monks were in England, as in all countries, the best and most indulgent of landlords. Restricted to a particular mode of life, and not having families to provide for, they had no motives to urge them to be griping and oppressive; and we may fairly suppose that they felt both pride and pleasure at seeing those under them flourishing and happy. They also resided constantly on their estates; they re-

* Dr. Lingard calls this "unintelligible jargon," and so it is; but the doctrine it expresses is far more intelligible than that of the real presence.

† In 1545, Ridley, from studying the work of Ratramn on the subject, was led to reject the doctrine of the real presence. He communicated his ideas to Cranmer, who, on inquiry, came to coincide with him in opinion.

‡ Foze, 1179. Soames (*Hist. of Reformat.* iii. 544) attempts to throw doubt on the story. We wish he had succeeded; for, after making all due allowance, it is a blot on Cranmer's character.

ceived their rents mostly in kind; they spent them on the spot, thus giving encouragement to the industrious, while the more indigent gentry were glad to share their liberal hospitality, and the poor in general derived relief from the food distributed at the convent-gate. But all this was changed when the abbey-lands passed by gift or nominal purchase into the hands of the Russels, Paulets, Petres, and other vultures of the court. The tenantry were obliged to surrender their leases, and take out new ones at double or treble the rent; the new landlords neglected the injunction imposed on them to maintain hospitality; they lived mostly in London, leaving their tenants to be oppressed by their stewards. Further, as wool was found to be more profitable than corn, they pulled down farm-houses and villages, converted the arable land into sheep-walks, and in their griping spirit took in and enclosed the commons. The peasantry, whose numbers had rather increased in consequence of the long period of internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed, and whose occupation was thus diminished, felt the pressure of want severely, they had not the charity of the monasteries now to look to; and to add to their distress, in consequence of the harvest of the precious metals now poured into Europe from the New World, and the frequent debasements of the coin in the late reign, the money prices of most articles had risen considerably, while, owing to their numbers and the changes above mentioned, the supply of labor exceeded the demand for it, and they were thus unable to raise their wages in proportion. These causes, however, being in general far beyond their ken, they fixed on the one most apparent, and ascribed, not without some justice the deterioration of their condition solely to the changes made in the national religion.

The people rose almost simultaneously in most of the mid-land, southern, and eastern counties, but they were quieted by the efforts of the gentry, and of some of the "honest men among themselves." The protector, who was a man of humanity, seeing the justice of their complaints, issued, against the consent of the council, a commission of inquiry respecting enclosures, and directed that such as were found to be illegal should be destroyed; the people thus encouraged began of themselves to level the enclosures in sundry places, while the landowners exclaimed against the protector, as sacrificing their interests to his passion for vulgar popularity.

The most formidable risings were those in Oxfordshire, Devon, and Norfolk; the first, however, was easily suppressed by

lord Grey de Wilton; the insurgents fled at the approach of his troops, leaving two hundred prisoners, twelve of whom were hanged as examples. The rising in Devon was much more formidable; it broke out on Whit-Monday (June 10) in the parish of Sampford Courteney, where the new liturgy had been read for the first time the day before. The people compelled their priest, who was probably nothing loath, to read the old service. The insurrection then rapidly spread; the insurgents soon numbered ten thousand men; many of the gentry joined them, and the command was given to Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. Lord Russel, who was sent against them with a small force, tried the way of negotiation; they required that the mass should be restored; the Six Articles be again put in force; the sacrament be hanged up and worshiped, and those who refused be punished as heretics; the sacrament be only given to the people at Easter, and only in one kind; that holy bread, holy water, and palms should be again used, and images be again set up; that the new service should be set aside; that preachers in their sermons and priests in the mass should pray for the souls in purgatory; that the Bible should be called in, *since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics*; that cardinal Pole should be restored and made one of the council. They also required that half the abbey and church lands should be resumed, and that every gentleman should have but one servant for every hundred marks of yearly rent. To these demands, evidently dictated by their priests, Cranmer, by direction of the council, drew up a reply; a proclamation was issued, in high terms, ordering them to disperse; but they advanced, the sacred wafer preceding them, to lay siege to Exeter. The citizens made a vigorous defence; the rebels having tried to take the town by escalade and by mine converted the siege into a blockade, but lord Russel when reinforced attacked and routed them. Arundel, the mayor of Bodmin, and other leaders were taken and executed: the vicar of St. Thomas was hanged from his own steeple in his sacerdotal robes.

The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Kett, a wealthy tanner of Wymondham. Having collected about twenty thousand of the peasantry, he took his station on Moushold-hill, which overhangs Norwich, and there, seated beneath an old oak, which was thence named the Oak of Reformation, he summoned the gentry before him, and made what decrees he pleased respecting enclosures and other matters. The marquess of Northampton first went against the

rebels, but he was routed, and lord Sheffield was among the slain. Warwick was then sent with six thousand men, who had been levied for the war with Scotland; the rebels imprudently descended into the plain to engage him: their rout was speedy and total; two thousand were slain, Kett was taken. He was hanged at Norwich, and nine others were suspended from the boughs of the Oak of Reformation.

The protector was now beset with difficulties on all sides; the war with Scotland languished, the French had resumed hostilities and taken some places about Boulogne, and they menaced that possession; but when he proposed a peace in council the members objected to it. The nobility and gentry were hostile to him for his having taken the part of the people, and yet the people were not his friends, because he was not of the old faith. The execution of his brother had alienated many; the great estate he had acquired at the expense of the crown and church displeased others, and the palace which he was building for himself in the Strand brought great odium on him from the means he employed. To procure a site and materials for this edifice he pulled down the church of St. Mary-le-Strand and three bishops' mansions. He was proceeding to demolish St. Margaret's, Westminster, but the parishioners rose and drove off his workmen. He then turned eastwards and seized on Pardon churchyard and the buildings about it on the south side of St. Paul's; the materials were conveyed to the Strand, the bones of the dead were carried away to Finsbury Fields, and there covered up in unhallowed earth. He finally blew up with gunpowder the steeple and part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem near Smithfield.

Somerset's chief opponent was Dudley earl of Warwick, an artful, unprincipled man. He was son to the notorious agent of Henry VII.; but the late king finding him a young man of ability had restored him in blood and taken him into his service. In pursuance of his plan of forming a new nobility out of the gentry, Henry had created him viscount Lisle; he was made earl of Warwick in the beginning of the present reign.

On the 6th of October, Warwick, Southampton, (who had been restored to his place in the council,) St. John the president, lord Arundel, and five others met at Ely House, and taking on themselves the whole power of the council, wrote to the chief nobility and gentry, calling on them to aid; and to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, directing them to obey *their* orders, and not those of the protector. Next day they were joined by Rich

the chancellor and several other councillors. Secretary Petre also, who had been sent to treat with them, was induced to remain. Somerset removed the king from Hampton Court to Windsor, but finding himself generally deserted, (Cranmer, Paget, and a few others only remaining faithful,) he began to parley. Lord Russel and some others who had hitherto remained neutral now declared against him. On the 10th he invited Warwick and his friends to come to Windsor. They proceeded thither, and the next day they committed the duke's secretary, Cecil, and four others, to the Tower, and two days after the protector himself was sent under a strong guard to the same fortress. Twenty-nine articles of accusation were drawn up against him, in which, though the losses incurred in the war and his assumption of power were objected to him, the chief complaint was his having sympathized with the people and wished to do them justice. He was brought before the council, (Dec. 23,) and on his knees confessed his guilt and subscribed the charges against him. His life was spared, but he was deprived of all his offices and of lands to the value of 2000*l.* a year. Somerset's spirit having revived when he found his life was safe, he ventured to remonstrate against the severity of his sentence, but he was forced to sign a still humbler submission. He was then liberated (Feb. 6, 1550) and pardoned. Soon after his property was restored, he was admitted into the council, and a marriage (June 3) between his daughter lady Anne Seymour and Warwick's eldest son lord Lisle seemed to have reconciled the rival statesmen.

The successful party now took care to reward themselves with places and titles. Warwick became great master and lord high admiral; the marquess of Northampton was made great chamberlain, and the lords Russel and St. John were created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire; to reward lord Wentworth, the manors of Stepney and Hackney were torn from the see of London. The catholics expected that their cause, to which Warwick was thought to lean, would be now triumphant. But it was not of them or their cause that Warwick thought; and finding the young monarch devotedly attached to the principles of the Reformation, he would not risk his power by any efforts in their favor. Southampton, finding himself thwarted in his projects, withdrew from the council; and his death in the following year deprived the Romanists of one of their ablest supporters.

A peace was now (March 24) made with France, in which Scotland was included. Boulogne was restored to the French king on his paying for it a sum of 400,000 crowns. A nego-

tiation was then set on foot for the marriage of Edward with a princess of France.

Whatever might be Warwick's private sentiments, it was resolved to carry on the Reformation. Many of the bishops were, if not hostile, at least lukewarm in this matter; and as they had at the accession acknowledged that they held their sees at the royal pleasure, an easy mode of proceeding against them presented itself. Bonner of London had been already deprived. At the close of the insurrections in the preceding year he had been directed to preach at St. Paul's Cross, and to inculcate the wickedness of rebellion, the superiority of holiness of life over ceremonial observances, and the competence of a minor king to make laws binding on his subjects. The two first he discoursed of in a sort of way, taking good care to advocate the doctrine of the real presence; on the third he was perfectly silent. Two of the reformed clergy, Hooper and W. Latimer, who were present, deemed it their duty to denounce his sermon to the council. A commission was issued to two prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, the two secretaries of state, Petre and Smyth, and May, dean of St. Paul's, to examine into the charges. Nothing could well exceed Bonner's impudence when before them; his language was vulgar ribaldry. After several hearings, his defence not being deemed sufficient, it was resolved to withdraw from him the trust which he was held to have abused. A sentence of deprivation for various causes was pronounced, and he was deprived of his see and confined in the Marshalsea. Ridley was then translated from Rochester to London.

Gardiner had been now lying in the Tower for two years, for having preached a sermon nearly similar to that of Bonner on a similar occasion. The duke of Somerset and some other members of the council were sent (June 8) to try to induce him to express sorrow for the past and to promise future obedience. No decisive answer, however, could be obtained from him. On the 10th of July, six articles relating to the royal authority in matters of religion and the book of Common Prayer were offered to him to sign. He objected to the preamble, which contained an acknowledgment that he had acted wrong, and an expression of his sorrow for having done so. A new series of articles expressive of approbation of the late changes were next offered to him, but as the preface was still the same he refused to sign these also. The revenues of his see were then sequestered, and when this produced no effect on him, a commission was appointed to try

him; he appealed to the king, but his appeal was rejected and sentence of deprivation was passed. Day of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Voisey of Exeter, were also deprived for noncompliance with the new order of things.

It has been justly observed, that if any person had a right to hate the Reformation it was the lady Mary. It was associated in her mind with her mother's injuries and her own. She inherited her father's firmness and her mother's melancholy; she had been sedulously brought up in the doctrines of the church of Rome, and she now clung to them with characteristic obstinacy. The young king, equally bigoted in his own creed, viewed her adherence to the mass with horror; but the influence of the emperor prevailed with the council, and she had her private masses. Two of her chaplains, however, Mallet and Berkley, having celebrated mass where she was not present, were committed to the Tower. Letters and messages passed between her and the council. She declared herself ready to endure death for her religion, and only feared that she was not good enough to suffer martyrdom in so good a cause. With true Romish perverseness, that will not even look on the proffered light, she added, that "As for their books, as she thanked God she never had, so she never would read them." The emperor menaced war if she was molested any further, and as this would at the time be very injurious to the commercial interests of the country, the council prudently resolved to connive at her disobedience to the law; but it required all the influence of Cranmer and Ridley to overcome the scruples of the young king at thus tolerating idolatry.

In the course of this year the Book of Common Prayer underwent a new revision and improvement, and articles of religion, forty-two in number, were drawn up; several of the Lutheran divines, particularly Bucer and Peter Martyr, were now in England and had aided the English divines with their advice. They had sought a refuge from the persecution of the emperor, who, though he could plead the rights of conscience in the case of the lady Mary, refused to allow even the king of England's ambassadors to use in their own houses within his dominions the "communion and other divine service according to the laws of this realm."*

The ambition of Warwick now began to display itself more fully; the title of Northumberland having become vacant by the death of the late earl without heirs, he caused the greater

* Proceedings of the Privy Council, 32.

part of the ample possessions of that noble house to be granted to himself, with the title of duke of Northumberland. His friend Paulet earl of Wiltshire, the treasurer, was at the same time created marquess of Winchester; the marquess of Dorset duke of Suffolk, and sir William Herbert earl of Pembroke. He was resolved to ruin Somerset, whom, though fallen in power and reputation, he still regarded as an obstacle in the path of his ambition; for this purpose he sought to gain over the friends and servants of that nobleman, and thus surround him with spies; he provoked him by menaces and insults, and when the duke broke out into passionate expressions or formed vague projects of revenge, which were usually abandoned as soon as conceived, the information was conveyed to Northumberland. When he thought he had thus obtained matter enough for a plausible accusation, he resolved to proceed to action without further delay.

On the 16th of October (1551) the duke of Somerset and his friend lord Grey were arrested and committed to the Tower; next day the duchess and several of her favorites were also thrown into prison; shortly after, the earl of Arundel and the lords Paget and Decies were arrested. On the 1st of December, the duke, having been previously indicted at Guildhall, was brought to trial in Westminster Hall; the newly created marquess of Winchester sat as high steward: Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke were among the judges, who were twenty-seven in number. The charges against Somerset were his having intended to depose the king, and having plotted to seize and imprison the earl of Warwick, (Northumberland.) The witnesses were not produced, but their depositions made the day before were read; according to these it was arranged that Grey should levy forces in the north, that Paget should invite Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke to dine with him at his house in the Strand, and that Somerset's band of one hundred horsemen should intercept them, or, if they were too well attended, assassinate them when at table; and that the duke should meanwhile raise the city and attack the *gens d'armes* of the guard. All this Somerset positively denied; but he owned that he had spoken of the murder of these lords, though he had at once abandoned that project. The peers, after retiring for some time, acquitted him of treason, but found him guilty of felony; their verdict was unanimous; he acknowledged its justice, asked pardon of the three lords, and expressed his hopes that his life would be spared. When the people saw him come forth without the axe being borne before him, as was usual

in the case of peers charged with high treason, they thought he was acquitted, and set up a loud shout of joy.

Perhaps this proof of the unfortunate duke's popularity determined Northumberland not to spare him. The utmost pains were taken to impress his royal nephew with a belief of his guilt; and the prisoner was deprived of all means of communicating with the king, who, as it was now the season of Christmas, was kept engaged in a constant succession of amusements.

The 22d of January (1552) was the day appointed for the execution. Though orders had been issued for the citizens to keep their families and servants within doors till after ten o'clock, Tower Hill was crowded by day-break. At eight the duke ascended the scaffold with a firm step and a cheerful countenance; he knelt and prayed, then rose and addressed the people, asserting his loyalty, rejoicing in the state of purity to which he had been instrumental in bringing the national religion, and exhorting them to accept and embrace it thankfully. A movement, of which the cause did not immediately appear, now took place among the people, and several were thrown down and crushed; it turned out to be a troop of horse, who being behind their time now came galloping up; when they came in view the people fancied they brought a reprieve, and they flung up their caps, shouting "A pardon, a pardon! God save the king!" When the truth was ascertained, Somerset resumed his address, and having concluded it and read a paper containing his profession of faith, he knelt down and received the fatal stroke; several persons then pressed forward and steeped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as in that of a martyr.

Like many other unfortunate persons in history, the duke of Somerset was unequal to the situation in which his destiny placed him; his talents were ill matched with his ambition, and he thus fell into errors, and even stained himself with a brother's blood. In more tranquil times his mild and humane disposition and his religious feelings might have caused him to pass a life of peace and happiness. Somerset stands almost alone in these times as a nobleman really caring for the rights and interests of the inferior classes of the people.

Four of Somerset's friends were executed. The earl of Arundel and lord Paget were never brought to trial, but they were obliged to make submissions and confessions, resign their offices and pay fines. Lord de Grey and some others were discharged.

The next of Northumberland's victims was Tunstall, the es-

timable prelate of Durham. As Tunstall's firm adherence to Romanism had made him adverse to the new order of things, a person named Menville had written to him proposing a plan for an insurrection in the north. The bishop incautiously answered the letter; Menville then gave information to the council, who summoned Tunstall before them; but his letter to Menville could not be found, and nothing therefore could be proved against him. Somerset, it would appear, had concealed this letter out of regard to the bishop, for after his death it was found in one of his caskets. The proceedings were now resumed; a bill of attainder was introduced into the house of lords, and it was passed, none opposing it but Cranmer and lord Stourton, a zealous catholic. The commons, more just or more courageous, insisted that the bishop and his accusers should be confronted, and this being refused they threw out the bill. A commission was then appointed to try him; he was deprived, and his goods were confiscated. The regalities of the see were transferred to Northumberland, and but for subsequent events, much of its property would also have gone into his possession.

In the month of April of the following year (1553) the young king had an attack of the measles, which was followed by the smallpox; his constitution, originally delicate, was much shaken, and there seemed little prospect of his life being prolonged for many years. If the lady Mary should succeed, Northumberland had every thing to apprehend; he therefore represented to Edward the dangers likely to result to true religion should the supreme power of the state come to one so bigoted to the ancient superstition; and he reminded him that the act of parliament bastardizing her was still in force and might be employed to exclude her. Although the princess Elizabeth was a protestant she came under the same act, and must therefore be also excluded; there only remained therefore the descendants of the daughters of Henry VII., the queens of Scotland and France. But the former were excluded by the late king's will; the marchioness of Dorset, eldest daughter of the queen of France by the duke of Suffolk, was therefore the next in order of succession, and she would willingly transfer her rights to her eldest daughter the lady Jane Gray, of whose attachment to protestantism there could be no doubt. To these suggestions Edward listened with approbation.

The ambitious Northumberland aimed not merely at excluding the lady Mary, but hoped to bring a crown matrimonial into his own house. At this very time his residence

Durham House, was the scene of connubial festivities; the lady Jane Gray became the bride of his fourth son lord Guilford Dudley, her sister Catherine was married to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and the lady Catherine Dudley to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon.

On the 11th of June sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, was summoned, with two of the other judges and the attorney and solicitor general, to attend the king at Greenwich. When they came Edward apprized them of his intentions respecting the devise of the crown, and putting into their hands a draft of the measure signed by him in six different places, desired them to draw up a legal instrument to that effect. They attempted to remonstrate, but he would not hear them, and only granted them some delay to examine the various settlements of the crown. Two days afterwards they came, and informed the council that such an instrument would subject both the drawers and the advisers of it to the penalties of treason. Northumberland, who was in an adjoining room, when he heard what they said, came out in a rage, and calling Montague a traitor said, "I will fight in my shirt with any man in this quarrel." They retired, and soon after all but the solicitor-general were again summoned to appear before the king, who asked them in an angry tone why they had not obeyed his command. The chief justice explained the reason, and when the king expressed his intention of calling a parliament, advised that the matter should be deferred till it met. But Edward insisted on its being done immediately, and the lawyers finally consented on condition of receiving a commission under the great seal and a pardon. When the instrument was drawn up, Northumberland resolved that it should be signed by all the privy councillors, and by the judges and law officers. Among the judges sir James Hales, a zealous protestant alone refused, and Cranmer alone among the councillors, but with his wonted weakness he swerved in his resolution. He had all along advised the king against the measure; he earnestly sought but could not obtain a private audience, in the hope of dissuading him from it. When called on to sign, like the rest, he said, "I cannot set my hand to this instrument without committing perjury, for I have already sworn to the succession of the lady Mary, according to his late majesty's testament." He was then required to attend the king. "I hope," said Edward to him, "that you will not stand out and be more repugnant to my will than all the rest of my council. The judges have informed me that I may

lawfully bequeath my crown to the lady Jane, and that my subjects may lawfully receive her as queen, notwithstanding the oath which they took under my father's will." Cranmer asked permission to consult with the judges: their explanations seem to have removed his scruples, and he put his signature to the devise.

The young king was now taken from under the care of his physicians, who declared that their skill was baffled, and committed to the charge of a woman, who pretended to have some specific for his disease. But he rapidly grew worse, and on the 6th of July, 1553, he breathed his last. Almost his closing words were, "O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name for Jesus Christ's sake."

Edward died so young that his character had not developed itself sufficiently to enable us to appreciate it. He has, however, been the subject of unlimited panegyric to the pens of zealous protestants, who identify him with the progress made by true religion in his reign. He was certainly amiable in his disposition, his piety was fervent and sincere, but it showed symptoms of degenerating into bigotry and intolerance. His abilities were more than moderate, and they were carefully cultivated. It is to the glory of Edward's reign, and to the honor of his advisers, that it was free from bloodshed on account of the contest between the old and new religions. "Edward," says Dodd, a catholic, "did not shed blood on that account. No sanguinary, but only penal, laws were executed on those who stood off." The blood-thirsty zealots of the succeeding reign could not say that they only followed the example set them by those whom they murdered.

CHAPTER VII.

MARY.

1553—1555.

NORTHUMBERLAND intended to keep the death of king Edward for some time a secret. His object was to get the princesses into his power for which purpose they had been

summoned to London to see their brother. The lady Mary had reached Huntsdon in Herts the evening of the king's death; but having received secret intelligence of that event from Arundel, she mounted her horse and rode with all speed to Kenninghall in Norfolk.

The council spent three days in making the necessary arrangements for securing the succession of lady Jane. During this time they communicated the death of the king to the lord mayor and some of the aldermen and citizens, under the seal of secrecy. On the fourth day they proceeded to make that event public, and the chief of them rode to Sion House to announce her dignity to the young queen.

The lady Jane Gray was now but sixteen years of age; her person was pleasing, her disposition amiable and gentle, and her talents of a superior order. Of the extent of her acquirements and the serious turn of her mind we have a proof in the following anecdote, related by the learned Roger Ascham:—Going one day to Bradgate, the residence of her family, he learned that the other members of it were hunting in the park, but he found the lady Jane at home deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's *Phædon* in the original Greek. When he expressed his surprise at her thus foregoing the pleasures of the park, she replied with a smile, "I fancy all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Besides the classic languages, she is said to have been acquainted with French and Italian, and even to have acquired some tincture of the Oriental languages.

Her usual residence since her marriage had been at Sion House; but she had lately removed to Chelsea. An order of the council to return to her former abode, and there to await the commands of the king, was now conveyed to her by her husband's sister, lady Sydney. Next morning she was visited by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. They addressed her in terms of unwonted respect; her mother, her mother-in-law and the marchioness of Northampton then entered, and the duke informed her of the death of her royal cousin, and his devise in her favor, in order to preserve the realm from papistry. The lords then fell on their knees, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in her right. At this unexpected intelligence Jane burst into a flood of tears and fell senseless on the ground. When she recovered, she bewailed her cousin's death, and expressed her sense of her unfitness to

supply his place, but added, looking up to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength, I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honor and my country's good."

A barge was prepared next day, and Jane was conveyed to the Tower, the usual residence of the kings previous to their coronation. As she entered it her train was borne by her own mother; her husband walked at her side, his cap in his hand; all the nobles bent the knee as she passed. Her succession was now proclaimed; but the people, whose notions of hereditary right were strong, and who hated Northumberland, listened with apathy. A vintner's boy who ventured to express his dissent was set in the pillory and lost his ears for his offence. Many of the reformed clergy preached in favor of the present change in the succession. Bishop Ridley exerted his eloquence in the same cause at St. Paul's cross, but with little effect. For this he has been blamed, and it may be with reason, but he had had recent experience of Mary's unyielding bigotry, and doubtless he deemed that there was no safety for the Reformation but in her exclusion.

Though the partisans of Jane had the government, the treasures, a fleet, an army, and the fortresses in their hands, the cause of Mary was strong in the popular notion of her right, and still stronger in the popular aversion to Northumberland. The people of Norfolk, who had suffered so much at his hands in their late insurrection, were therefore disposed to favor her, and she was proclaimed at Norwich, (July 13.) She had previously written to the council, demanding why they had concealed her brother's death, and requiring them to have her instantly proclaimed; a denial of her right was returned, and she was called on to "surcease to molest any of queen Jane's subjects." Her letters to divers of the nobility and gentry were better attended to; the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the heirs of lords Wharton and Mordaunt joined her at the head of their tenantry; and sir Edward Hastings, who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the cause of Jane, led them to the support of Mary. This princess had now removed to the duke of Norfolk's castle of Framlingham, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might escape to Flanders if necessary. A fleet had been sent to intercept her, but the crews were induced to declare in her favor. So many of the nobility and gentry had now joined her that she found herself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. Sir Edward Has-

tings and some other leaders were preparing to march from Drayton to Westminster with ten thousand men.

On receiving this intelligence, the council directed the duke of Suffolk to advance with the troops, which had been collected against the lady Mary; but Jane with tears implored them not to deprive her of her father. As Suffolk's incapacity was well known, the council called on Northumberland himself to take the command. He complied, though with reluctance it is said, for he feared their treachery. He sent his troops forward, and on receiving the assurances of the nobles that they would join him with their forces at Newmarket, he set forth with his train, (July 14.) The indifference shown by the assembled populace was such as to cause him to observe to lord Gray, as they rode through Shoreditch, "The people press to look on us, but not one saith 'God speed ye.'" He proceeded to Cambridge, whence he advanced (July 17) at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in the direction of Framlingham; but at Bury St. Edmund's he found it advisable to retreat, and he returned to Cambridge, whence he wrote to the council requiring them to send him reinforcements without loss of time.

But things in London had meantime taken a new direction. On the 19th the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, sir Thomas Cheney and sir John Mason met at Baynard's Castle, where they were attended by the lord mayor, the recorder, and some of the aldermen. Arundel, who had all along been in secret correspondence with Mary, advised them to acknowledge her; he met the main objection by saying, "How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer."* Pembroke then drew his sword, and exclaimed, "If the arguments of my lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel."† All, however, gave a willing assent; they rode forth and proclaimed Mary at St. Paul's cross amid the acclamations of the populace, to whom

* "Which indeed was true," adds bishop Godwin, as of his own knowledge. As it appears to have been only verbal, it was easy for Mary and her partisans afterwards to deny it.

† This fervent loyalist had been one of those who signed the devise of the crown to Jane, and he had sworn a few days before to shed his blood in her cause!

beer, wine, and money were then distributed, and the night was ushered in by bonfires and illuminations.

Arundel and Paget having set forth with the news to Mary, Pembroke took the custody of the Tower from Suffolk. The lady Jane, after a brief reign of only ten days, laid down her royalty, and retired to Sion House. When her father announced to her the necessity for her resignation, she replied that it was far more agreeable than his late announcement had been, and expressed her wish that her cheerful abdication might atone for the offence she had committed in accepting the crown, in obedience to him and her mother. Northumberland, when he found the turn matters were taking, proclaimed queen Mary at Cambridge; but he was arrested by Arundel, and committed to the Tower,* as also were the duke of Suffolk and twenty-five more of their friends.

Mary now advanced toward London. At Wanstead in Essex she was met by the lady Elizabeth, at the head of a stately cavalcade of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. Four days after, the two sisters, followed by a magnificent train, rode through the city to the Tower,— Mary small, thin, and delicate; Elizabeth tall, handsome, and well-formed, carefully displaying her beautiful hands. In the Tower Mary was met by four state prisoners of rank, the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, Courtenay, son of the late marquess of Exeter, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. She raised them from the ground where they knelt, kissed them, and gave them their liberty. Next day she released Tunstall and Bonner. When forming her council she bestowed the office of chancellor on Gardiner, who soon showed that his captivity had not subdued his haughty, overbearing spirit. Paget was next in influence and importance in the cabinet.

Though Mary had hitherto led a life of seclusion, the love of splendid apparel, which seems to have been inherent in her family, was seated deep in her heart, and she gave loose to it in such a manner as to surprise even the French ambassador, who must have been well used to the pomp and display of dress at his own court. She required all about her, both lords and ladies, to be similarly arrayed, and gray-haired dames of sixty were now to be seen in the gayest hues, and laden with jewels and ornaments,—unlike the perhaps too

* As he was led through the city, a woman displayed one of the handkerchiefs dipped in Somerset's blood. "Behold," she cried, "the blood of that worthy man, the good uncle of that worthy prince, which was shed by thy malicious practices! It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee."

sober court of Edward VI. Her coronation was celebrated (Sept. 30) with all possible splendor. It was performed in the ancient manner; her clothes were all blessed; she was anointed on various parts of her head and body; Gardiner chanted mass; the crown was borne by Elizabeth, who with Anne of Cleves afterwards dined at the queen's table. A general pardon to all but sixty persons, who were named was proclaimed the same day.

On the 18th of August Northumberland, his son lord Warwick, the marquess of Northampton, sir John and sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, and sir Thomas Palmer were brought to trial. Norfolk presided as lord high steward for the trial of the three peers. Northumberland submitted these questions: could a man be guilty of treason who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal? and could those who were involved in the same guilt with him sit as his judges? He was told that the council and great seal of which he spoke were those of a usurper, and that those against whom there was no sentence of attainder were qualified to sit as judges. They all then pleaded guilty. The commoners, who were tried the next day, did the same. Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were selected for execution.

Abject in adversity as insolent in prosperity, Northumberland sought an interview with Gardiner, and implored his interest to save his life. "Alas," cried he, "let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner expressed his wish to serve him, but could not venture to give any hopes. He then prayed that a learned priest might be sent, to whom he might confess, adding that he had never been of any religion but the bishop's own, though for ambitious motives he had pretended otherwise, and that so he would declare at his death. Gardiner, it is said, shed tears, and there is reason to believe did apply to Mary on his behalf; but the emperor had strictly enjoined her not to spare him, and indeed there was no reason why she should. Bishop Heath was sent to give him spiritual comfort. On the 21st the duke and his fellow-prisoners attended mass; he received the eucharist in one kind, and he addressed those present, expressing his regret for his share in putting down the mass, and his intention of restoring it, which, he said, "I could not do at once, because it was necessary for my ends to win the hearts of the Londoners, who love new things." Before evening it was announced to him that he was to die the next morning. He wrote in the most supplicatory terms to Gar

diner and Arundel, but in vain. Next morning he was led with Gates and Palmer to the scaffold on Tower-hill. The duke, taking off his damask gown, leaned over the railing on the east side, and addressed the spectators. He acknowledged his guilt, but said that he had been incited by others whom he would not name; he exhorted the people to return to the ancient faith, without which they could not hope for peace. "By our creed," says he, "we are taught to say, 'I believe in the holy catholic faith,' and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop here present can testify. All this I say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will." He then prayed, and laid his head on the block. His two companions died with penitence and courage, but made no recantation.

Such was the well-merited end of this bold bad man. His confession, it has been finely observed, "was not attended with those marks of penitence which might render it respectable; it served only to strip his conduct of any palliation which the mixture of a motive, in its general nature commendable, might have in some degree afforded." It matters little whether he were sincere or not; he certainly seems to have looked for a reprieve up to the moment when he laid his head on the block.*

The other prisoners, with the exception of lady Jane and her husband, were set at liberty. But notwithstanding all this clemency, the prospect for the protestants was gloomy and cheerless. The queen made no secret of her attachment to the church of Rome, though she still pretended that she would not interfere with the religion of the people. The Romish priests, now imboldened, ventured to celebrate mass openly in some places. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, when preaching at St. Paul's cross, dared to attack what had been done in the late reign. The people became excited, a cry of "Pull him down!" was raised, stones were thrown, and some one flung a dagger, which hit one of the pillars of the pulpit. He might have lost his life but for Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers, who calmed the fury of the people, and conveyed him into St. Paul's school. The queen took advantage of this to forbid all public preaching, the great weapon of the reformers.

No one could plead better the rights of conscience in her own case during the late reign than Mary, but in the case of her sister she seems to have forgotten them all. Elizabeth

* Foxe asserts that he had been promised a pardon

found it necessary for her safety to attend mass, and she was even obliged to stoop some time after to the hypocrisy of writing to the emperor to send her a cross, chalice, and other things for the celebration of mass in her private chapel.

Ridley was already in the Tower; Hooper bishop of Gloucester and others were also in prison. Cranmer had hitherto been suffered to remain at Lambeth; but when the subdean Thorndon had the audacity to have mass celebrated in the cathedral of Canterbury, the primate felt it his duty to show that this was without his participation. He drew up a paper containing his sentiments on the mass. Bishop Scory, having called on him, saw it, and obtained a copy; from this several other copies were made, one of which was publicly read in Cheapside. Cranmer was summoned before the council: he acknowledged the paper to be his, and said his intention had been to enlarge it, affix his seal to it, and put it upon the doors of St. Paul's and other churches. He was committed to the Tower (Sept. 14) on a charge of treason. Latimer had been sent thither the preceding day for his "seditious demeanour," as it was termed. As the venerable man was led through Smithfield, he anticipated his fate, and said, "This place has long groaned for me." Most of the leading protestants were now in prison, many fled the kingdom: Peter Martyr and the other foreigners were ordered to depart. When the men of Suffolk sent to remind the queen of her promises, they met with insult, and one of them named Dobbe was set in the pillory. The intentions of the queen and her council could now be no secret to any one. When the news of her accession reached Rome the pope instantaneously appointed Pole papal legate for England, and soon after a Romish envoy named Commendone, who had gone over to England, and had had private interviews with the queen, arrived with a letter to the pontiff in her own hand-writing, in which she engaged for the return of herself and her kingdom to their obedience to the Holy See. Pole was impatient to proceed at once to England, but Gardiner feared he would precipitate matters too much; the emperor too apprehended his opposition in a matter he had much at heart, and impediments were thrown in his way.

The parliament which had been summoned met on the 5th of October. It is said, but without proof, that violence had been employed to procure a majority favorable to the court; but the simple court influence, added to the prejudices of a large number of the electors, the eagerness of the catholics to obtain seats, and the fears or despondency of the protes-

tants, are fully sufficient to account for the effects. An open violation of the existing law, a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in Latin before both houses, and when Taylor bishop of Lincoln refused to kneel at it, he was thrust out of the house. The archbishop of York had been committed to the Tower the day before for "divers his offences," and Harley, the only remaining protestant prelate, was not allowed to take his seat because he was a married man.

The most important measures passed in this parliament were, an act abolishing every kind of treason not contained in the statute 25 Edw. III., and all felonies that did not exist anterior to 1 Henry VIII.; one declaring the queen's legitimacy, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer; one repealing all the statutes of king Edward respecting religion: it was enacted that after the 20th of December next ensuing, no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of king Henry. An act of attainder was also passed against those already condemned for treason, and against lady Jane Gray, her husband, lord Ambrose Dudley, and archbishop Cranmer: these four were arraigned at Guildhall, (Nov. 13,) and they all pleaded guilty. Cranmer, urged probably by the natural love of life, wrote to the queen a full explanation of his conduct in the affair of altering the succession, and seeking for mercy; he did not remind her, as he might have done, that she had been indebted to him for safety in her father's time. No notice, however, was taken of his application, but it does not appear that Mary had as yet any decided intention of taking his life.

The marriage of the queen was a subject which had for some time engaged the attention of herself and her council. The plan of a match between her and cardinal Pole, whom a papal dispensation could restore to a secular condition, was again brought forward; but the cardinal was now fifty-four years of age, his health was delicate, his habits were bookish and studious, and as the queen seems to have desired an active, young consort, that project was abandoned. The general opinion was that she would marry young Courtenay, whom she had created earl of Devonshire, and whose mother she had selected for her bedfellow, according to the usage of the age. Of foreign princes, the king of Denmark, the infant of Portugal, and others were spoken of; but the imperial ambassador had his directions to hint to her, as from himself, a match with the prince of Spain, who was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower. She did not seem to give any attention at the time, but the idea sank in her mind. Her affection for Courtenay was observed visibly to decline; she

began to talk of his youth and inexperience, and she felt or affected great horror at the excesses into which he ran, and which were but too natural to a young man long secluded, on the first acquisition of liberty. Presently came a letter from the emperor himself, gallantly regretting that age and infirmity prevented him from offering her his own hand, but proposing to her that of the prince of Spain. Her pride was gratified by the prospect of such a high alliance, her vanity was flattered at her hand being sought by a man eleven years her junior, and she secretly resolved on the Spanish match.

In the council Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget were in favor of it; Gardiner was opposed to it, as also were the bulk of the people, catholics as well as protestants; the French and Venetian ambassadors also exerted themselves strenuously in favor of Courtenay. On the 30th of October the commons voted an address praying that she would select a husband out of the nobility of the realm. But she would not be thwarted; she said she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor. She sent that same night for the imperial ambassador, and taking him into her oratory knelt at the foot of the altar before the hallowed wafer, which she believed to be her Creator, and having recited the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," called God to witness that she took the prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other. When the commons waited on her with the address, she told them it was for her, not for them, to choose in this matter.

On the 2d of January, 1554, four ambassadors extraordinary arrived from the emperor, and made a formal offer to her of the prince of Spain. Gardiner, who had given up his opposition when he found it useless, had already arranged the terms with the resident ambassador Renard, and he took all possible precautions for the honor and independence of England. The appointment to all offices was to rest with the queen, and be confined to natives; Philip was to bind himself by oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges; he was not to take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; not to claim a right to the succession if he survived her; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or any of the crown jewels; and not to engage the nation in the war between his father and France.

Gardiner recommended this treaty with all his eloquence to the lords of the council, who were willing auditors, but to the people the Spanish match was odious. Treaties and

promises they knew were as easily broken as made; supported by foreign troops, Philip might easily trample on the constitution, and establish the diabolical tribunal of the Inquisition. These murmurs soon ripened into conspiracies, which were secretly encouraged by Noailles, the French ambassador. It was proposed to effect risings in various parts, and to marry Courtenay to Elizabeth, and establish them in Devonshire, where his family interest lay. There does not, however, seem any sufficient reason for believing that the princess was aware of these plans. It was the intention of the conspirators to wait till the actual presence of Philip in the kingdom should have still further excited the dissatisfaction of the people; but Gardiner drew the secret from the fears or the simplicity of Courtenay, and the very next day (Jan. 21) finding they were betrayed, they resolved to have recourse to arms, unprepared as they were, before they were arrested. The duke of Suffolk and his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Gray, went down to Warwickshire to raise his tenantry there; sir James Croft went to the borders of Wales, where his estates lay; sir Peter Carew and others to Devonshire. But all their efforts to raise the people proved abortive. The duke, after being defeated in a skirmish near Coventry by lord Huntingdon, who was sent in pursuit of him, was betrayed by one of his own tenants, and was recommitted to the Tower: Croft was surprised and taken in his bed before he could raise his tenantry: Carew fled to France at the approach of the earl of Bedford.

In Kent affairs assumed a more serious aspect. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a man of great skill and courage, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone, (Jan. 24;) he was instantly joined by fifteen hundred men, and five thousand more were ready to rise. He fixed his head-quarters at the old castle of Rochester, and he obtained cannon and ammunition from some ships that were lying in the river. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of a part of the guards and five hundred Londoners, advanced to attack him, but when he gave orders to force the bridge, Bret, the commander of the Londoners, addressed his men, urging them not to fight against those who only sought to save them from the yoke of foreigners. A cry of "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" was raised, and Wyatt came out at the head of his cavalry; Norfolk and his officers fled toward Gravesend, and Wyatt soon reached Deptford at the head of fifteen thousand men.

The council were now greatly alarmed for the personal

safety of the queen. This, however, is one of the few moments in her life in which we must admire her; she exhibited all the courage of her race, and resolved to face the danger. When the lord mayor had called a meeting of the citizens, she entered Guildhall with her sceptre in her hand, followed by her ladies and her officers of state, and addressed the assembly in such animated terms that the hall resounded with acclamations: twenty-five thousand of the citizens forthwith enrolled themselves for the protection of the city.

Wyat meantime was at Southwark with a force diminished to two thousand men, for his followers slunk away when they found that the Londoners would oppose them. Finding that they were exposed to the guns of the Tower, he led them up the river to Kingston, and having there repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and crossed, he proceeded rapidly toward London in the hope of surprising Ludgate before sunrise. But the carriage of one of his cannon happening to break, he most unwisely delayed for an hour to repair it. This gave time for information to be conveyed to the court. The ministers on their knees implored the queen to take refuge in the Tower, but she scorned the timid counsel. A force of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the lords Pembroke and Clinton, was ready to oppose the rebels. At nine o'clock Wyat reached Hyde-park. Though exposed to the fire of the royal cannon at St. James's; he forced his way up Fleet-street with a few followers, and reached Ludgate, where being refused admittance he turned and fought his way back to Temple Bar; but here, finding further resistance hopeless, he surrendered to sir Maurice Berkeley. His followers meantime had been routed, one hundred being slain and about four hundred made prisoners.

If Mary on the former occasion had neglected the advice of the emperor and acted with lenity, she resolved to do so no longer. The very day after the capture of Wyat, (Feb. 8,) she signed a warrant for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," as it was insultingly expressed. Feckenham, the former abbot of Westminster, was sent to endeavor to convert the lady Jane to the catholic religion, but all his arguments failed against her sound sense and steady piety. On the morning appointed for the execution, (Feb. 12,) lord Guilford, whom Jane had refused to see lest their feelings should overcome their fortitude, was led out and beheaded on Tower-hill in the presence of a great mul-

nude of people. Jane from her window saw him go forth, and she afterwards beheld his bleeding trunk as it was brought back in a cart. Her own execution was to take place within the precincts of the Tower, either on account of her royal extraction, or more probably from fear of the effect the sight of her youth and innocence might have on the minds of the spectators. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and then addressed those present, saying that she was come there to die for the commission of an unlawful act in taking what belonged to the queen; but adding that, as to the desire or procurement of it, she washed her hands in innocency, and she called on them to bear witness that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only through the blood of Jesus. She then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first psalm in English. As she was placing herself before the block, she said to the executioner, "I pray you despatch me quickly." She then asked him, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" "No, madam," replied he. Her eyes being bandaged she groped about for the block, and not finding it she became a little agitated and said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Her head was then guided to the right spot. She stretched forth her neck saying, "Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," and one blow terminated her existence.

Even the popish historian, who seems to regard it as his duty to suppress all sentiments of sympathy and compassion when a protestant is the sufferer, says that "it would *perhaps* have been to the honor of Mary" if she had abstained from this deed. A more humane and enlightened historian says, "The history of tyranny affords no example of a female of seventeen, by the command of a female and a relation, put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion. The example is the more affecting as it is that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, with learning, with virtue, with piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honor and dishonor an age."

The duke of Suffolk was executed shortly after. He met with less commiseration than he would have done had he not been regarded as the chief cause of his admirable daughter's death. He was a weak, well-meaning man, and seems to have been actuated more by religious feeling than

by ambition. His brother lord Thomas Gray, a bolder man shared his fate. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the most fortunate of those who were brought to trial; for he proved to the satisfaction of the jury that his case did not come within the statute of Edward III., and they acquitted him. But the court had no idea of being balked of its prey by the consciences of jurors. They were all summoned before the council, committed to prison, and made to pay fines of from 1000 marks to 2000*l.* apiece. This made other juries more pliant, and sir John Throgmorton and others were found guilty at once. Wyatt was reserved for some time, and efforts were made to prevail on him to accuse the 'ady Elizabeth and Courtenay. He partly yielded, but what he had been induced to say not being deemed sufficient, he was sent to the scaffold. At his execution (April 11) he declared that, led by a promise of his life, he had been induced to charge them falsely with a knowledge of his enterprise.

According to the accounts of both the French and the Imperial ambassadors, upwards of four hundred persons were hung. Our own writers would seem to limit this number to little more than sixty.* On the 20th of February four hundred others were led, coupled together with halters round their necks, to the tilt-yard, where the queen from her gallery pronounced their pardon, and the poor men went away shouting "God save queen Mary!"

But the great object of Mary and her council was to get the lady Elizabeth into their toils, as the emperor strongly urged her execution. In the beginning of December she had with difficulty obtained permission to retire to her house at Ashridge. It is very probable that she had received some intimation of the designs of the conspirators, and that, knowing her life to be in constant danger from the bigotry of her sister, she may have secretly approved of them, but there is no reason to suppose that she ever committed herself by giving her consent to them. But whether the court had evidence against her or not, the very moment Wyatt's insurrection was suppressed, a body of five hundred cavalry

* The accounts may, perhaps, be reconciled. Noailles writes on the 12th of March, that above 400 had been hung, besides 50 captains and gentlemen; Renard on the 17th of February, that 200 men, taken at the fight at St. James's, had been executed with their officers; and on the 24th, that 100 had suffered in Kent. Stow says, that on the 14th and 15th of February about 50 of Wyatt's faction were hanged. May not these have been only the 50 officers mentioned by the ambassadors?

was sent to Ashridge, whose commanders had orders to bring her up "quick or dead." She was at this time very unwell, and was retired to rest when they arrived at ten at night. She requested not to be disturbed till morning; but they insisted on seeing her immediately, and followed her lady into her chamber. Two physicians having reported that she might travel without danger to her life, she was placed next morning at nine o'clock in a litter, and her weakness was such that she did not reach London till the fifth day. As she passed along the streets she caused the litter to be opened, and she appeared clad in white, but pale and swollen with her disease, yet still displaying that air of majesty and dignity which nature had impressed on her features. She was kept for a fortnight a close prisoner at her own residence; it was then determined to send her to the Tower. She wrote to her sister, asserting her innocence in the strongest terms, and claiming a personal interview on the grounds of a promise the queen had made her. Her letter was unheeded, and on Palm Sunday she was led to a barge in order to embark for the Tower. As she passed along she cast her eyes up to the windows, hoping to see her sister, but the queen was probably engaged at her devotions. She ventured to say that she wondered the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. She objected to landing at Traitors' Stairs, but one of the lords said she must not choose, and offered her his cloak, as it was raining. She flung it from her, and stepped out, saying, "Here lands as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." The warders who came to receive her knelt down and prayed for her safety, for which they were dismissed next day. She passed on, and sat on a stone to rest herself; the lieutenant begged of her to come in out of the rain; she replied, "Better sitting here than in a worse place." She was then led to her apartment; the doors were locked and bolted on her, and she remained there to meditate on the fate of her guiltless mother and the innocent Jane Gray—a fate which she had little doubt awaited herself.

Mary, in whose bosom fanaticism had stifled all natural feeling, was willing to shed her sister's blood; the emperor, acting perhaps on the principles of his grandfather in the case of the earl of Warwick was urgent to have her executed, if possible; Arundel and Paget were for the same course; but Gardiner saw plainly that neither she nor

Courtenay could be brought within the provisions of 25 Edw. III., now the only law of treason. It may be that motives of humanity had some influence on the chancellor's mind, but there is nothing to prove it. The queen feared to take on herself the responsibility of executing her sister contrary to law. The rigor of Elizabeth's confinement was so far relaxed that she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the Tower. On the 19th of May, sir Henry Bedingfield came with one hundred soldiers and conveyed her to Richmond, and thence to Woodstock castle, where she was confined as strictly as when in the Tower. Courtenay, who was a close prisoner in this fortress, was sent on the 22d to Fotheringay.

The queen, meantime, lay on no bed of roses. She was in a state of constant apprehension; she distrusted even those who were about her, and did not venture to move without a large body of guards. She is said to have had thoughts of ordering a general muster of the people, and then seizing their arms and laying them up in the fortresses. At this time great numbers of the gentry, apprehensive of the persecution which they saw coming, sold their properties and went over to France.

A parliament met on the 4th of April; a sum of 400,000 crowns, sent for the purpose by the emperor, is said to have been employed to gain over the members; and Mary, to quiet the apprehensions which might be felt about the church lands, resumed the title of supreme head of the church. The object proposed was to get a bill passed, enabling the queen to dispose of the crown and appoint a successor. But the parliament easily saw who the successor would be, and that, in her blind folly and hatred of her sister, the queen would make England but a province of the Spanish monarchy. All the arts of Gardiner, therefore, failed; they would not even make it treason to compass the death of the queen's husband. Bills for reviving the law of the Six Articles and other statutes against heresy, were introduced to no purpose, and the queen, finding the parliament not to answer her ends, dissolved it.

If we believe the malicious, but probably true, statements of the French ambassador, the queen manifested her impatience for the arrival of her young husband in a very ridiculous manner. She frequently complained of his delay, regarding it as intentional, and remarked that though she brought him a kingdom as her dowry, he had not favored her with a single letter; and as she viewed her ordinary and

sureworn features in her glass, she feared lest she might fail of inspiring him with affection. At length, to her great joy, Philip landed at Southampton, (July 19.) He was received by the lords of the council and presented with the order of the Garter. After a short delay he rode to Winchester, where he was met by the anxious queen; and on the feast of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, (July 25,) the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, the bishop of that see. The royal pair remained there for some days, and then proceeded to Windsor. They visited the metropolis, where they were received with those very dubious marks of affection, shows and pageants; but the character of neither was calculated to gain the popular favor. The queen was anxious to have her husband all to herself, and his own Spanish pride contributed to fence him round with pomp and etiquette.

But the object nearest the queen's heart was to bring her kingdom again into the bosom of the church. As this could never be effected while the nobility and gentry had to fear for their property in the church lands, the pope yielded to the representations of Gardiner, and signed a bull empowering the legate to "give, alienate, and transfer" to the present possessors all the property taken from the church in the two late reigns. It was now deemed advisable to convene a new parliament; and as the queen knew she might depend on the compliance of the degenerate or upstart nobles, who never dreamed of opposing the royal will, no matter who possessed the crown, her sole care was to obtain a pliant house of commons. Orders were therefore sent to the sheriffs to have those who held the ancient faith elected; the protestants were dispirited, and consequently a house containing probably not a single one of them was returned. On the first of November the parliament was opened by a speech from the chancellor in the presence of the king and queen, whose expectation he said it was that they would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the catholic church. One of the first measures for this purpose was to introduce a bill for reversing the attainder of cardinal Pole. It was passed of course without hesitation.

The cardinal meantime was on his way to England; lord Paget, sir Edward Hastings, and sir William Cecil had been sent to meet him at Brussels. At Dover he was received by the bishop of Ely and lord Montague; as he advanced, the gentry of the county joined him on horseback. He entered a barge at Gravesend, where the earl of Shrewsbury and the

bishop of Durham presented him with the act reversing his attainder: then, fixing his silver cross in the prow, he proceeded to Westminster. The chancellor received him as he landed; the king at the palace gate, the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short stay he retired to Lambeth, and occupied the archiepiscopal palace, which had been prepared for his abode.

Four days after, the legate returned to court, whither the lords and commons had been summoned. He thanked them for reversing his attainder, and assured them of his readiness to aid in restoring them to the unity of the church. They then retired, and next day they unanimously voted a petition to the king and queen, expressing their sorrow for the defection of the realm, and hoping through their mediation to be again received into the bosom of the church. A gracious reply could not be withheld. On the following day the queen came and sat on her throne, the king on her left, the legate on her right. The chancellor read out the petition; the king and queen spoke to the cardinal, who then rose, and after addressing the assembly at some length, solemnly absolved them and the whole realm, and restored them to the holy church. They rose and followed the king and queen into the chapel, where the *Te Deum* was chanted. The next Sunday the legate made his public entrance into the city. Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross, lamenting his conduct in the time of Henry VIII., and exhorting all to follow his example, and repent and amend.

The present parliament readily passed the bill against heresy, and the others which had been rejected by the last. They also made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen; but even they would go no further, refusing to consent even to his coronation. An act, however, was passed, giving him the guardianship of the queen's expected issue, "if it should happen to her otherwise than well in the time of her travel."

The lovesick Mary actually fancied at this time that her longing desires for issue were about to be gratified. At the first sight of Pole she felt, as she thought, the babe moving in her womb; this by some of the zealous was likened to John the Baptist's leaping in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. The council wrote that very night to Bonner to order a *Te Deum* to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the safe delivery of the queen, one of which ran partly thus: "Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may

sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But all was mere illusion; the pregnancy, as afterwards appeared, was but the commencement of dropsy!

To ingratiate himself with the nation, Philip caused those who were in confinement in the Tower for treason to be set at liberty. Through his means the same favor was extended to Courtenay.* But his most popular act was obtaining pardon for the princess Elizabeth. As we have seen, she was now a prisoner at Woodstock, and sir Henry Bedingfield proved so rigorous a jailer that, it is said, hearing one day the blithe song of a milkmaid, she could not refrain from wishing that *she* were a milkmaid too, that she might carol thus gay and free from care. Her situation was a precarious one; as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and as a protestant in her heart, she was an object of aversion to the queen, who, according to Elizabeth's own assertion, actually thirsted for her blood. Gardiner is said to have been urgent for her execution. He used, we are told, when the punishment of heretics was spoken of, to say, "We may shake off the leaves and lop the branches; but if we do not destroy the root, the hope of heretics, (i. e. the princess,) we do nothing." And he was right; for had she been cut off, and had the queen of Scots succeeded, it is impossible to say what might have been the injury to true religion. The Spanish match alone saved Elizabeth; for it became the interest of him who had the power to do it to protect her. Nobler motives too may have actuated Philip; he may have shrunk from the idea of seeing the blood of a princess shed to gratify revenge and bigotry. Such motives operated at least on his Spanish attendants. Foxe tells us that when lord Paget said that the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from the shoulders, the Spaniards answered, "God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief;" and he adds that they never ceased urging Philip till he had her released from prison. To this is to be added Elizabeth's extreme prudence, which prevented her enemies from gaining any advantage over her, and her feigning to be a catholic. Something also must be ascribed to the mild temper of car-

* This young man went to the Continent, and he died soon after at Padua

dinal Pole, his gentlemanly feeling, his respect for royal and kindred blood, and his influence over the queen.

Hatfield was now assigned to Elizabeth as a residence, under the charge of sir Thomas Pope, a gentleman of honor and humanity, and she was frequently received at court. It was proposed to marry her to some foreign prince, but she steadfastly declined all the offers made to her. She spent her time chiefly in reading the classics with the learned Roger Ascham.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARY. (CONTINUED.)

1555—1558.

THE year 1555 opened with dismal prospects for the protestants. The queen had already, even before the parliament met, made this reply to the lords of the council in writing:—"Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to *do justice to* [i. e. execute] such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none *to be burnt* without some of the council's presence, and both there and every where good sermons at the same time." On the 23d of January all the bishops went to Lambeth to receive the legate's blessing and directions. Pole, whose natural temper was mild and whose character was virtuous, desired them to return to their sees and endeavor to win back their flocks by gentle methods. On the 25th (St. Andrew's day) there was a solemn procession through London. First went one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes; then came eight bishops, and lastly Bonner, bearing the host; thanksgivings were offered to God for reconciling them again to his church; bonfires blazed all through the night, and this day was appointed to be annually observed under the name of the Feast of Reconciliation. On the 28th, the chancellor, aided by the bishops Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Aldrich, and other pre-

ates, and the duke of Norfolk and the lords Montague and Wharton, opened his court under the legatine authority for the trial of heretics at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark.

The late bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and Rogers, Taylor and some other divines had been brought on the 22d before the chancellor and council; they had to undergo the ill language and browbeating of Gardiner, but they persisted in maintaining their principles. Hooper and Rogers were now put on their trial. The former was charged with marrying, though a priest; with maintaining that marriages may be legally dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that persons so released may marry again; and with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of all. Of the last he said, "I have done so; and I now affirm that the very natural body of Christ is not really and substantially present in the sacrament of the altar. I assert, moreover, that the mass is idolatrous, and the iniquity of the devil."

Rogers was asked if he would accept the queen's mercy and be reconciled to the catholic church. He replied that he had never departed from that church, and that he would not purchase the queen's clemency by relapsing into anti-christian doctrines. Gardiner charged him with insulting his sovereign. "The queen's majesty, God save her grace! would have been well enough," said Rogers, "if it had not been for your counsels." "The queen went before me," said Gardiner; "it was her own motion." "I never can nor will believe it," was the reply. Bishop Aldrich then said, "We of the prelacy will bear witness to my lord chancellor in this." "Yea," replied Rogers, "that I believe well;" which reply caused a laugh among the by-standers. Gardiner made a long speech, and then he and his brethren rose and took off their caps, and he asked the fatal question, did he believe that the body of the Lord was really present in the sacrament. He answered that he did not. The passing of sentence was deferred till the next day, under the pretence of charity, and the two prisoners were conducted to the Counter in Southwark. Next morning they were brought up again, and as they refused to recant, they were condemned on the charges already mentioned. Rogers requested that his poor wife, being a stranger, (she was a German,) might come and speak with him while yet he lived. "She is not thy wife," said Gardiner. "Yea, but she is, my lord," replied Rogers, "and hath been so these eighteen years." His request was refused. The two prisoners were then committed to the sheriffs, with directions to keep them in

the Clink till night, and then to transfer them to Newgate. In order that the city might be enveloped in darkness, orders were given that the coster-mongers, who then, as now, sat with candles at their stalls, should put them out. But the people stood with lights at their doors, and greeted, prayed for, and praised the confessors as they passed.

Some days after, Bonner came to Newgate, and in the chapel performed the ceremony of degrading them, on which occasion he rejected the renewed request of Rogers to be allowed to see his wife. On the 4th of February Rogers was led forth to be burnt in Smithfield. Immense crowds were assembled in the streets, who cheered and applauded him as he went along repeating the fifty-first Psalm. Among them he beheld his wife and his ten children, one of them an infant at the breast. At the stake a pardon was offered him if he would recant; he refused it, and died with constancy, England's protestant protomartyr.

As we shall unfortunately have more of these horrible *autos da fe* to narrate, we will here describe the manner of them. A large stake or post was fixed in the ground, with a ledge or step to it, on which the victim was set, standing stripped to his shirt, that he might be visible to all the spectators. He was fastened to the stake with chains, but his arms were left at liberty. Fagots and bundles of reeds were then piled around him, to which fire was set, and he was thus consumed.

The next day (Feb. 5) Hooper, whom it was unwisely determined to burn in his own diocese, was taken to near St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street, where he was committed to the charge of six men of the royal guard, who were to conduct him to Gloucester. Having eaten a hearty breakfast at the Angel, St. Clements, he mounted the horse prepared for him. To prevent his being recognized on the road, he was made to wear a hood under his hat, which covered the greater part of his face; and he was never taken to any of the inns at which he had been in the habit of stopping. His coming being known, a large multitude of people met him within a mile of Gloucester, who loudly lamented his fate. His guards took him to a private house, and kindly allowed him to pass the next day in solitary devotion. Sir Anthony Kingston, one of his former hearers, and now one of those appointed to conduct his martyrdom, came in and saluted him; but he was so absorbed in prayer that he did not hear him. Kingston burst into tears, and when he drew his attention, urged him to save his life and recant; but his

arguments were of no avail, and he retired thanking God that he had known the bishop, who had been the means of reclaiming him from sin. In the evening the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen came to receive him from his guards. They saluted him kindly, and were going to take him away to the city gaol; but the guards, whose hearts he had won on the journey, interceded, offering to be answerable for him if left for this last night in his present lodging; to this the magistrates consented. He retired to rest at five o'clock, and, having slept soundly for some hours, arose and employed himself in fervent devotion.

At nine the next morning (Feb. 9) the sheriffs came with armed men to conduct him to the pyre. He walked between them, leaning on a staff, on account of the sciatica which had come on him in prison. As it was market-day, about seven thousand people were assembled, but strict orders from the council not to permit him to address the people had been received.* The stake had been fixed near a great elm tree in front of the cathedral where he was wont to preach. The spectators filled the place around, the houses, and the boughs of the tree; the priests of the college stood in the chamber over the gate. When he arrived he knelt down and prayed: lord Chandos, who presided at this martyrdom, observing those who were nearest listening attentively to his prayers, ordered them to remove to a greater distance. A box containing his pardon was set before the victim. "If you love my soul, away with it!" said he twice. "There is no remedy then," said Chandos; "despatch, quickly." Hooper then threw off his gown, desiring the sheriffs to return it to his host, to whom it belonged. He would fain have retained his hose and doublet, but the sheriffs, whose perquisites they were to be, would not suffer him, "such was their greediness." When he was fixed to the stake, one of his guards came and kindly fastened some bags of gunpowder about him to shorten his torments. The pyre was then inflamed, but most of the wood was green, and the wind blew the flames from him. At length it blazed up, but it sank again, leaving him all scorched; even the explosion of the powder did him little injury. His sufferings lasted for three quarters of an hour, during which he was seen to move his lips constantly in prayer, and to beat his

* The martyrs were usually enjoined not to speak. Foxe says that the council used to threaten to cut out their tongues if they did not vledge themselves to be silent.

breast, which he continued to do with one hand after his other arm had dropped off. At length his agonies came to their close.

Our limits do not allow us to enter into the interesting details of the martyrdom of Taylor, Saunders, Bradford, and others, who at this time sealed their testimony to the truth with their blood.* Suffice it to say that they all died with the utmost constancy, especially those who were married, thus nobly refuting the slanderous assertions of their adversaries, that sensual pleasure was the bait which allured them to the reformed creed.

It is remarkable that after the condemnation of Hooper and Rogers, the chancellor sat no more, but resigned the odious office to Bonner, of whom it has been truly said, that he "seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty." What Gardiner's motive could have been it is not easy to say; perhaps, as small matters often produce great effects, it was the shame and annoyance caused by the constant references of his victims to his own writings, and his own oaths, that induced him to devolve the task to one untroubled with shame or compunction. Certainly it was not humanity that actuated him. Another notable circumstance is this:—On the 10th of February, Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar and confessor to the king, preached a sermon in which he condemned these sanguinary proceedings in very strong terms, as contrary to both the text and the spirit of the Gospel. Whether the friar in doing so acted from conscience or the directions of Philip cannot be ascertained. If the latter was the cause, it must have been that Philip, seeing the horror caused by these barbarous executions, and knowing that they would be laid to his charge, and that he would thus lose all chance of obtaining the government of England, took this mode of clearing himself. But the stratagem, if it was such, was of no avail; in a few weeks the piles were rekindled, and every one knew that he had such influence over the queen that he could have ended the persecution at his pleasure.

The possessors of the church lands, as we have seen seem to have cared little about religion or conscience in

* Lingard disposes of Hooper and all these martyrs in the compass of half a page. "To describe the sufferings of each individual," says he, "would fatigue the patience and torture the feelings of the reader." Though it may seem uncharitable, we suspect there were other reasons for this silence.

comparison with their houses and manors; but they now ran some risk of seeing their rights of possession disputed. A splendid embassy, headed by lord Montague, Thirlby bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Karne, was sent to Rome to lay the submission of England before the papal throne. But while they were on the road, pope Pius died; and his successor Marcellus, one of those excellent men whom chance rather than design seems to have placed on the seat of St. Peter,* followed him to the tomb within a few days after his elevation. The choice of the college now fell on the cardinal Caraffa, a man hitherto distinguished for the austerity of his manners. But, when placed on a throne, under the name of Paul IV., he displayed his real character, and in pomp, in arrogance, and in nepotism he yielded to none of his predecessors. This haughty pontiff condescended to forgive the English nation the sin of their defection, and he confirmed the erection of Ireland into a kingdom; but he spoke strongly of the guilt of detaining any portion of the church property, and seemed determined to insist on its restitution. His pride, however, yielded, for a time at least, to the considerations of expediency.

While England was thus brought again within the papal fold, and the tortures of the heretics proved how sincerely her government had imbibed the spirit of Rome, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer lay in prison expecting the fate which they knew awaited them. In the beginning of March in the preceding year, they had been transmitted to Oxford where they were required to dispute with a commission, presided over by Dr. Weston, on the subject of the eucharist and the mass. This disputation lasted for three days. The prisoners met with little but sophistry, insult, and derision; and as they steadfastly maintained their opinions, they were condemned as heretics, "themselves, their fautors and patrons." A grand mass was celebrated on the following Sunday, to which succeeded a procession, Weston carrying the deified wafer under a canopy. The commissioners then quitted Oxford; Cranmer, probably being regarded as an attainted traitor, was confined in the common jail, which was named Bocardo; the other two prelates were kept in separate houses.

As there was no law at this time by which deniers of the

* "I could not believe," wrote the archbishop of Salerno, "that Santa Croce could be made the pope; because all his manners, and the path in which he walked, seemed to me to be the contrary to that by which the papacy is obtained."

real presence could be burnt, the government was obliged to wait till parliament should have armed them with powers for the purpose. The prelates were, therefore, left in their prisons till the autumn of the following year, (1555,) when Brookes bishop of Gloucester came down, by commission from the legate, as papal sub-delegate, attended by two civilians, Martin and Storey, as the royal proctors. He opened his commission (Sept. 12) in St. Mary's church, seated on a scaffold, ten feet high, over the high altar. Cranmer was led in, habited in his doctor's dress; he took no notice of Brookes, but saluted the royal proctors. Brookes observed that his present situation entitled him to more respect. Cranmer mildly replied that he meant no personal disrespect to *him*, but that he had solemnly sworn never to re-admit the bishop of Rome's authority into the realm. Brookes then addressed him, charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery. Martin followed in the same strain. Cranmer, being permitted to enter on his defence, knelt down and repeated the Lord's prayer; he then rose, and reciting the creed, proceeded to deny the authority of the pope, and to inveigh against the practice of saying prayers in a foreign language. Speaking of his book on the eucharist, he maintained that it was conformable to the decisions of the church for the first thousand years. "If from any doctor who wrote within that period," said he, "a passage can be brought proving the authorized prevalence of a belief in the corporal presence, I will give over." He objected to the witnesses who appeared against him, as being perjured men, who had before sworn to renounce the pope. The next day he was cited to appear in person before the pope within eighty days, and was then sent back to his prison.

On the 30th of September Brookes sat again, aided by White of Lincoln and Holiman of Bristol. Ridley was brought before them. He took off his cap, but when the commission in the name of the pope and legate was read he put it on again. He was remonstrated with, and on the whole was treated with civility. Five articles, two of which related to transubstantiation and the mass, were offered to him to subscribe. He refused, and he repeated his protest against the authority of the court. Ridley was then removed, and Latimer was brought in. The venerable man was clad in a threadbare frieze gown, fastened round his hips by a common leathern girdle; he had a nightcap on his head, covered by a handkerchief, over which was a trades

man's cap with flaps buttoned under his chin. His Testament was suspended from his girdle, and his spectacles from his neck; he held his hat in his hand. White treated him with courtesy, and exhorted him to be reconciled to the church; Latimer, having obtained permission to sit, proceeded to refute his arguments, and he quoted from a sermon lately published an instance of the manner in which Scripture was perverted in support of the church of Rome. "What clipping of God's coin is this!" added he in his usual manner. These words caused a laugh, which increased when it was made known that Brookes himself was the preacher. "Was it yours, my lord?" said Latimer. "Indeed I know not your lordship, neither did I ever see you before, neither yet see you now through the brightness of the sun shining between you and me." The merriment was redoubled at this simple address; Latimer, who felt its unsuitableness to the occasion, then said, "Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter, I answer upon life and death. 'Woe unto you that laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep!'" After some more conversation he was required to subscribe the five articles. He refused, protesting at the same time, like Ridley, against the authority of the court.

The next morning Ridley was again brought before the court. He remained covered, but his cap was taken off by order of bishop White. He gave in a written answer on the subject of the five articles, and, having again refused to subscribe them, he was excommunicated as an impugner of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. Latimer was next brought in; he was exhorted to return into the bosom of the catholic church; he asserted that he never was out of it, but he reprobated those who artfully confounded it with the Romish church, which last he said ought rather to be called diabolical. He then refused to subscribe, and was excommunicated.

Some days after, the mockery of degradation was under gone by the two martyrs. When Ridley was forced to put on the Romish vestments, he said, alluding to the indignities offered to Christ, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." When it was over, he gave Brookes a supplication, which he requested him to present to the queen. It was on behalf of some tenants of the see of London, to whom he had given leases which Bonner refused to allow, and of his sister, whose husband he had placed in a situation of which Bonner had deprived him. At the name

of his sister, tears checked his utterance. "This is nature that moveth me," said he, "but I have now done."

The following morning (Oct. 16) the martyrs were led from their prisons to the pyre in the old city-ditch, opposite Baliol college. As Ridley passed by Bocardo, he looked up, hoping to catch a last view of Cranmer; but he was at that moment engaged in an argument with De Soto, a Spanish dominican, and some others. He afterwards, it is said, went up to the roof of the prison, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees with outspread hands prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope in their agony. When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot, they embraced each other, and Ridley said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the fire or else strengthen us to abide it." They kissed their stakes, knelt and prayed, and then conversed together. Dr. Smyth, a man who always thought with those in power, then mounted a pulpit, and preached from the text "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing;" and the sort of charity which his discourse contained may be easily conjectured: when he had concluded, Ridley craved permission of lord Williams of Thame, who presided, to make a reply. Permission was refused, and they were ordered to make ready for death. Ridley distributed parts of his clothes and various little articles among his friends. When Latimer was stripped he appeared arrayed in a new shroud, and he who had lately been enfeebled by age and infirmity now "stood bolt upright," says Foxe, "as comely a father as one might lightly behold." When they were fastened to the stakes, Ridley's brother-in-law attached bags of gunpowder to them. A lighted fagot was then thrown at their feet. "Be of good comfort, master Ridley," then said Latimer, "and play the man. - We shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle as I trust shall never be put out." He washed his hands, as it were, in the flames, and then stroked his face with them, and crying, "Father of heaven, receive my soul!" speedily expired. Ridley's sufferings were greatly protracted; the bottom of the pyre being composed of furze, with fagots heaped upon it, the flame beneath was at first strong, and it burnt his lower extremities, but it then subsided. In agony he cried, "O, for Christ's sake let the fire come unto me!" His brother-in-law heaped on more fagots: the victim became enveloped in a dense smoke, when he kept crying, "I cannot burn; O, let the fire come unto me!" Some of the

fagots were then removed; the flame sprang up, the smoke cleared off, and it was seen that on one side his shirt was not even discolored. He turned eagerly to the flame, the gunpowder exploded, and he ceased to exist.

The arch-persecutor Gardiner soon followed his victims to the tomb. He had been suffering from disease of late. On the 21st of October, when the parliament met, he addressed it, and displayed even more than his usual powers. But the effort was too much for him; he returned to his house, where he died on the 12th of November. He is said to have shown some penitence; for on our Savior's passion being read to him, when they came to St. Peter's denial he bade them stop there, for said he, "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept bitterly with Peter;" words, however, rather ambiguous. He was, as his whole life shows, a worldly-minded, ambitious man, of unscrupulous conscience, proud and arrogant, false and artful. The reformers charged him with looseness and incontinence of living. He was, however, an able statesman, and there is something not unworthy of respect in his conduct during the late reign.

The parliament, owing either to the want of Gardiner to manage it, or to the horror caused by the late sanguinary proceedings, or aversion to the Spanish alliance, was much less compliant than was wished. The queen's zeal had already led her to give back to the church such portions of its lands as were in the possession of the crown; but she wished to do more, and to restore the tenths, first-fruits, etc., which had been transferred from the pope to Henry VIII. by the act which made him supreme head of the church. This measure passed the lords without opposition, but the resistance in the commons was vigorous, the numbers being 193 for, 126 against it. As a revenue of 60,000*l.* a year was thus abandoned, the commons were naturally indignant at being called on to grant considerable supplies. "What justice is there," said they, "in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?" The ministers were finally obliged to be content with much less than they originally demanded. The commons refused to pass a bill of penalties against the duchess of Suffolk and those who had sought refuge abroad against persecution, and another to disable certain persons from acting as justices of peace; for it was known that their aversion to persecution was their offence. Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of December.

When Philip found that the queen's pregnancy had been

all an illusion, and that there remained little or no hope of offspring, and saw the utter impossibility of his ever acquiring the affections of the nation, he readily complied with his father's desire of returning to Flanders. He took his leave of the queen on the 4th of September, and on the 25th of the following month the emperor made to him the famous resignation of his dominions. Mary meantime beguiled the tedium of his absence by persecuting her heretical subjects and by reëstablishing the friars in their houses; the Gray Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Shene, and the Brigittins at Sion. Westminster again became an abbey, and the house of the Knights of St. John rose from its ruins. She doubtless, in her blind fanaticism, reckoned it as not her least merit in the sight of God that in the course of this year not less than sixty-seven impugnors of the real presence, of whom four were bishops and fifteen were priests, had perished in the flames.

Cranmer still lay in prison. He had written a very manly letter to the queen, wherein he stated his reasons for denying the pope's authority. To this, by her direction, Pole wrote a reply; it was in his usual vague, declamatory style, well seasoned with invective, but containing a memorable attestation of Cranmer's merciful exercise of his authority. "Nor does it at all avail," says he, "to excuse you, that you have slaughtered no one, but have been benign and gentle to all; for I hear this asserted by some. But these know not what they say, nor do you perhaps know whether you have slain any one, because you did not enter Christ's fold with this design, nor, after you entered it, are conscious to yourself of having sought the blood of any." The pontiff, meantime, as soon as the eighty days were expired, condemned him, collated Pole to the primacy, and issued a commission for Cranmer's degradation.

On the 14th of February, (1556,) Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely took their seat in the choir of Christ-church at Oxford, as papal commissioners. Cranmer was led in; the commission was read, dwelling as usual on the papal impartiality, and stating what ample time had been given to the accused to proceed with his appeal and defence. "My lord," cried Cranmer, "what lies be these! that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." When the commission was read, the various Romish vestments, made of canvass by way of insult, were

produced, and he was arrayed in them; a mock mitre was placed on his head, and a mock crosier in his hand. The brutal Bonner then began to scoff at him. "This is the man," cried he, "that hath despised the pope, and now is to be judged by him! This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church! This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament, and now is come to be condemned before that sacrament!"

And so he ran on, though Thirlby, kept pulling him by the sleeve, to remind him of a promise he had made him to treat the archbishop with respect. When they went to take the crosier from him, Cranmer held it fast, and drew from his sleeve an appeal to the next free general council. Thirlby, who was a man of gentle nature, and had been very intimate with the primate, shed floods of tears, declared that he sat there against his will, and implored him to recant; but the vulgar-minded Bonner could not conceal his exultation when he saw his metropolitan degraded. "Now you are no longer My Lord," said he; and he continued to speak of him as "this gentleman here."

Cranmer was now civilly degraded, and might be burnt; but his enemies would have him morally degraded also. Every engine was therefore set at work to induce him to recant. The dean of Christ-church visited him, and invited him to the deanery. He was there treated with the greatest courtesy, and was induced to play a match at his favorite game of bowls. The conversation, in which John de Villa Garcia, a Spanish friar, lately made professor of theology, bore a leading part, turned much on his condition and prospects; he was assured that the queen felt favorably toward him. "But then," it was added, "her majesty will have Cranmer a catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." To these various temptations he at length yielded, and he certainly was induced to make a recantation of some kind; but the matter is involved in great obscurity.

There are, in fact, not less than six recantations preserved which Cranmer is said to have subscribed. Of these, the fifth alone contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of popery; and it has been well asked, if he signed this, why require him to sign the last, — a vague, inflated document, evidently the composition of Pole? Most of these papers were, from the ambiguous terms (such as "catholic church") employed in them, such as might have been subscribed with some reserve of conscience; but sure we are, that Ridley and Latimer would never have put their hand to them. The love

of life, it is not to be denied, led Cranmer into duplicity, and we have his own assertion that he had written or signed papers containing "many things untrue."

Aware of his duplicity, or determined that it should not save him, the government had sent down the writ for his execution; but his fate was concealed from him. On the day before he was to die, Dr. Cole, who was to preach at his death, visited him. "Have you continued," said he, "in the catholic faith wherein I left you?" "By God's grace," replied Cranmer, still dissembling, "I shall be daily more confirmed in the catholic faith." Early next morning (March 21) Cole came again, and asked if he had any money; being answered in the negative, he gave him fifteen crowns. He exhorted him to constancy in the faith, and Villa Garcia then came and urged him to sign a seventh recantation, which he would be required to make in public. Cranmer wrote two copies of it, one for himself and another for the friar, but he signed neither. Between nine and ten o'clock he was led forth to be burnt in the place where his friends had suffered, but as the morning was wet the sermon was to be preached in St. Mary's church. He walked thither—now, it would seem, aware of his fate—between two friars, who mumbled psalms as they went; and as they entered the church they sang the *Nunc dimittis*, which must have assured him that his time was come. He was placed on a platform opposite the pulpit, "and when he had ascended it he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly, which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance." Cole then commenced his sermon, by assigning reasons why, in the present case, a heretic, though penitent, should be burnt; and when he had gone through them, he added, "There are other reasons which have moved the queen and council to order the execution of the person here present, but which are not meet and convenient for every man's understanding." He then exhorted Cranmer, and assured him that masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. He concluded by calling on all present to pray for the prisoner. All knelt. "I think," says the writer, "there was never such a number so earnestly praying together; for they that hated him before now loved him for his conversion and hope of continuance; they that loved him before, could not suddenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side." Cole then called on Cranmer to perform his promise and make a confession of his faith, so that al

might understand that he was a catholic indeed. "I will do it," said Cranmer, "and that with a good will."

He rose, put off his cap, and briefly addressed the people; then drawing from his sleeve a written prayer, repeated it aloud. Having concluded it, he knelt down and repeated the Lord's prayer, in which all joined, kneeling also. He then rose, and calmly and gravely addressed the people, exhorting them "not to set overmuch by the false glosing world, to obey the king and queen, to love one another like brethren and sistren, to give unto the poor." He then declared his belief in the creed, and in all things taught in the Old and New Testaments. "And now," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life if might be; and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand when I come to the fire shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist; with all his false doctrine." At these words murmurs were heard. Lord Williams charged him with dissembling. "Alas, my lord," said he, "I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth; I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise." He would have spoken more, but Cole cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

He was now hurried away to the stake; he stripped himself with haste and stood in his shirt; when he took off his caps his head appeared quite bald, his beard was white and flowing. He again declared "that he repented his recantation right sore; whereupon the lord Williams cried, 'Make short, make short!' Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, when his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying, with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.'" His sufferings were short, as the fire soon blazed fiercely; his heart was found entire amidst the ashes. "His patience in the torment," adds this writer, "his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I

could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man, — his friends for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity whereby we are bound to one another.” *

Thus terminated the mortal career of Thomas Cranmer, a man possessed of every virtue but firmness. His talents were not of a high order, and the modesty of his temper made him defer too implicitly to the opinions of others; but we doubt if he ever, except in the matter of his recantation, acted against his conscience, though, as in the case of Joan Bocher, his conscience was not always well informed. His recantation we feel hardly inclined to regret, it afforded such occasion for the display of the dignity of virtue and the ennobling influence of sincere repentance. “Let those,” says a writer, whose beautiful reflections we love to quote, “let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate; others who are not so certain of their own steadiness will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable example in history of a soul which, though debased, is not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserves an heroic courage after the forfeiture of honor, its natural spur, and in general its inseparable companion.”

The very day of Cranmer's martyrdom Pole, who had now at length taken priest's orders, said his first mass, and the next day he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. Out of decorum he had deferred the ceremony while Cranmer lived, and surely the same feeling might have induced him to defer it a little longer. Many people applied to him the words of the prophet to Ahab concerning Naboth: “Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?” Along with the primacy Pole retained for some time the see of Winchester; and when at length he gave it up to White, he made him covenant to pay him 1000*l.* a-year out of it. Money is said to have been employed at Rome to have this contract, which savored of simony, allowed. The queen also gave him several estates belonging to the crown. The following year the vindictive pontiff, who was Pole's personal enemy, revoked his legatine commission, and proposed transferring it to old friar Peto, who was now the queen's confessor, and whom he made a cardinal for the purpose. But Mary firmly supported Pole; the pope's mes-

* The extracts above are from the narrative of a catholic who was present: it is given by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*.

senger, with the hat and letters, was stopped at Calais, and the course of public events at this time impeded the proceedings.

Philip, who was now at war with France, was anxious to obtain the aid of England. For this purpose he came over in March, 1557. He assured the queen that it would be his last visit if he was refused. Mary was of course most desirous of gratifying him, but Pole and other members of the council were decidedly opposed to engaging England in a war for Spanish interests. Fortunately for Philip, just at this time Thomas Stafford, grandson to the last duke of Buckingham, sailed with a small force from Dieppe, landed and seized the old castle of Scarborough, and put forth a proclamation stating that he was come to deliver the nation from its present thralldom to the Spaniards. But no one joined him, and he was obliged to surrender on the fourth day (April 28) to the earl of Westmoreland. He was brought up to London and beheaded, after being made to confess that the king of France had aided and encouraged him in his enterprise. The resistance of the council, whom the queen had in vain menaced even with a dismissal, was now overcome, and war was declared against France.

The queen, who two years before had had recourse to sundry unjust and violent modes of raising money, put some of them now again in practice, especially that of privy seals, that is, letters addressed to persons of substance requiring them to lend the sums specified in them to the crown. To victual a fleet she seized all the corn that could be come at in Norfolk and Suffolk; and having by the aid of impressment raised an army of ten thousand men, she sent it under the earl of Pembroke to join that of Philip in the Low Countries. In order to secure herself against disturbances at home, she put into the Tower such of the gentry as she most suspected, and they were taken thither either by night, or muffled up, that they might not be recognized.

The Spanish army, when joined by the English auxiliaries, numbered forty thousand men. The duke of Savoy, who commanded it, laid siege to the town of St. Quintin. The constable Montmorency advanced to its relief; but failing in his attempts to throw succor into the town, he was attacked on his retreat by the besieging army, and defeated (Aug. 10) with a loss of three thousand men. The English fleet meantime made descents on various parts of the coast of France. The French, however, soon had ample revenge on the English queen for her share in the war.

The duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, resolved to attempt a plan, which had been suggested by the admiral Coligni, for surprising Calais. In the month of December he assembled at Compeigne an army of twenty-five thousand men, with a large battering train; and while it was expected that he would attempt the recovery of St. Quintin, he suddenly marched for Calais, and on New Year's Day (1558) he was seen approaching that town. Calais was surrounded by marshes, impassable during the winter, except by a dike defended by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam-bridge. The French carried the former by a vigorous assault, and the latter was soon also obliged to surrender; the same was the fate of another castle named the Risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbor. Batteries were now opened on the town and castle, and the governor, lord Wentworth, was obliged to capitulate, (Jan. 7.) Guisnes surrendered shortly after; and thus, after a possession of two hundred years, was lost the only acquisition of Edward III. The loss was in truth a real benefit to England, but neither the queen nor the people viewed it in that light; it was regarded as a stain on the national character, and it augmented the already great unpopularity of Mary. She was herself so affected that, when on her death-bed, she said to her attendants, "When I am dead and opened, ye shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Parliament when assembled (Jan. 20) made a liberal grant. A fleet was equipped, and sent to make an attempt on the port of Brest in Brittany; but it failed to achieve its object. A small squadron of ten English ships, however, lent such valuable aid to count Egmont, in his attack at Gravelines on a French force which had invaded Flanders, as enabled him to give it a total overthrow.

The inauspicious reign of Mary was now drawing to its close. She was suffering under disease; she felt that she had lost the affections of even that portion of her people who agreed with her in religious sentiments, by her subserviency to the Spanish councils and by her arbitrary taxation, while her cruelties had drawn on her the well-merited hatred of the protestants. She had also the mournful conviction that she had exercised cruelty to little purpose, as the heresy had been hardly checked by it; and she knew that her successor, however she might now dissemble, secretly held the reformed doctrines, and would probably re-establish them. Finally, her husband, for whom she had forfeited the affection of her subjects, and for whom she felt

such extravagant fondness, was negligent, if not unkind. Her mind is also said to have been kept in a constant ferment by the paper-war that was carried on against herself and her religion by the exiles at Geneva.

While such was the state of her mind and body, she was attacked by the epidemic fever then prevalent, and after languishing for three months she breathed her last, (Nov. 17,) during the performance of mass in her chamber, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, who was ill of the same fever, died the following day.

These two exalted personages are striking examples of the evil influence of false religion on the mind and heart. Mary was a woman of virtue, and not devoid of mental powers. On more than one occasion she had exhibited great energy of character. She was constant and sincere in friendship; she was devout, charitable, and just.* But unfortunately her religion was a gloomy, sanguinary superstition, which taught that the offering of holocausts of those who dared to use the noblest faculties which the Deity had given them, was an acceptable service to a God of mercy, and that promises made to such persons were not to be observed. And hence her character will evermore remain in history as that of a cruel, sanguinary bigot. Apart, however, from religion, the death of the innocent and amiable Jane Gray will always prove that the nature of Mary was harsh and unrelenting.

The cardinal was a man of letters, polished in manners and virtuous in mind, generous, humane, and to a certain extent liberal in feeling. Yet religion made him a traitor to his sovereign and benefactor, a scurrilous libeller, and a persecutor even unto death of those who dissented from his creed. For though it may be true that he did not urge on the persecution, he always assented to it, and not a week before his death, five persons, the last of the victims whom his own certificate had given over to the secular arm, were burnt in his diocese.

* In 1557, lord Stourton, a zealous catholic, seized two gentlemen named Hargil, father and son, with whom he was at variance, and with the aid of his servants put them privately to death in his own house, and buried them in a pit fifteen feet deep. The murder, however, came to light, and he and four of his servants were found guilty. All the interest made with the queen to save him was of no avail; she would only grant him the favor to be hung with a silken rope. It is to be observed that Lingard takes no notice of this act, so creditable to Mary.

With the deaths of Mary, Pole, and Gardiner, ended forever the dominion of popery in England. The cruelties perpetrated by them were even of advantage to the reformed faith. The English nation is naturally averse from cruelty, and the sight of the constancy and even exultation with which the martyrs met their fate, while it caused pity and admiration for the sufferers, inspired a natural favor toward the religion which enabled men to die thus cheerfully, and raised doubts as to the truth of the system which required the aid of the stake and fagot. Hence many who were catholics at the commencement of Mary's reign, were protestants at its close; and hence her successor found so little difficulty in establishing the reformed faith. The number who perished in the flames during the four years of the persecution was little short of three hundred,* of whom more than a sixth were women, and some were children and even babes.† There were five prelates and twenty-one of the other clergy among the victims. We find eight gentlemen noticed, but none of the nobles or knights who had obtained the spoil of the abbeys.

* Speed says 274, Burnet 284, Collins 290. Lord Burleigh (Strype, Eccles. Mem. chap. lxiv.) states the number who perished in this reign by imprisonments, torments, famine, and fire at 400, of whom 290 were burnt. We should be glad to know on what authority Dr. Lingard says that "almost 200 persons perished in the flames for religious opinion." It is not his usual oracle, the veracious Sanders, for he exultingly says there were some hundreds: his words deserve to be quoted. "*Legibus etiam antiquis,*" says he, "*de puniendis hæreticis iterum zelo principe Christiano dignissimo renovatis non solum ille [Cranmer] sed aliquot pseudoprophetarum centuriæ sunt sublatae.*" p. 231.

Lord Burleigh further says, that there were more than 60 women and 40 children among the sufferers, and that of the former "some were great with child, out of whose bodies the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burnt." Dr. Lingard rejects this as resting solely on the authority of Foxe, who he says was refuted by Harding and Persons: he does not notice lord Burleigh's testimony.

CHAPTER IX.

ELIZABETH.

1558—1565.

ELIZABETH was proclaimed immediately on the death of her sister. Bonfires and illuminations testified the joy of the people, and their hopes of happier days. A deputation of the council repaired next day to Hatfield, to convey to the new queen the tidings of her accession. She fell on her knees, and said, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." Acting under the advice of sir William Cecil, who had long been in communication with her, she declared her intention of continuing most of the late queen's counsellors in their offices.* The necessary regulations were forthwith made respecting public affairs, and on the 23d the queen set out for London. She was met at Highgate by the bishops, to all of whom, except Bonner, she gave a gracious reception. She lay that night at the Charter-house, the residence of lord North, and proceeded next day (Nov. 25) to the Tower. The thoughts of the change in her condition since she had entered that royal fortress a prisoner, awoke her religious feelings, and she fell on her knees and returned thanks to Heaven.

One of the earliest measures adopted had been to send to inform foreign princes of the death of the late and the accession of the present queen. Lord Cobham was appointed to convey the tidings to king Philip, expressing at the same time the queen's gratitude for the friendship he had shown her during the late reign. Philip in return, through his ambassador the duke of Feria, offered his hand to Elizabeth, assuring her that he would obtain the requisite dispensation from Rome. But every motive, both public and private, operated in the queen's mind against this match. The nation was so adverse to the Spanish connection, that by continuing it she would forfeit her popularity; and as Philip

* Those whom she retained (who of course were catholics) were archbishop Heath, chancellor; marquess Winchester, treasurer; earls Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, Pembroke; lords Clinton and Howard of Edlingham; sirs T. Cheyney, W. Petre, J. Mason, Rich. Sackville; and Dr. N. Wotton. To these she added the following Protestants marquess Northampton; earl Bedford; sirs T. Parr, E. Rogers, A. Cave, F. Knolles, W. Cecil, N. Bacon.

and she were related in the same degree as her father and Catherine of Aragon had been, it would be in effect acknowledging that her mother's marriage was not valid, and her own birth not legitimate. She therefore declined the proposed union in the most civil terms.

Her accession was also notified at Rome, but the intemperate old man who occupied the seat of infallibility replied, that as England was a fief of the Holy See it was great presumption in her to assume the title and authority of queen, and that being illegitimate she could not inherit. However, if she would renounce all title to the crown and submit entirely to his will, she should be treated with all the lenity consistent with the dignity of the Holy See. These impotent assumptions were of no effect; Elizabeth heeded little the authority of the pontiff, and she had commenced the changes she intended in religion long before his answer could arrive.

The prudence of Elizabeth, and of her chief adviser Cecil, led them to proceed very cautiously. The first step was to put an end to the persecution; those therefore who were in prison for their religion were released on their own recognizances.

On the other hand, the late queen's obsequies were performed (Dec. 13) according to the rites of the Romish church. White, bishop of Winchester, who preached the funeral sermon, took occasion to deliver an inflammatory discourse, and he received an order to keep his house. When intelligence arrived (Dec. 23) of the death of the emperor Charles V., a solemn dirge and requiem were ordered to be performed for the repose of his soul. But Elizabeth forbade the host to be elevated in her own chapel, and she directed that a part of the service should be performed in English. Many of the reformers had already returned from exile; they were favorably received at court, but preaching was prohibited without the royal license. Archbishop Heath, seeing the course matters were taking, resigned the seals, which were committed to sir Nicholas Bacon, with the title of lord-keeper.

The 15th of January, 1559, was the day appointed for the coronation. On the 14th the queen left the Tower and proceeded through the city in a splendid carriage, preceded by the trumpeters and heralds, and followed by a train of nobles, ladies and gentlemen on horseback, all richly attired in crimson velvet. The shouts of the joyous multitudes filled the air as she passed along; and the companies of the city displayed their feelings and their taste in the manner of the age by erecting gorgeous *pageants*, as they were named.

across the streets. On one appeared the eight Beatitudes, suitably habited, each of which was appropriately ascribed to the queen. At the conduit in Cheapside, another exhibited the opposite images of a decayed and a flourishing commonwealth; from a cave beneath issued Time, leading forth his daughter Truth, who presented an English Bible to the queen; Elizabeth took the book, pressed it to her heart and lips, and said she thanked the City more for it than for all the cost that had been bestowed on her, and that she would often read it over. At the end of Cheapside the recorder met her, and presented her with a purse containing 1000 marks in gold, which weighty gift she received in both her hands. The giants Gog and Magog reared their huge forms over Temple Bar, holding out to her their Latin verses; and a child, "richly arrayed as a poet," pronounced a farewell in the name of the corporation of London.

The coronation took place next day. Heath and some other bishops did not appear, but the greater part gave their attendance, arrayed in scarlet like the temporal nobles, and the ceremony was performed in the usual manner by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle. On the following morning, it being usual on such occasions to release prisoners, as she was on her way to her chapel one of her courtiers presented to her a petition, beseeching her that now this good time four or five principal prisoners more might be released; these were the four Evangelists and St. Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, so that they could not converse with the common people. She replied with great gravity that it were better first to inquire of themselves whether they would be released or not.

The queen was now twenty-five years of age. In person she was above the middle size, well formed and majestic. Her skin was fair, her hair yellow, her eyes bright and lively, her nose rather aquiline. Her manners were affable, graceful and dignified; her mind was highly cultivated; she could express herself with grace and ease in Latin, French, and Italian, and in the school of adversity she had learned wisdom. Such was the woman whose destiny it was to sway the British sceptre with a dignity unknown to antecedent or succeeding monarchs.*

* [Mr. Keightley is one of those writers who, ardently attached to the Protestant religion, and overlooking the *naturally progressive* aspect of the times, are apt to ascribe the great advances made at a point of time with which Elizabeth was *accidentally contemporary* to the individual

On the 25th the parliament met. The same causes, namely, influence on the part of the government, the zeal of those who favored it, and the depression of those of opposite sentiments, which had given a catholic parliament in the beginning of the late reign, now returned one zealous for the Reformation. Its first act was a recognition of Elizabeth as the "lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown," lawfully descended from the blood-royal according to the order of succession settled in the 35th Hen. VIII. The queen, in all things superior to her predecessor, did not, like her, ostentatiously seek a declaration of the validity of her mother's marriage, and thus throw obloquy on her father, and revive the memory of events that were better forgotten. All that was requisite was implied in the words "lawfully descended of the blood-royal." Bills for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the crown, and for reëstablishing the supremacy, were introduced and carried in spite of the strenuous opposition of the bishops. By the last, the queen, who was styled Governess (not Head) of the Church, was invested with the whole spiritual power, to make or repeal canons, alter discipline and ceremonies, suppress heresies, etc., without consulting parliament or convocation. Whoever refused to acknowledge the supremacy was declared incapable of holding office; whoever denied it, or sought to deprive the queen of it, was to forfeit his goods and chattels for the first offence, to incur a *præmunire* for the second, the third was treason. The queen was to nominate directly to bishoprics, and the bishops were forbidden to alienate the revenues of their sees or make leases for more than twenty-one years. But as an exception was made in favor of the crown, the church derived but little advantage from this well-meant measure.

A bill for-restoring the English liturgy was next brought

influence of that queen. It is, however, to be feared, that her character was little more estimable than that of Mary. She was as little taught as her sister, in the school of adversity, the lessons of charity, or toleration. She was a bigot, as every page of her history shows, and in heart a very tyrant. Her efforts were most zealously, though, happily, unsuccessfully directed to *restrain* the expanding efforts of the human mind, as manifested in the independent spirit of the Commons' house of parliament. Persecution, in numberless forms, of those differing from herself and counsellors in religious opinion, marked her reign. She deserved, as fully as Mary, the title "bloody." She was blessed with counsellors who, more clear-sighted than herself, took advantage of the advancement of the age, to elevate their country to a position which she has ever since retained. Hence the chief, and real, glory of Elizabeth's reign. — T. S.]

in; but the matter was considered of so much importance, that it was deemed advisable that it should be previously disputed between the two religious parties. Eight champions were chosen on each side; the most distinguished of the Romanists were bishops White and Watson, dean Cole, and archdeacon Harpsfield; of the protestants, Scory, Jewel, Aylmer, Cox, Grindal, and Horne. The archbishop of York and lord-keeper Bacon presided; the place was Westminster Abbey; the questions proposed were: Whether it is not against the Word of God and the custom of the ancient church to use an unknown language in the public service of the church; whether every church has not a right to appoint rites and ceremonies, so it be done to edification; whether it can be proved from Scripture that there is a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass.

On Friday, the 31st of March, the dispute began in the presence of the privy council and both houses of parliament. Though it was to be managed in writing, and ten days' notice had been given, the Romish party said they had nothing written, alleging want of time; but they offered to give some extemporary arguments for the retention of a foreign language. Though their motives for acting thus were obvious, their offer was accepted. Dean Cole then rose, well provided with papers of notes, and, prompted by his colleagues, delivered some of the poor arguments by which this absurd practice is defended, well seasoned with abuse of the reformers; he concluded by observing, that nothing is more inexpedient than to bring religious rites down to the level of the vulgar, for that *ignorance is the mother of devotion*. An able reply was read by Dr. Horne, which drew forth great applause. The Romanists saying they had more arguments to urge, the debate was adjourned to the following Monday, on which day they raised various objections; they refused to begin, alleging that the protestants would have the advantage by speaking last; the assembly broke up; White and Watson were committed to the Tower for contempt; three other bishops and three of their divines were heavily fined, in conformity with the arbitrary mode of proceeding which extended to all matters in that age.

The Act of Uniformity, as it is styled, was now introduced and passed; the bishops and eight temporal peers alone dissenting. This act directs that king Edward's second service-book, as altered by the committee of divines appointed for the purpose, should alone be used. The penalties imposed on those ministers who should use any other service were, —

forfeiture of goods and chattels for the first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second, imprisonment for life for the third. A fine of one shilling was imposed on those who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays.

The Reformation was thus finally and effectually established. The parliament concluded its labors by the grant of a subsidy, followed by a respectful but urgent address to the queen, praying her to make choice of a husband. She thanked them for their zeal, but assured them that she regarded herself as solemnly espoused to her kingdom at her coronation, and that she viewed her subjects as her children, and desired no fairer remembrance of her to go down to posterity than this inscription on her tomb: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

The new liturgy came into use on St. John the Baptist's day. The oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops and clergy. Of the prelates, Kitchen of Llandaff alone would take it; the others were deprived of their sees, as also were about one hundred dignitaries and eighty parish priests: the great body of the clergy took the oath without hesitation. No fires were kindled for the recusants; they remained at their liberty till the following winter, when they began to attack the reformation openly. For this several of them were committed to prison. Bonner was confined in the Marshalsea, where he remained for the rest of his life, indulging to the last in the pleasures of the table, to which he was devoted. Tunstal passed the short remnant of his days at Lambeth, where he met with every attention; the same palace was the domicile of Thirlby; Bourne was sent to reside with the dean of Exeter; Heath spent the remainder of his life at his estate at Cobham in Surrey, where the queen often visited him. Some died, others went abroad. The places of the deprived prelates were supplied by the most eminent protestants. Dr. Matthew Parker, a man of great learning and piety, who had been chaplain to the queen's mother, was selected for the see of Canterbury. He was consecrated (Dec. 17) by four of the bishops who had been deprived in the late reign.

Having thus brought the domestic affairs of the country to the close of the first year of Elizabeth's reign, we will now turn our eyes to its foreign relations.

The late queen had left her successor a legacy of a war with both France and Scotland; but negotiations for a general peace had been commenced at Cercamp, and were now continued at Cateau-Cambresis. The differences between

the kings of France and Spain were easily arranged, but Philip, as bound in honor, insisted on the restitution of Calais to his English ally. To this the French cabinet was by no means disposed to assent, and Philip's zeal cooled when he found he had no prospect of the queen's hand; he, however, offered to continue the war on account of it, provided she would engage not to make peace for six years. But to the prudence of Elizabeth and her ministers the possession of Calais, even if it could be recovered, seemed so inadequate to the cost likely to be incurred, that they rejected the proposal, and the English envoys were directed to make peace on any reasonable terms. It was therefore agreed that Henry should retain Calais for eight years, and if he did not then restore it, he should pay 500,000 crowns, and the queen's title should remain; but that if during that time Elizabeth made war on France or Scotland, she should forfeit Calais, which Henry should restore immediately if *he* were the first to break the peace. It was plain that this was only a decent pretext for abandoning Calais, and the judicious saw in it grounds for admiring the queen's good sense and prudence. A general peace was now concluded, (April 2,) and Philip, giving up all thoughts of the queen of England, married the French king's daughter Elizabeth, who had been betrothed to his son Don Carlos.

One difference of no small moment remained between Elizabeth and the king of France: Following the unnatural practice then common among crowned heads, he had caused the dauphin and the queen of Scotland to be married in 1558, though the prince had not passed his fifteenth year, and on the death of Mary he made them assume the arms of England. For according to the papal rules, Elizabeth was illegitimate, and the queen of Scots was the next heir on the hereditary principle. When Elizabeth's ambassadors complained, it was replied that Elizabeth styled herself queen of France, and that Mary, as being of the blood-royal of England, had a right to bear its arms. But this was all mere evasion; the quartering the arms of France with those of England was no new device of Elizabeth's, and at most it could only be regarded as a piece of national vanity, whereas the act of the dauphin and queen, as it was not done in Mary's reign, evidently showed an intention of disputing the throne of England with Elizabeth. The settlement of this point, however, was reserved, and the young royal pair signed as parties the peace of Cateau-Cambresis.

Elizabeth was fully aware that it was the secret intention

of the court of France to endeavor to make good the claim of Mary to the crown of England. She knew that application had been made at Rome to have her excommunicated, which had only been prevented by the influence of king Philip. As it was reckoned that *her* catholic subjects would aid her rival, policy suggested the expediency of forming a connection with Mary's protestant subjects. Hence arose the great interest which the court of England found it necessary to take in the internal affairs of Scotland. We must therefore enter somewhat minutely into the history of that country at the present conjuncture.

The moderate temper of the queen-regent of Scotland made her indisposed to persecute. The reformed doctrines therefore gradually advanced, and many of those who fled from the tyranny of the fanatic queen of England found a refuge in the northern kingdom. There is a sternness and a self-sufficiency in the Scottish character unknown to the English, and nowhere is this more manifested than in the progress of the Reformation in the two countries. In England, it was conducted with mildness and decorum, merely cutting off superfluities and abolishing unscriptural rites and practices; in Scotland it was wild, destructive, and fanatic. Moreover, while the English protestants only sought toleration from their bigoted queen, their Scottish brethren would be content with nothing short of the utter abolition of the old religion. On the 3d of December, 1557, their leaders, the earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairne, and other nobles, met at Edinburgh and entered into a private association styled the Congregation of the Lord, and bound themselves to struggle to the uttermost against "Satan in his members, the antichrist of their time." This convention remained for some time a secret. Meantime the primate Hamilton seized a priest named Mill, and had him tried and condemned for heresy at St. Andrew's; but it was with difficulty a civil judge could be got to pronounce sentence on him, and on the day of the execution the shops were all shut; no one would sell a rope to tie him to the stake, and the primate was obliged to furnish one himself. Mill died of course with constancy; the people raised a pile of stones on the spot in commemoration of him; the clergy removed the stones, but still the pile was renewed. Soon after, when the image of St. Giles, the patron-saint of Edinburgh, was carried in procession, the people, as soon as the queen-regent withdrew, fell on and drove off the priests, seized the idol, threw it in the mire, and broke it to pieces.

The lords of the Congregation, emboldened by these manifest indications of the popular feeling, and by the tidings of the death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth, ventured to petition the regent for the reformation of the church and of the "wicked, scandalous and detestable lives" of the prelates and clergy. The regent temporized till she had obtained the matrimonial crown for the dauphin, and might have conceded some of their demands, but that she received directions from her brothers, the Guises, who now directed every thing at the court of France, to check the new opinions. As usual, she submitted her own good sense to their will. She had the principal reformed teachers cited before the council at Stirling. Such numbers of their followers came to protect them that she feared an insurrection; but on a promise, as is said, that no harm should befall their ministers, the people dispersed. Sentence, however, was passed on them as rebels on their non-appearance. The people, enraged, resolved on opposing the regent and the clergy with arms.

While matters were in this state, the celebrated John Knox returned to Scotland. Knox, a man of stern, unbending nature, actuated by principle alone, far above all sordid, selfish considerations, but narrow in mind and only moderately learned, had adopted, in their utmost extent, the rigid principles of Calvin, the apostle of Geneva. Gospel truth (in his own sense of the term) he held to be paramount to all considerations, and all the laws of society should yield before it. Hence Knox was found to vindicate even the murder of cardinal Beaton. This daring man now (May 11) ascended the pulpit at Perth and poured forth a torrent of declamation against the tenets and practices of the church of Rome. When he concluded, a priest had the folly to prepare to celebrate mass, but the people, who had been wrought up to a high degree of fanaticism by the eloquence of Knox, rushed forward, seized and destroyed his holy implements, then tore the pictures, broke the images, and overthrew the altars. They thence proceeded, their numbers increasing as they went, to the convents of the gray, black, and white friars, where they drove out the inmates and pillaged and destroyed the buildings. The precedent was followed at Cupar in Fife, which was *reformed*, as the phrase was, in a similar manner.

The regent on receiving the intelligence advanced with what troops she had toward Perth. She was joined by Arran, (now duke of Chatelherault in France,) Argyle, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and other lords of the reformed

party, while Glencairne and others led their retainers to the support of the Congregation. They were so formidable in numbers, and evinced such a determined spirit of fanaticism and intolerance, that the regent, dubious of the event of a conflict, agreed to an accommodation. She was then admitted into Perth. But it was soon asserted that she had violated the conditions; the Congregation, now joined by Argyle and the prior, again took arms; Knox became their animating spirit, and Anstruther, Scone, Stirling, and other places, were *reformed*, as Perth had been. They advanced to Edinburgh, where they were admitted by the people, who had already reformed their city. The queen took refuge at Dunbar; but the usual causes having acted to increase her strength and diminish that of her adversaries, a new accommodation was agreed to, and she regained possession of Edinburgh, (July 12.) Soon after troops came from France to her support; and she stationed them at Leith, which she had fortified.

Henry II. lost his life by an accident at the tournament celebrated in honor of his sister's marriage with the duke of Savoy. He was succeeded by the dauphin, under the title of Francis II., and the power of the Guises was now without limits. The young sovereigns styled themselves king and queen of England. The design of making Scotland and eventually England a dependency of France, and of putting down the Reformation, was still retained. Additional troops were collected to be sent to the former kingdom. The Congregation saw that if not supported by England they ran risk of being crushed; they therefore sent Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melvill in secret to London. Cecil stated to his royal mistress the various reasons which not only justified but rendered imperative on her the support of the applicants. Her scruples about treating with the subjects of another prince gave way. She concluded a treaty with the lords of the Congregation, promising never to desist till the French had evacuated Scotland. Winter was sent with a fleet of fifteen sail to the firth of Forth, and an army of eight thousand men was assembled on the borders.

The French troops had surprised Stirling and were laying Fifeshire waste when the appearance of Winter's fleet forced them to return to Leith, where they were besieged by the Congregationalists. A treaty for peace was now set on foot at Newcastle, whither Elizabeth sent Cecil and Wotton to meet the French ministers. While it was going on the queen-regent died, (June 11, 1560.) It was then removed to

Edinburgh, and it was finally agreed that the French should evacuate Scotland; that twelve persons, seven to be selected by the queen, five by the parliament, should govern the kingdom, and that war or peace should not be made without the consent of the parliament. By a separate treaty with Elizabeth, Francis and Mary were to renounce the title of king and queen of England. These princes, however, refused to ratify the treaty, under pretext that the Scots had not fulfilled the conditions, and that Elizabeth continued to support them.

In France itself at this time the protestants formed a numerous party. Their heads were the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni, and his brother Andelot. The persecution against them, which had been begun by Francis I., was still kept up, and from the furious bigotry of the Guises was likely to be aggravated. Community of interest naturally made them look to the queen of England, and Throgmorton her ambassador entered into communication with them. An attempt was made to seize the young king at Amboise, but it failed, and the hopes of the reformers were crushed for a time. But the aspect of affairs in France soon underwent a considerable change. Francis, who was a puny, delicate youth, died, (Dec. 5,) and the queen-dowager, Catherine de' Medici, became regent for the minority of her son Charles IX.; the king of Navarre, whom the Guises had thrown into prison, was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the prince of Condé, who had been condemned to death, was set at liberty; the constable Montmorenci was recalled to court, and a counterpoise to the power of the Guises was thus formed.

The widowed queen, finding the court where she had ruled no longer an agreeable abode, retired to that of her uncles in Lorraine. She still persevered in refusing to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth. Her subjects sent praying her to return to her own kingdom; her uncles urged her to the same course; the ill-feeling which prevailed between her and the queen-mother assured her that she could never expect happiness in France. She assented to a departure, and her minister D'Oysell was sent to England to ask a safe passage for himself and for his royal mistress to Scotland. Elizabeth received him in the presence of her whole court, and in a tone of strong emotion refused both requests unless the treaty of Edinburgh were ratified. "Let your queen," said she, "ratify the treaty and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or by land, whatever can be expected from a queen,

a relation, or a neighbor." When Mary was informed of this refusal she remonstrated in very spirited terms with Throgmorton against the conduct of Elizabeth. Another envoy was sent to London, and as Mary intimated her intentions of being guided by the advice of her council in Scotland, Elizabeth declared herself content to "suspend her conceit of unkindness;" and in answer to the report that was made of her having sent a fleet to intercept her, she assured her that she had only, at the desire of the king of Spain, sent two or three small barks to sea in pursuit of some Scottish pirates.

Mary, accompanied by her uncles and many lords and ladies of the court of France, proceeded to Calais, where she embarked, (Aug. 14, 1561.) Just as she was leaving the harbor a vessel was lost in her sight. "Good God," cried she, "what an omen for a voyage!" She stood leaning with both arms on the poop, and the tears streamed from her eyes as she regarded the country she was leaving. She continually repeated, "Farewell, France! farewell, France!" When it was growing dark and she was summoned down to supper, her tears flowed more plentifully, and she cried, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee; I shall never see thee more." A bed was prepared for her on the poop, and she directed the steersman to awake her at daybreak if the coast of France were still in sight. The man called her, as desired. She gazed till the coast receded from her view. "Farewell, France," said she; "it is over: I shall never see thee again." The English squadron met and saluted her. It searched the baggage ships for pirates, and detained one which was suspected. On the third day a dense fog came on which obliged them to cast anchor in the open sea, and the next day (Aug. 19) the queen landed at Leith. Though she came before the appointed time, and the due preparations had not therefore been made to receive her, the people all crowded down to the port to evince their loyalty; but the queen and her retinue could get no better conveyances to the palace of Holyrood than the paltry horses of the country, and these ill caparisoned. "Are these," cried she, "the pomps, the splendors, and the superb animals on which I used to ride in France?" In the evening a concert of barbarous and discordant music, performed before her windows to testify the joy of her subjects, grated the ears of Mary and her French attendants.

The young queen was now in her nineteenth year. Her

person was tall and elegant, her face handsome, if not beautiful; * her abilities were considerable, her manners were highly polished. She had been brought up in a court where the serpent too frequently lurked beneath the roses; treachery, falsehood, and cruelty, hiding themselves under the covert of honeyed words and wreathed smiles, and where dissoluteness of manners prevailed to a degree elsewhere unknown. She had also been reared in a bigoted adherence to the tenets and practices of popery. She was come to a country poor and semi-barbarous, where deeds of violence and treachery were openly enacted; where the Reformation had breathed its sternest spirit, little mitigated by the Gospel precepts of peace and charity; where the reformed clergy, led by the fanatic Knox, sought to deprive mankind of most of the innocent pleasures of life, and viewed the masks, the dances, the banquets in which the queen naturally took delight, as sinful abominations.

Between a sovereign and a people of such opposite characters, long-continued harmony could hardly be expected to prevail. Yet Mary's reign was for some years happy and prosperous. For this she was indebted to her following the advice of her uncles, and giving her confidence to her half-brother the prior of St. Andrew's, (whom she raised to the dignity of earl of Mar, and soon after to that of Moray or Murray,) the head of the protestant party, and a man of honor, probity, and ability. She also held occasional conferences with the rugged Knox, and bore his uncourteous animadversions with no little patience. Yet all the while her fixed design was the overthrow of the reformed religion. In 1562, when some zealots presented a petition for the suppression of the Romish worship, she angrily replied that she hoped before another year to have the mass restored throughout the whole kingdom. On the 10th of May, in the following year, (1563,) her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, read her letters to the council of Trent professing her submission to its authority, and promising if she succeeded to the throne of England to subject both kingdoms to the Holy See. We shall further find that she was a subscribing party to the famous Holy League concluded at Bayonne in 1565 for the extermination of the protestants. Surely it is not possible that the intentions of Mary with respect to religion could have escaped the knowledge of Elizabeth and her wise minister Cecil; and

* We express ourselves thus. because in some undoubtedly genuine portraits of Mary, her face is not by any means beautiful.

was it not therefore their duty to guard against her having the power to carry these designs into effect?

The queen of Scots, we have seen, laid claim to the throne of England; and supposing the divorce of Henry VIII. not to have been legal, and the power of parliament to limit the succession not paramount, her claim was irresistible. The catholics in general took this view of the case. On the other hand Henry, by his will, sanctioned by parliament, devised the crown, after his own children, to the issue of his younger sister the queen of France by the duke of Suffolk; and many of the protestants, such as Cecil and Bacon, favored this line. The general feeling, however, was on the side of the elder or Scottish branch, and Elizabeth herself seems to have viewed the queen of Scots as her true heir, though she was probably secretly determined to keep the matter in uncertainty as long as she lived. By an act of great harshness and even cruelty she at this time put it nearly out of her own power to exclude the queen of Scots.

The lady Catherine Gray, next sister to the lady Jane, had been married to the son of the earl of Pembroke, but on the fall of her family that time-serving nobleman had them divorced. Catherine was afterwards privately married to the earl of Hertford, son of the Protector. Her pregnancy revealed the secret, and Elizabeth, who could not bear that others should enjoy those delights of love from which she excluded herself, sent the lovers to the Tower. As they were unable to prove their marriage, the primate pronounced a divorce. But their keepers allowing them to meet, the birth of a second child was the result. Hertford was heavily fined, and detained in prison till his unhappy wife sank under the ill-treatment she received, and died. The legitimacy of their children was acknowledged in a subsequent reign.*

Shortly after her arrival in Scotland, Mary sent Maitland to Elizabeth to propose a friendly alliance, but at the same time requiring to be declared successor to the throne. Elizabeth insisted on the execution of the treaty of Edinburgh; she declared that in such case she would do nothing to prejudice the rights of Mary; but she said that her own experience when she was at Hatfield had convinced her how dangerous to the present possessor of power it was to have

* [Candor would seem to require, that the same remarks should be made on the conduct of *Elizabeth*, in this instance, as on that of *Mary* in the case of Lady Jane Gray. (See *ante*, p. 423.) Elizabeth had much less justification for her conduct — J. T. S.]

a designated successor, who would thus become a rallying point for the disaffected. This was a subject on which all through her reign Elizabeth was remarkably jealous, and though, as we have said, she secretly favored the hereditary principle, she never would declare herself. The two queens, notwithstanding, kept up an amicable intercourse by letters, and at one time proposed a personal interview at York, which, however, did not take place, in consequence of Elizabeth's vanity and jealousy, according to those writers who take a delight in assigning little paltry motives to the actions of this great princess. To us the conduct of Elizabeth toward Mary at this period seems to have been as cordial and friendly as was consistent with her station as the head of the protestant party in Great Britain, and the obstinate re-tention by Mary of her claim to the crown of England.

It was a curious circumstance that the rulers of the two British kingdoms should be both young women, both handsome, both single. Their hands were therefore naturally objects of ambition to foreign princes, and the disposal of them matter of solicitude to their subjects. The English parliament were particularly anxious that their sovereign should marry, as her having issue would secure a protestant succession and preclude the collision which might ensue between the hereditary claims of the descendants of Margaret and the parliamentary title of those of Mary Tudor, the daughters of Henry VII. But the masculine and arbitrary temper of Elizabeth had early brought her to a secret determination never to give herself a master, and though she gave her parliament fair words and coquetted with some of her suitors, there does not appear any reason to suppose that she seriously thought on marriage. We will here enumerate her principal suitors at this time.

When Philip of Spain had given up all hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth himself, he put forward the pretensions of his cousin Charles archduke of Austria, in the design of counterbalancing the influence of France in the British island. Some of Elizabeth's leading nobles were strongly in favor of this match, and it continued for some years to be the subject of discussion. Eric king of Sweden, Adolf duke of Holstein, and some other princes also sought her hand. The Scottish parliament in 1560 prayed her to marry the earl of Arran. Catherine de' Medici at a later period offered her son the duke of Anjou to the English queen.

The females of the royal family in England had at all times matched with subjects, and we have seen the parlia-

ment petition the late queen to marry a subject. It need not surprise us therefore to find nobles aspiring to the hand of Elizabeth. The earl of Arundel, though several years her senior, long cherished hopes; sir William Pickering, a man possessed of beauty of person, cultivation of mind, and great taste in the arts, was for some time thought to stand high in the favor of the maiden queen. But all were eclipsed by the charms of lord Robert Dudley.

Dudley was son to the infamous Northumberland. He had been committed to the Tower with the rest of his family, but he was early set at liberty; and by the graces of his manners and his ready assiduity he won the favor of both Philip and Mary, by whom he was frequently employed. At Elizabeth's entrance into London he appeared in her train as master of the horse, and wealth and honors were gradually showered on him. Dudley, we must observe, was at this time a married man, having espoused the heiress of sir John Robsart; and few, perhaps, will ascribe wantonness to Elizabeth. With all her dignity and greatness of mind, however, she was by nature a coquette; she loved admiration, and she had inherited her father's partiality for handsome attendants; like him too she was fond of indulging in a coarse and what might seem to us an indelicate familiarity in language and action, which malicious minds could easily misinterpret. But at this time she had not the remotest thought of marrying.

Of this Dudley probably was not aware, and he may have thought that his wife was the only obstacle to his gaining the hand of the queen. This throws great suspicion over the death of that lady, which occurred at this time, (1560.) He sent her, on what account is not known, under the charge of sir Richard Verney, one of his retainers, to a mansion named Cumnor Hall in Berkshire, held by another of his dependants named Anthony Foster. Her death took place shortly after, owing, it was said, to an accidental fall down stairs. Suspicions of foul play naturally arose, and Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, a pious minister who resided near the place, wrote to secretaries Cecil and Knowles, praying that inquiry might be made. Whether it was done or not we have no certain information, but Dudley appears to have been fully cleared in the queen's mind, though by his enemies and the public he continued to be in some sort "infamed for the death of his wife," as Cecil expressed it.

The hand of the other British queen was also sought by

many. The archduke Charles was a suitor to her also, Philip offered her his son Don Carlos; the king of Navarre would, it is said, willingly have divorced his heretical queen Jane d'Albret to marry the queen of Scotland, to whom Catherine proposed a union with another of her sons. Some of the petty princes of Italy also aspired to the widowed queen.

Mary was differently situated from Elizabeth; the latter had only her own inclinations to consult, while from the circumstance of differing in religion from the great bulk of her subjects, who looked up to Elizabeth as their protectress, Mary could not safely venture on any match which would not meet the approbation of that princess, who, as well as the Scottish reformers, was extremely adverse to her marrying any one but a protestant. It was a delicate matter for Elizabeth to manage, as it seemed almost unwarrantable interference in the concerns of an independent sovereign. Still the safety of England and of the protestant religion was paramount to all considerations. In November, 1563, Cecil drew up instructions on this subject for Randolph, the English minister at Edinburgh, in which he stated the reasons that ought to influence Mary in her choice, viz., the mutual affection of the parties; the approval of her own subjects; the friendship of Elizabeth, who he said would not be satisfied at a foreign match. He was desired to hint that "nothing would content Elizabeth so much as Mary's choice of some noble person within the kingdom of England having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance,* and therewith be agreeable to both queens and both their nations." Accordingly Randolph suggested lord Robert Dudley, accompanied, it would seem, with some favorable prospects respecting the succession. Mary made an evasive reply, alleging that her friends would hardly agree that she should "embase herself so far as that." Dudley himself, who aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, felt no great inclination for the Scottish match; but the negotiations for it still went on, and on the 5th of February, 1565, Randolph wrote that Mary was inclined to marry him. But now Elizabeth began to fluctuate. "I see," writes Cecil, "the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester † the Scottish

* At this part is added in Elizabeth's own hand-writing, "Yea, per chance such as she could hardly think we could agree unto."

† In 1564, Elizabeth, with a view to his marriage with Mary, created Dudley earl of Leicester and baron Denbigh. "It was done," says Melvill, "with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his

queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness." In these words, written from one minister to another, where there could be no intention to deceive, we have the key to Elizabeth's conduct in this intricate business.

In the meantime Mary had turned her thoughts to another English subject. Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, had by her second husband the earl of Angus a daughter, whom Henry VIII. gave in marriage, with an estate in England, to Matthew Stuart earl of Lennox, when he was driven out of Scotland by the regent Arran. Lord Darnley, therefore, Lennox's eldest son, was on the father's side of the blood royal of Scotland, on the mother's of that of England, and being a protestant might prove a formidable rival to Mary for the English crown. Mary, with a view to this, had kept up a correspondence with the earl and countess of Lennox. In the autumn of 1564, probably by Mary's invitation, the earl went to Scotland to try to obtain a reversal of his attainder and the restoration of his estates and honors; Elizabeth not merely giving her permission, but recommending him strongly to Mary, whom at the same time she warned to take care of offending the Hamiltons, the present possessors of Lennox's estates. Lennox was received with great distinction by his royal kinswoman; she effected an accommodation between him and Chatelherault, the head of the house of Hamilton; and by inducing lady Lennox to drop her claim on the earldom of Angus, she prevented any opposition from the potent house of Douglas. In the month of December Lennox was restored by act of parliament to his titles and estates.

A marriage between Mary and Darnley had been for some time in treaty between the former and Lennox; rumors of it were instantly spread, and it may also be that the English ministers and possibly Elizabeth herself were not displeased at it. Mary was desirous of seeing Darnley, and Elizabeth,

ceremonial, (mantle,) he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French ambassador and I standing by." Could this be any thing but playfulness, like her father's putting his arm round sir T. More's neck, like Napoleon's pinching his favorites' ears? She had said of him to Melvill a little before that "she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have taken a husband. But being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the queen her sister might marry him as meetest of all others with (for) whom she could find it in her heart to declare her second person."

when applied to, made no difficulty of letting him go to Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on the 13th of February, 1565, and on the 16th he waited on the queen at Wemyss castle in Fife. "Her majesty," says Melvill, "took well with him, and said he was the lustiest (handsomest) and best-proportioned lang man that she had seen; for he was of high stature, lang and small, even and brent up, (straight;) well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises." He was in effect a tall, well-made youth of nineteen years, who danced, played the lute, and had the showy accomplishments of the age. He pleased the eye of Mary; she took no time to ascertain the qualities of his mind, but fell violently in love at once. He offered her his hand and heart without delay; she affected anger at his presumption, but secretly determined to espouse him.

There was a man named David Rizzio or Riccio, an Italian, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. He remained in the queen's service on account of his skill in music; she raised him to the post of her French secretary, and made him her favorite. As the graces of the crown mostly passed through his hands he was courted by the nobility; wealth came to him from various sources, which he displayed with the usual vanity of an upstart, and his insolence augmented in proportion. The nobility therefore hated and despised him at the same time; a suspicion also prevailed that he was a secret agent of the pope.

With this man did Darnley condescend to ally himself, in order that he might employ his influence over the queen's mind in his favor. This indisposed the protestant nobles to Darnley; the open indifference which he manifested on the subject of religion alarmed them. Murray prognosticated that unkindness to England would be the result, and in sorrow withdrew from court. The queen, however, was resolved to persevere: an agent was despatched to Rome for a dispensation, and Lethington was sent to inform Elizabeth and ask her consent. But the knowledge which the council had now of the state of feeling in both kingdoms made them view the match as fraught with peril, and letters of recall were sent (April 23d) to Lennox and his son, which they treated with neglect, almost with contempt. On the 1st of May the council met and determined that this marriage would be dangerous to the protestant religion and to the queen's title, and that it was necessary to provide for war with Scotland if need should be. The able Throgmorton

was sent to Edinburgh to make known these resolutions, and in case of failure he was to urge the protestants to oppose the marriage unless Darnley promised to adhere to the protestant religion.

Murray had withdrawn from court in disgust; but the queen, who knew of what importance it was to gain his approbation of her marriage, ordered him to repair to her at Stirling. She there employed all her arts and eloquence to induce him to sign a paper recommending the marriage. He hesitated to do so, alleging that he feared Darnley would be an enemy to Christianity. "She gave him," says Melvill, "many sore words; he answered with humility, but nothing could be obtained from him." A convention of nobles met a few days after, (May 14;) the gifts and blandishments of Mary had more effect on them than on her brother, and many gave their assent to her marriage. As, however, some hesitated, another convention was appointed to meet at Perth.

Darnley now mortally hated Murray as the chief obstacle to his ambition; and religious and political motives caused Murray to resolve to prevent the marriage if possible. The former is said to have formed a plan to assassinate the latter; Murray is charged with a design, in conjunction with Chatelherault, Argyle, and other nobles with whom he was associated, to seize Darnley and his father, and deliver them up to the warden of the English marches. Each party, it is added, received information of the designs of the other, and Mary, taking advantage of the popularity which the good government of Murray had procured her, assembled a force, and advancing to Stirling, where the confederate lords were, obliged them to disperse and retire to their homes.

Mary had conferred on Darnley the titles of earl of Ross and duke of Albany, dignities appropriated to the royal family, and the dispensation being now arrived, and the banns duly published, she gave him her hand (July 29) in the chapel of Holyrood House. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Romish church; Darnley, however, withdrew during the performance of mass. She had agreed to give him the title of king, but wished to defer it till parliament should meet or till he should have attained his 21st year; but the vain, headstrong youth would have it then or never, and she was obliged to consent to his being proclaimed the evening* before the marriage-day. On the

* "She can as much prevail with him in any thing that is against his will," writes Randolph to Leicester, "as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself."

day succeeding it, he was again proclaimed, and though all the lords were present, no one said Amen; his father alone cried, "God save his queen!"

Immediately after her marriage Mary outlawed Murray she set at liberty lord Gordon and made him earl of Huntley and she recalled Sutherland and Bothwell, who were in exile — all sworn foes to Murray. When Thomworth came, sent by Elizabeth, to insist that she should do nothing against the Reformation in England, she gave an ambiguous reply; she did the same when warned not to make any change in Scotland; and when, as instructed, he urged her to drop her displeasure against Murray, she desired that there might be no meddling in the affairs of Scotland. She was in fact inveterate against her brother. She lost no time in collecting a force, and she drove him and the other lords to seek refuge in Argyle. They soon after appeared in arms in the western counties; the queen in person led her forces against them, riding at the head of her troops with loaded pistols in her girdle. The lords made a rapid march to Edinburgh, but as the people there did not join them as they had expected, and the queen pursued them closely, they retired to Dumfries, still followed by their implacable sovereign, and finding assistance hopeless, they crossed the borders and sought refuge in England. Murray and Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning repaired to London. In the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, Elizabeth, it is said, made them declare that she had not excited them to take arms against their sovereign. When they had done so, she called them traitors, and ordered them to quit her presence.* They retired to the northern marches, where Elizabeth secretly supplied them with money, and interceded for their pardon with their queen. Chatelherault was forgiven on condition of his retiring to France, but Mary declared to Randolph that she would rather lose half her kingdom than show mercy to Murray. The king and her chief counselors, Huntley, Athol, and Bothwell, were all hostile to him; so also was Rizzio, though he had, says Melvill, "sued him

* Such is the account given by Melvill and the other Scottish writers Lord Burleigh (Raumer, p. 70) says Elizabeth asked Murray "if he had ever undertaken any thing against the person of his queen. This he most solemnly denied, and implored her to conserve the amity between her majesty and his sovereign." In conclusion, "she spoke very roundly to him before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her she would by her actions let it appear that she would not for the price of a world maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince."

earnestly and more humbly than could be believed, with the present of a fair diamond," for his interest in his behalf. But what most weighed with the queen was a message from her uncles, desiring her not to pardon the banished lords. This was brought by Clernau, the bearer of the treaty lately concluded at Bayonne for the extirpation of protestantism, to which she readily affixed her signature. A parliament was summoned for the 12th of March, 1566, in order to attain the rebel lords and to take steps toward the reestablishment of popery.

CHAPTER X.

ELIZABETH. (CONTINUED.)

1566—1571.

THE execution of those projects, however, was prevented by the perpetration of a deed which proved pregnant with calamity to the royal house of Scotland. Mary had now ceased to love her husband; the first fervor of her affection being over, she saw that he was devoid of every estimable quality, brutal in temper, and addicted to the grossest intemperance. She therefore gave no heed to his urgent demand of the crown-matrimonial; she treated him with neglect and even aversion; all her favor was monopolized by Rizzio, with whom the jealous Darnley now suspected her of improper familiarity. "It is a sore case," said he one day (Feb. 10) to his uncle Douglas, "that I can get no help against that villain David." "It is your own fault," was the reply; "you cannot keep a secret." Soon after, a league, confirmed by the king's oath and signature, was formed between him and the lords Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington: *they* were to put Rizzio to death; and procure him the crown-matrimonial; *he* was to bear them 'scathless,' to obtain an amnesty for the banished lords, and to secure the protestant religion.

This compact was made on the 1st of March, and on the night of the 9th (Saturday) Ruthven, having risen from his bed of sickness for the purpose, and cased himself in his armor, the associates were brought by Darnley up a private staircase which led to the apartment where Mary, now six

months gone with child, was sitting at supper with Rizzio and lady Argyle. The king went in and stood by her chair with his arm round her waist. Ruthven entered, pale and haggard, supported by two men. He desired that Rizzio should quit the room; the queen said it was her will he should be there. Rizzio ran behind her for safety; a tumult ensued; the table was overturned; Rizzio was dragged out and despatched in the antechamber with fifty-six wounds. The queen meantime was interceding for him, and a very indelicate conversation took place between her and her husband, in the presence of Ruthven, respecting his resumption of his conjugal rights. She then sent to learn the fate of Rizzio, and when she found that he was dead, she said, "No more tears; I must think of revenge;" and she never was heard to lament him more. Bothwell and Huntley, when they learned what had occurred, made their escape from the palace by a window.

On Monday (the 11th) Murray and his friends came to Edinburgh. Mary embraced and kissed her brother when she saw him, saying that "if he had been at home he would not have allowed her to be so discourteously handled." He was affected even to tears. Mary now tried her arts on her weak, unstable husband, and she actually succeeded in prevailing on him to abandon his confederates and make his escape with her the following night out of the palace. They fled to Dunbar. The king issued a proclamation denying all knowledge of the conspiracy. Bothwell, Huntley, and other nobles repaired with their followers to Dunbar, and on the 19th the queen reëntered Edinburgh at the head of eight thousand men. The murderers of Rizzio were obliged to fly into England. The contempt and hatred which Mary felt for her worthless husband she could not conceal; her whole confidence was now given to Bothwell, between whom and Murray she effected a reconciliation.

On the 19th of June the queen was delivered of a son. Sir James Melvill was immediately despatched with the tidings to Elizabeth. When he arrived, the queen, who had just recovered from a severe illness, was at her favorite palace of Greenwich. She was dancing after supper; Cecil whispered the news to her; she instantly stopped and sat down, resting her cheek on her hand. At length she gave vent to her feelings in these words: "The queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock." What could be more natural, what more blameless than such language? Yet those who will see nothing but duplicity in

her conduct, ascribe to dissimulation the cheerful countenance with which she received Melvill next morning, and the readiness with which she assented to his request that she would be godmother to the infant prince.

The alienation between Mary and her husband increased from day to day. He found himself generally shunned; for to show him any attention was a sure mode of losing the queen's favor. In his vexation he formed the absurd project of quitting the kingdom and going to the continent; but the silly plan came to no effect. Meantime the queen's visible partiality for Bothwell gave occasion to rumors injurious to her character, and an incident which occurred in the following October added strength to suspicion. She went to Jedburgh to hold a justiciary court for suppressing the disorders of the borders. Bothwell, whom she had made warden of the marches, preceded her by some days, and being wounded in the hand in a scuffle with one of the borderers named Elliott, was conveyed to his castle of Hermitage. The queen, having passed some days in great anxiety on his account, took the sudden resolution of going herself to see him. Though the weather was bad and the roads in a wretched state, she rode with a few attendants to Hermitage, a distance of twenty miles, and having assured herself that his life was in no danger, returned the same day to Jedburgh. Her bodily exertion, combined with mental uneasiness, threw her the next day into a fever, and for some days her life was despaired of; the vigor of her constitution, however, triumphed over the disorder.

After her recovery the queen took up her abode at the castle of Craigmillar near Edinburgh, and here the measure of a divorce was discussed by Maitland and others; she made no objection but her unwillingness to prejudice her son. On the 17th of December the ceremony of the young prince's baptism was performed at Stirling, and though the king was in the castle, owing to his own caprice or to the coldness of the queen, he was not present at it. On the other hand Bothwell was appointed to receive the French and English ambassadors, and to regulate the ceremonial of the christening. Through his influence Morton and the other murderers of Rizzio were pardoned on the 24th, on which day the king left the court and retired to his father's house at Glasgow, where in a few days he was attacked by the small-pox. The queen, when she heard of his illness, sent her own physician to attend him.

On the 20th of January (1567) Bothwell and Lethington

went to Morton's residence at Whittingham, and Bothwell proposed the murder of the king to him, saying "it was the queen's mind that he should be taken away." Morton objected, being, as he said, but just come out of trouble on a similar account; but finally agreed, provided he had the queen's hand-writing for his warrant. This, however, they were unable to procure; either they did not venture to propose such a thing to Mary, or she was too prudent to commit herself.

From the time of Rizzio's murder up to the present date, the queen had shown no affection to her husband, and on the 20th she wrote to her ambassador at Paris complaining of him and his father. The next day she set out for Glasgow. While there she feigned the utmost fondness for the king, yet her letters at the same time to Bothwell display the most ardent love for that nobleman. Her object was to get her husband into her power; in this she succeeded, and she brought him back with her to Edinburgh, (Jan. 31.) Pretending that the situation and noise of Holyrood House would be injurious to him in his delicate state, she placed him in a lone house without the city, named Kirk of Field, and she had a chamber fitted up for herself under his, in which she sometimes slept. On Sunday night (Feb. 9) she staid with him till ten o'clock, and then recollecting that she had promised to give a mask at the palace on the occasion of the marriage of one of her servants, she took leave of him. At two in the morning a loud explosion was heard, and daylight revealed the Kirk of Field in ruins. The dead body of the king was found at a little distance in the fields without any marks of violence; the house it appeared had been blown up with gunpowder.

On the 12th a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the murderers. A paper was found fixed on the gates of the Tolbooth (Feb. 16) naming Bothwell and his accomplices, and accusing the queen of being privy to it; voices to the same effect were heard in the silence of the night. The council called on the accuser to appear; a second placard announced that he would, and that with four witnesses, if Bothwell and two of the queen's servants, who were named, were taken into custody. The council made no reply. Lennox wrote to Mary urging that the persons accused should be brought to trial. She evaded compliance; and though every tongue named Bothwell as the murderer, she continued to give him daily proofs of her favor. She bestowed on him (Feb. 15) the superiority

of the port of Leith, and (March 19) made him governor of the castle of Edinburgh. Still the popular voice was so strong, and a letter from her envoy at Paris, archbishop Beaton, showed her so plainly the ill report there was of her on the continent, that she saw no way of eluding the demand for a trial. It was therefore fixed for the 12th of April, thus giving Lennox but fourteen instead of forty days, the usual time to prepare for the prosecution. The accused meantime were at liberty, and Bothwell himself actually sat as a member of the privy council which arranged the manner of the trial!

It was evident that any thing but impartial justice was intended. Lennox, feeling his weakness, had applied to Elizabeth for aid, and that princess, in a letter which does her honor, entreated of Mary not to precipitate the proceedings in this manner: "For the love of God, madam," says she, "use such sincerity and prudence in this matter, which concerns you so nearly, that the whole world may have reason to declare you innocent of so enormous a crime; which if you committed it, you would be justly cast out of the ranks of princesses, and not without reason made the reproach of the vulgar; and sooner than that should befall you I would wish you an honorable grave than a spotted life. You see, madam, that I treat you as my daughter," etc. All was in vain; Lennox did not venture to appear; no witness or evidence was produced, for Bothwell came to his trial so well attended by armed men that it had been dangerous to do so; he was of course acquitted. Mary then affected to regard him as fully cleared, and when she went to open the parliament he bore the sword of state before her. Lennox fled into England. Still numerous placards showed that the public were by no means satisfied of Bothwell's innocence.

The strongest possible proof of Bothwell's influence over the queen's mind was given at this time. Mary, a most bigoted papist, who never for a moment had swerved from her purpose of destroying the protestant religion, who had lately subscribed the treaty of Bayonne, assented to an act of parliament repealing all laws adverse to the reformers and giving their religion the safeguard of law. Bothwell's object evidently was to gain the support of the protestants, whose creed he had always professed. He now went a step further: on the day of the dissolution of parliament he invited all the nobles to sup at a tavern. He had the house filled and surrounded with his armed dependants; after supper he opened to them his design of marrying the

queen; he said he had her own consent, and he wished them to subscribe a bond recommending the marriage and pledging themselves to maintain it. Some were already in the secret, some were gained by promises, others yielded to fear; all subscribed the bond.

Three days after, (April 22,) Mary went to Stirling to visit her son; as she was on her return she was met near Linlithgow by Bothwell, at the head of a large body of armed men; he dispersed her train, took the bridle of her horse and led her and some of her attendants, among whom were Huntley, Lethington, and Melvill, to Dunbar: the person who conducted Melvill told him it was done with the queen's consent, and her own letters prove that it had been all arranged between her and Bothwell. It may increase our disgust at this proceeding to know that Bothwell was at this time the husband of Huntley's sister; but means had been devised to dissolve the union. The queen had restored the archbishop of St. Andrew's to his jurisdiction, and to quiet her catholic scruples Bothwell had commenced a suit for a divorce on the ground of consanguinity in his court, while lady Jane Gordon was prosecuting a collusive one against him for adultery in the protestant court; sentence was easily procured in both courts. A report was also put forth that Bothwell had offered personal violence to the queen at Dunbar; and when Craig, a minister at Edinburgh, was commanded to publish the banns, (for she now was going to marry Bothwell,) he refused on that ground, and when obliged to do so he declared from the pulpit that "he abhorred and detested the marriage as hateful in the sight of the world."

Mary was conducted by Bothwell to Edinburgh, (May 3;) she appeared before the court of session, and declared that though Bothwell's insolence in seizing her had at first excited her indignation, his subsequent conduct had been so respectful that she forgave him and was resolved to raise him to the highest honors. She then created him earl of Orkney, and on the 15th she was married to him publicly according to the rites of the protestant church, by the bishop of Orkney, and then in private according to those of that of Rome.

We need not inform our readers that the question of Mary's participation in Bothwell's crime (for of *his* guilt no one has ever doubted) is one which has been disputed from her own time down to the present.*

* [The editor has taken the liberty to erase the passage expressive of Mr. Keightley's decided opinion; since, on a moot question confessa-

But her guilt [if she were guilty] was not to go unpunished, the Reformation had exalted the moral sense of the people, and the dead silence which prevailed when she appeared in public showed what were their thoughts. Bothwell too was not kind; he surrounded her with his creatures and exercised the whole royal authority. His great object was to get the young prince into his power, (doubtless for the worst of purposes,) but the firmness of the earl of Mar, who had charge of the royal infant, and whom Melvill conjured to save him "from the hands of those who had slain his father," prevented him from accomplishing his boast, "that he would warrant him from avenging the death of his father."

The insolence of Bothwell, the danger of the prince, the reproaches of foreign nations, at length roused the Scottish nobles. Argyle, Athol, Morton, Lindsay, Glencairn, Mar, Lethington, and others met at Stirling and entered into an association for the defence of the prince. The queen on her side put forth a proclamation (May 28) calling on her subjects to arm and meet her husband on an appointed day; they came but slowly and ill-affected; the queen, fearing for her safety, was conducted by Bothwell to Borthwick Castle, from which, however, he was soon forced to fly to Dunbar on the appearance of Lord Home with a body of troops. Mary accompanied his flight in male attire. Having collected what troops she could, she advanced to Carberry Hill near Edinburgh, (June 15;) the lords led their forces out against her. Le Croc, the French ambassador, vainly sought to mediate. She offered pardon. "We will be satisfied," said Morton, "with the punishment of the murderer of the late king." "As to pardon," said Glencairn, "we have not come here to ask pardon for any offence we have done, but rather to grant pardon to those who have offended." Finding such to be their temper, and failing in her efforts to rouse her own troops to action, Mary took a farewell (a final one *) of

edly so difficult to determine, the expression of such opinion, where the means of the reader's forming a judgment for himself are not given, can only be productive of *prejudice*, instead of promotive of candid truth. It is extremely easy for either side to make out a fair case. Disputed documents and trivialities of conduct constitute the whole evidence; but the same considerations of latitude, for what appear to *our* age indelicacies, which Mr. K. claims for Elizabeth, ought certainly to be extended to Mary. The prejudices and interested assertions of her contemporary enemies do not prove Mary to have been guilty. — J. T. S.]

* They had been exactly a month married. So little did they gain by the death of Darnley.

Bothwell, and surrendered to a chief named Kirkcaldy of Grange, who had assured her of the obedience of the lords provided she dismissed Bothwell and would engage to govern by their advice. The lords received her with great respect, and conducted her to Edinburgh. The unhappy woman was assailed as she went along with maledictions and the foulest epithets; for the Scots are a stern, unrelenting people, and the populace had not a doubt of her guilt. When she rose in the morning the first object that met her view was a white flag displayed before her window, on which was portrayed the body of her husband beneath a tree, as it had been found, and her infant son on his knees, saying, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!" *

Mary had pledged herself to give up Bothwell, yet that very night a letter from her to him was brought by the bearer to the lords, in which she called him her "dear heart, whom she would never forget nor abandon for absence." They saw she was not to be trusted, and next day (June 16) they sent her a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, situated on a small island in a lake; its owner, William Douglas, was related to Morton and married to Murray's mother.

To restore Mary to power was out of the question. Some would have been content if she resigned her crown to her son and retired to France or England; others required her trial and condemnation, but would have been satisfied with her perpetual imprisonment; a third party, more stern, demanded her capital punishment as the penalty due to her crimes, and as the only mode of assuring the safety of the realm. It was finally concluded to be content for the present with her resignation. Lord Lindsay, a man of rough, brutal manners, was sent to her, (July 25,) and under the threat of instant death if she refused, he made her sign her own abdication and consent to the coronation of her son; an appointment of Murray to the regency; and that of certain others if he should refuse. She subscribed with tears, but Lethington and some of her other friends had secretly directed sir Robert Melvill to assure her that her resignation was void and might be revoked when she was at liberty.

Four days after, (July 29,) the prince was crowned at Stirling by the title of James VI. On the 11th of August, Murray returned from France, whither he had retired some

* "The women be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mair enough," writes Throgmorton to Elizabeth, July 14.

months before; he visited his unhappy sister; she burst into tears at the sight of him. He spoke the truth freely and plainly. "Sometimes," says Melvill, "she wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowledged her misgovernment; some things she did confess plainly, some things she did excuse, some things she did extenuate." He could only then leave her to God's mercy, but next morning he assured her of life and of the preservation of her honor as far as in him lay; liberty it was not in his power to give her, nor would it be good for her to have it at present. She then took him in her arms and kissed him. On the 22d he was proclaimed regent.

It may be asked, How did the queen of England act all this time? The reply is highly to her honor. Elizabeth's notions of the majesty of kings were high, and she was little pleased with the example of subjects rising up against their sovereigns. She moreover regarded Mary as a kinswoman and as the presumptive heiress of her crown. On the intelligence, therefore, of her captivity, she despatched Throgmorton to Scotland to exert himself in her behalf; she menaced; she even proposed to the French government to put a stop to all traffic with the rebels, as she styled them, and their abettors. "No counsel," writes Cecil, "can stop her majesty from manifesting her misliking of the proceedings against the queen of Scots." She ran the risk of seeing the lords throw themselves into the arms of France, and when the Hamiltons, Huntley, and others confederated against the regent and in favor of the queen, she gave them encouragement through Throgmorton.

We must now relate the fate of Bothwell. He fled to his dukedom of Orkney, where he hired some ships with the intention of passing over to Denmark; but Kirkealdy of Grange and Murray of Tullibardine, who were sent in pursuit of him, captured all his vessels but one, in which he escaped to Norway; where (as he had no papers to produce and his ship had once been commanded by a noted pirate) he was detained a prisoner, and when his portfolio containing the proclamations of the council for his apprehension, etc., was found, he was sent to Copenhagen. He was imprisoned in the castle of Malmö in Scania, where he died bereft of reason in 1576.

On the 15th of December, the Scottish parliament met; all the late proceedings were pronounced lawful, and were confirmed. Mary was declared to have been accessory to the murder of her husband. The acts of 1560 in favor of the

protestant religion were ratified, and it was now finally established.

But though Huntley and several of Mary's partisans attended this parliament and supported the measures introduced, their jealousy of the regent soon arrayed them again in arms. They opened a communication with Mary, who appointed the duke of Chatelherault to be her lieutenant. Murray meantime visited her again, and she proposed, in order to quiet all fears respecting Bothwell, to marry his half-brother George Douglas, son to the lady of Lochlevin, a youth of eighteen years of age, for whom she had begun to spread her snares. Murray objected to his humble birth, so far beneath her rank. It was all, however, but a scheme of Mary's to conceal her real design. She had given amorous encouragement to Douglas to induce him to aid her to escape. On the 25th of March, 1568, having changed clothes with the laundress who used to come from a village near the lake, she got into the boat; she had nearly reached the shore when one of the boatmen went to raise her 'muffler,' saying, "Let us see what sort of a dame this is!" She put up her hand to prevent him; its whiteness raised their suspicions; they refused to land her, and carried her back to the island, but did not betray her. On the 2d of May she was more fortunate; while lady Douglas and her eldest son were at supper, a youth called the Little Douglas stole the keys of the castle. Mary hastened to a boat that lay ready; Douglas locked the castle gate on the outside and flung the keys into the lake as they rowed across it. On the shore Mary was met by George Douglas, lord Seaton, and others. She mounted a horse and rode to lord Seaton's house, of Niddry, and having rested there for three hours, she mounted again and rode to Hamilton, where she was received by the nobles of her party at the head of three thousand of their followers. Her first act was to protest against the instruments she had been compelled to sign when in prison, which were pronounced illegal by the nobles present, many of whom had declared the direct contrary in the late parliament.

Murray was meantime at Glasgow with only his ordinary train; some of his friends advised him to fly to Stirling, but he was too prudent to take such a course. He amused the queen for a few days by negotiation, during which time he assembled a force of about four thousand men, with which he resolved to give her battle. Though the royal troops were double the number, their leaders wished to wait the return of Huntley and Ogilvie, who were gone to the

north to assemble their vassals. Meantime they proposed to place the queen for security in the castle of Dumbarton; but on their way thither (May 13) the regent brought them to action at a place named Langside Hill, and routed them in the space of a quarter of an hour. Mary, who from an adjacent eminence viewed the fight, saw at once that all was lost; she turned, urged her horse to speed, and having failed in an attempt to reach Dumbarton, rode without halting to Dundrennan Abbey, near Kirkeudbright on the Solway Firth, a distance of sixty Scottish miles. Lord Herries and a few others, among whom was the French ambassador, accompanied her flight.

What was this wretched princess now to do? To make her escape to the Highlands was difficult if not impossible, and the toils and privations she might have to undergo when she reached them, were not easy to appreciate; to escape to France was equally difficult, and pride forbade to appear as a fugitive where she had reigned a queen, and the prospect of being shut up in a nunnery (the course which the French government had proposed for her) was probably not an agreeable one; an ignominious death in all probability awaited her if she fell into the hands of her enraged subjects. There remained but one course—a flight into England. Elizabeth had of late exerted herself warmly in her favor, and might be disposed to assert her cause; she therefore directed Herries to write (May 15) to Mr. Lowther, the governor of Carlisle, to know if she might come thither in safety. She did not, however, venture to wait for a reply; fearing to fall into the power of her enemies, she embarked next day with lord Herries and about twenty attendants in a fishing boat, and landed at Workington. The gentry of the vicinity conducted her with all due respect to Cockermouth, whence Lowther brought her to Carlisle. She had little or no money, and not even a change of clothes when she landed in England.

Mary lost no time in writing to Elizabeth; assuming, as she did on all occasions, herself to be an innocent and injured person, she required to be admitted to Elizabeth's presence and to be restored to her authority by force. The English council took the case into most grave and solemn consideration; they weighed the arguments on all sides; they viewed the dangers likely to arise to England and to protestantism in general; they saw equal peril in suffering Mary to go to France or Spain or return to Scotland; they decided that she should be detained for the present in Eng

land. They may have been swayed by secret prejudice, they may have fancied danger that was but imaginary, but beyond question they did what they believed to be right, and they must have known what the dangers to be apprehended really were far better than *we* can do. Leaving then declamation to the advocates of Mary, we hesitate not to say that in our opinion the council acted wisely and well.

To Mary's request of a personal interview it was replied, that, till the murder of Darnley and the subsequent events were explained, Elizabeth could not with honor admit her into her presence, but that if Mary cleared herself on a judicial inquiry, she would chastise her rebellious subjects and restore her by force of arms. Mary and her fast friend lord Herries long struggled against the proposed inquiry; at length she consented that Elizabeth "should send for the noblemen of Scotland that they might answer before such noblemen of England as should be chosen by her, why they had deposed their queen." Mary was now (July 28) at lord Scroop's castle of Bolton in Yorkshire, whither she had been removed from Carlisle.

It may be here noticed as an instance of the duplicity of which Mary was capable, that she, the most bigoted of catholics, who when in power would not even listen to the Scottish reformed clergy, now affected great veneration for the English liturgy, was often present at the protestant worship, chose a protestant clergyman for her chaplain, listened with attention and apparent pleasure while he exposed the errors of popery, and seemed on the point of becoming a convert.*

* Robertson says it is impossible to believe she was sincere, but he adds, "nor can any thing mark more strongly the wretchedness of her condition and the excess of her *fears* than that they betrayed her into dissimulation, in a matter concerning which her sentiments were at all other times scrupulously delicate." What *fears* could those have been but the dread of the proofs which she knew could be given of her share in the murder of her husband? Robertson would seem to hint that, like Elizabeth in her sister's reign, she feared death on account of her religion. This is quite idle, and is an instance of the desire of even this writer to make a suffering saint of the queen. [It is difficult to understand how Mary's profession of protestantism could destroy any proofs of her guilt, if they existed. It would be much more natural to suppose, that when she found that Elizabeth, who had professed such friendship for her, was now detaining her a prisoner, in defiance of all good faith, her fears were excited (most justly, as the event proved) as to the designs of the English queen; for she well knew Elizabeth's jealousy of her and her claims to the English crown. Mary's duplicity was, at any rate, not greater than that of Elizabeth during the reign of her sister. — J. T. S.]

On the 4th of October the Conference, as it was termed, was opened at York. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler were the English commissioners; Mary was represented by Lesly, bishop of Ross, lord Herries, and five other persons; on the part of the king and parliament of Scotland appeared the regent, the lords Morton and Lindsay, and others; among their assistants were Lethington and the illustrious George Buchanan. Mary's agents commenced by demanding justice for the various indignities and injuries offered to her, from the first revolt to her flight into England. Murray was now in a difficult situation; if he produced the proofs which he [pretended to have] of the queen's guilt, he cut off all hope of reconciliation; if he did not, he in effect allowed that he was a rebel. He took refuge in forms and verbal distinctions; his defence therefore was feeble, and Mary's advocates had plainly the advantage. Finding that he must advance, he was anxious to ascertain if Elizabeth would secure him against the consequences, in case of his making the accusation and proving its truth. With this view he privately laid before the commissioners the letters, sonnets, and marriage contracts of Mary to Bothwell. Of the genuineness of these documents they declared themselves convinced, and they wrote to that effect to the queen. Elizabeth now deemed it advisable to have the conference more at hand; it was removed to Hampton Court with Mary's full approbation, who still reckoned that Murray would not venture to produce his strong evidence. Cecil and Bacon, with lord Clinton and the earls of Leicester and Arundel, were added to the commission. Lennox now came forward and openly charged the queen with the murder of his son. Murray was obliged to proceed in his charge and produce his proofs. When Herries and Lesly saw the blow which they had long wardered at length struck, they refused to answer unless their mistress "were allowed to justify herself in the presence of the queen of England, the whole nobility of the kingdom, and the ambassadors of foreign states." But it was now too late to object to the present mode of proceeding. They in effect confessed that the evidence now produced could not be refuted.* "The objections," says Hume, "made to the

* [This does not, by any means, appear. The reader must again be cautioned against the bias existing in the writer's mind, and must separate the *facts* stated from the *inferential allusions* as above. It need hardly be stated that the genuineness of the documents above mentioned is by no means so certain or undisputed a fact as may ap-

authenticity of these papers are, in general, of small force; but were they ever so specious they cannot now be hearkened to, since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies.

We may now assume that Elizabeth and her ministers had not the slightest doubt of Mary's guilt. Still, though the queen dismissed Murray with kindness, and gave him a loan of 5000*l.* for the expenses of his journey, she would not sanction the principle of the right of the people to depose their sovereigns, by treating with him as regent, or acknowledging the young king of Scotland. As Bolton was in a part abounding with catholics, Mary was now removed to Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, the seat of the earl of Shrewsbury; but liberty was offered to her if she would resign her crown, or associate her son with her in the government, Murray to have the regency during the prince's minority. She refused, justly alleging that such an act would be a confession of her guilt. She demanded to be allowed to go to France; but Elizabeth was too well aware of the danger of that course, and though she knew that Mary's presence in England might cause much mischief, she chose it as the lesser evil, in reliance on her own fortitude and address.

Yet at this very time some of the leading English nobility were engaged on the side of Mary. During the conference at York the subtle Lethington hinted to the duke of Norfolk a match between him, now a widower, and the queen of Scots. Norfolk listened to the offer, but he stated that the letters which he had seen with Murray made him hesitate. A communication seems to have been opened with Mary, who showed no disinclination to the proposed alliance. At Hampton Court Murray himself made the same proposal to Norfolk.* Those who will allow the regent no virtue say

pear from the mode in which they are mentioned. It must be obvious that there was every inducement and opportunity for the Scottish rebel lords to forge such documents, while every disadvantage, in the way of disproof, was on the side of Mary. The conduct of Herries and Lesly seems to have been a very justifiable one, and implies any thing but a fear of the results of the investigation. So, also, does that of Mary throughout. — J. T. S.]

* [This might, certainly, with much more justice than the conduct of Herries and Lesly, be ascribed to a consciousness, on the part of Murray of the weakness of his charges. — J. T. S.]

that he was insincere, and that his only motive was to secure his life, as Norton, one of Norfolk's partisans, intended to waylay and murder him on his return home through the north. But we may surely as well suppose that he was also actuated by an honest desire to see his sister married to an English nobleman of the highest rank, and a protestant, and the peace and happiness of the two kingdoms thus permanently secured.

After Murray's departure Norfolk associated himself with the earls of Leicester, Arundel, Pembroke, and others, both catholic and protestant; sir Nicholas Throgmorton also engaged warmly in the project. A letter was written by Leicester to the queen of Scots, and signed by the rest, recommending Norfolk to her for a husband, but stipulating for a renunciation of all claims to the throne of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her heirs, for a perpetual league between the two kingdoms, and for the establishment of the protestant religion in Scotland. Mary returned a favorable reply, and the confederates went on strengthening themselves. It is said too that the kings of France and Spain were secretly consulted, and gave their approbation. The previous consent of Elizabeth, however, was all along supposed; but they seem to have reckoned on making their party so strong that she would not venture to refuse it.

It seems strange to see so many of her principal nobles (even Leicester included) thus as it were in a conspiracy against Elizabeth. But jealousy of Cecil and Bacon, who were known to favor the claims of the house of Suffolk, was at the bottom of it with some; others, and even Norfolk himself, may have thought the measure really good; the catholics looked to the reestablishment of their religion by means of it.

The affair, however, could not be expected to remain long a secret from the queen and Cecil. Elizabeth took the duke one day (Aug. 13, 1569) to dinner at Farnham. "Be careful," said she to him, "of the pillow on which you are about to lay your head." He understood the allusion, and replied, "I will never marry a person with whom I could not be sure of my pillow." Soon after, Leicester (whom Norfolk is said to have urged in vain to reveal the whole to the queen) fell sick, or feigned sickness, at Titchfield, and when Elizabeth came to visit him he told her all he knew. The queen then taxed Norfolk with his designs, and charged him to abandon them. He readily promised, spoke disparagingly of the Scottish match, affirming that his English estates

were nearly as valuable as the kingdom of Scotland, and that when he was in his own tennis court at Norwich he thought himself a petty prince. Finding himself looked coolly on he soon after left the court without permission, and retired to Norfolk. He soon, however, repented of this step, and was returning, but he was arrested and sent to the Tower, (Oct. 9.) Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton were also put in custody.

Meantime rumors of a meditated rising in the north prevailed. Sussex, the lord president, summoned the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland before him; their excuses, however, satisfied him, and he dismissed them. The reports growing stronger, the queen wrote, (Nov. 10,) summoning the two earls to court; but they had gone too far in treason to venture on that course. In conjunction with Radcliffe, Sussex's own brother, with Leonard, uncle of lord Dacres, and the families of the Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, and others, they had been in constant communication with Mary and with her friends in Scotland; they had also arranged with the duke of Alba, Philip's vicegerent in the Netherlands, for the landing of a body of Spanish auxiliaries; and one of his ablest captains, Ciappino Vitelli, had been sent over to London on some trifling embassy, to be on the spot to take the command of them when they should land.

Northumberland being a timid, irresolute man, his more energetic followers employed the following expedient to rouse him. At midnight one of his servants rushed into his chamber, crying out that his enemies Oswald, Ulstrop, and Vaughan were surrounding the place with armed men. He rose in a hurry and fled to a lodge in his park; next night he went to Brancespeath, a seat of the earl of Westmoreland's, where a large number of those who were in the secret were assembled. A manifesto was immediately put forth in the usual style, expressive of the utmost loyalty to the queen, but declaring their intentions to rescue her out of the hands of evil counsellors, to obtain the release of the duke and other peers, and reestablish the religion of their fathers. They marched to Durham, (Nov. 16,) where they purified the churches by burning the heretical Bibles and Prayer-books. At Rippon they restored the mass; on Clifford-moor they mustered seven thousand men. Richard Norton, a venerable old gentleman, who had joined them with his five sons, raised in their front a banner displaying the Savior with the blood streaming from his five wounds. Finding that the catholics

in general were loyal to the queen, and that Sussex was collecting an efficient force at York, they fell back to Hexham, (Dec. 16.) Here the footmen dispersed; the earls, with the horse, about five hundred in number, fled to Naworth and thence into Scotland.

Northumberland was taken and delivered to the regent, who confined him in Lochleven Castle, and some years after he was given up to the English government, and was executed at York. Westmoreland made his escape to Flanders, and he died in 1584, commandant of a Spanish regiment. Many executions, as was to be expected, took place. The queen of Scots was, for greater security, removed from Tutbury to Coventry.

Soon after Leonard Dacres collected about three thousand men at his castle of Naworth; lord Huntsdon advanced from Durham with an equal number against him. They engaged on the banks of a stream named the Chelt, (Feb. 22, 1570,) and about three hundred fell on each side. The rebels were defeated; Dacres escaped to Scotland and thence to Flanders, where he died in poverty.

Elizabeth and Cecil were now fully conscious of the danger of having Mary in England, for, as that wise minister plainly saw, the horror inspired by her guilt would gradually soften down and give place to pity. Negotiations were therefore set on foot with her and with the regent for her return to Scotland: indeed it is said there was a private treaty with Murray for giving her up to him. But the regent's sudden death put an end to all these projects. He was assassinated, (Jan. 23, 1570,) as he was riding through Linlithgow, by one Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, from motives of private revenge.

Like all other personages at this time, Murray appears in two opposite lights in the narratives of the opposite religious parties. His great abilities are, however, acknowledged by all; by the people he was long remembered as "the good regent," and his moral virtues were extolled by his catholic countrymen who were abroad. His zeal for the protestant religion seems to have been sincere, and he was altogether as free from defect as it was possible for a public man to be in those times and in such a country as Scotland. But the advocates of his sister have, from his own down to the present day, sought to make him the scapegoat for her sins, assuming, as Mackintosh says, "that she did nothing which she appears to have done, and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing."

The Scots and Kers border chiefs and partisans of Mary having made an inroad into England, Sussex invaded Scotland. The regency was soon after committed to the earl of Lennox, the young king's grandfather.

We can hardly conceive it possible for any one who reads with attention the various collections of state papers relating to this period of our history, to escape the conviction that there was an extensive conspiracy of the pope Pius V., the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, his vicegerent in the Netherlands, and in which the court of France also partly shared, of which the object was the dethronement and probably the death of Elizabeth, the elevation of Mary in her place, and the overthrow of the protestant religion. It is also probable that Mary knew and fully approved of this conspiracy, and secretly corresponded with the heads of it; that her catholic partisans in both England and Scotland were ready to take arms in support of it; that Norfolk was aware and approved of the measure, at least as far as related to the liberation of the queen of Scots and his own marriage with her; and it is probable that Arundel, Pembroke, and other nobles also knew of and favored it. It is very remarkable that not two months after Mary's flight into England the English ministry got secret information to that effect; for sir Henry Norris* wrote to Cecil from Paris, (July 7, 1568,) that the night before he had had a private meeting with the French provost-marshal, (at the desire of the latter,) who said, "he wished I should advertise that the queen's majesty *did hold the wolf that would devour her*. And that it is conspired betwixt the king of Spain, the pope, and the French king, that the queen should be destroyed, whereby the queen of Scots might succeed her majesty;" with more to the same effect, mentioning particularly the name of Arundel. There is every reason to suppose that it was Catherine de Medici herself who caused the information to be thus conveyed to Elizabeth, out of jealousy to Mary, or through fear of seeing Britain under one head and perhaps closely united with Spain.†

* He was son to Norris who suffered death on account of Anne Boleyn. One of Elizabeth's first cares had been to promote this family.

† "The cardinal (of Lorraine) showed the queen-mother how hurtful to the crown of France would the union of the isle of Britain be; and thought meet that she should advertise the queen of England to take order thereto, *which the queen-mother fail'd not to do*. This the queen (Mary) *told me herself*, complaining of the cardinal's unkindly dealing." — Melvill, p. 239.

We have noticed these particulars (and we could increase them to a great extent) to show that Mary was not the meek, suffering saint that her admirers make her.* They will also serve to prove that Elizabeth was not actuated by pure malignity and female petty revenge in her treatment of her; she only *did hold the wolf that would devour her*, and acted from the great principle of self-preservation.† The zealous and intolerant Pius V., just at this very time, as if to prove to the world that Elizabeth was justified in acting as she did, published (Feb. 25) his celebrated bull *Regnans in excelsis*, in which, in the tone of a Gregory or an Innocent, he pronounced "the *pretended* queen of England" excommunicate and deprived of all title to her pretended kingdom, absolved all her subjects from their allegiance, and forbade them, under pain of excommunication, to obey her. Copies of it were forwarded to the duke of Alva, for distribution in the seaports of the Netherlands, and by him some were transmitted to the Spanish ambassador at London. On the morning of the 15th of May one of them was found affixed to the bishop of London's gate. Strict search was made; a copy of the bull was found in the chambers of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who confessed that he had gotten it from a gentleman of good property named John Felton, who lived in Southwark. Felton when arrested gloried in the deed: he was tried, found guilty, and executed as a traitor; by himself and the more zealous Romanists he was viewed as a martyr. The bull, however, produced no immediate effect. "The time," says Lingard, "was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes;" a change for which, we may observe, the world is indebted to the reformers. Elizabeth is said to have applied to the emperor to use his influence to have it revoked, as she knew not what its effects might be on enthusiasts and bigots.‡

* The love of power and the passion for revenge were leading traits in Mary's character. "She told me," writes Knolles in 1568, "she would rather that all her party were hanged than submit to Murray, and if she were not retained she would go into Turkey rather than not be revenged on him." Her dissimulation too was extreme; while she was writing to Elizabeth in this strain, "I wish you knew what sincerity of love and affection are in my heart for you," she prays the pope "to forgive her for writing loving and soothing letters to Elizabeth; she desires nothing more than the reestablishment of the catholic religion in England."

† [This remark might, with much greater justice, be applied to the acts of Mary. It is absurd to talk of Elizabeth acting from the principle of self-preservation. — J. T. S.]

‡ "She *persuaded herself*," says Lingard, "that it was connected

The very day that Felton was arraigned, the duke of Norfolk was released from the Tower, and was suffered to reside in his own house, under the mild custody of sir Henry Neville. He expressed his sorrow for what he had done, and bound himself not to proceed in the affair of his marriage without the queen's knowledge. Yet even while in the Tower he had carried on a correspondence with Mary, and now that he was at large he still kept it up.

Elizabeth, urged by the foreign ambassadors, and anxious herself to get rid of her dangerous captive, if it could be done with safety, sent Cecil and sir William Mildmay in October to Chatsworth, where Mary now was, to try if any accommodation could be effected. It was proposed that she should resign all claim to the throne of England during the lives of Elizabeth and her issue; marry no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, and no one else without that of the states of Scotland; send her son to be educated in England, etc. The earl of Morton and some others came to England as commissioners on the part of the young king. But nothing could be finally arranged, and the two queens and their friends made mutual charges of insincerity.

In the beginning of the year 1571, Elizabeth rewarded, in some slight degree, her most able and faithful minister sir William Cecil, by raising him to the peerage under the title of baron Burghley or Burleigh.

CHAPTER XI.

ELIZABETH. (CONTINUED.)

1571—1587.

THE important relations between the queens of England and Scotland have hitherto occupied our attention almost exclusively. We must now take a view of the state of religious parties in England and on the continent.

The first ten years of Elizabeth's reign were termed her

with some plan of foreign invasion and domestic treason." She *knew* very well it was. [It has never been difficult to *know* of treason where justification for tyranny has been desired. — J. T. S.]

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"halcyon days," as being free from disturbance, domestic or foreign. From the moment of the arrival of the queen of Scots in England this tranquillity was at an end. Henceforth the authority, and even the life, of Elizabeth was assailed by conspiracies renewed without ceasing.

In those days religion was a matter of paramount importance in politics, and the strength of parties in a state was to be estimated by the number and influence of those who agreed in religious sentiments. There were three parties of this kind now in England; the catholics, the churchmen, and the puritans, as those who affected an extreme purity in religion, and held that the reformation had not gone far enough, were named.

It is the opinion of Hume, that "of all the European churches which shook off the yoke of papal authority, no one proceeded with so much reason and moderation as the church of England." "The fabric," he adds, "of the secular hierarchy was maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preserved so far as was thought consistent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding use, were retained; the splendor of the Romish worship, though removed, had at least given place to order and decency; the distinctive habits of the clergy according to their different ranks were continued; no innovation was admitted merely from spite and opposition to former usage. And the new religion, by mitigating the genius of the ancient superstition and rendering it more compatible with the peace and interests of society, had preserved itself in that happy medium which wise men have always sought, and which the people have so seldom been able to maintain."

The advantages of this moderation were felt in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; the catholics in general made little scruple of attending the church service, where, though they might regret the absence of some things, there was little to offend them. Had they been left to themselves they would probably have been gradually weaned from their superstitions; but the court of Rome on the one hand, by sending missionary priests about to assure them that such conduct was impious, and the rigid, intolerant puritans on the other, by urging measures of severity against them, equally contributed to make them remain in their old faith.

The puritans, though as a party they first acquired strength in the present reign, may be regarded as coeval with the Reformation. They were those men of an ardent, uncompromising (often self-sufficient) temper, who thought they

could never recede too far from the church of Rome. The clerical habits, the surplice, tippet, and square cap, retained in the Anglican church, were abominations in their sight; they viewed with equal horror the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, of the organ in the divine service, and the practice of kneeling at the communion. When the excellent Hooper was to be raised to the see of Gloucester in Edward's reign, he positively refused to put on the episcopal robes; and he was committed to the Tower according to the practice of the age. Bucer, Peter Martyr, and other foreign divines were consulted on the occasion. At length he consented to wear the robes at his consecration and during cathedral service, but only on these occasions. When the Marian persecution forced so many of the reformers to fly, they were received with great kindness by the Calvinists abroad, and this confirmed them in their desire for simple, anti-Romish forms. The more learned and pious portion of the clergy in Elizabeth's reign may be reckoned of this party; the better part of the protestant gentry belonged to it, as was evinced by the composition of the houses of commons; it was favored by Leicester and Walsingham among the ministers, and Burleigh himself was not adverse to it. The puritans were in fact the main support of protestantism in England, and the most determined foes of the queen of Scots. But archbishop Parker unwisely employed persecution against them; they gradually seceded from the church, and many of them maintained the supremacy of the spiritual over the civil authority in terms more befitting a Gregory or an Innocent than the asserters of the rights of conscience.

The church party was the weakest of the three. Its main supports were the queen herself and the primate. Elizabeth regarded her spiritual supremacy as the brightest jewel in her crown, and would not be dictated to on that head. She was also partial to the splendor of public worship, and she had a lurking tendency to some of the Romish doctrines. She long kept a crucifix with tapers burning before it in her chapel, she inclined much to the doctrine of the real presence,* and she was with difficulty restrained from prohibiting the marriage of the clergy.

* This throws doubt on the story of her eluding Gardiner in her sister's reign by these well-known verses:

"Christ was the word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it,
And what that word did make it,
That I believe, and take it."

Such was the state of parties in England: in France and Flanders the protestants, though the minority, were numerous and active. Persecution to no small extent had been employed without effect against them; Charles V. had "hanged, beheaded, buried alive or burnt" 50,000 protestants according to Father Paul, 100,000 according to Grotius, in the Netherlands; and Francis I. and his successor had labored to suppress the Reformation in France. In the summer of the year 1565 a meeting at the desire of the pope took place at Bayonne between Charles IX. and his sister the queen of Spain; the former was accompanied by his mother, the latter by the duke of Alva. Festivities occupied the day; at midnight Catherine and Alva sat in secret conclave to discuss the mode of suppressing protestantism. To cut off its chiefs openly or secretly was Alva's plan. "One salmon's head," he would say, "is worth a thousand frogs." The principle was agreed on between them; the mode was left to the course of events.

In 1568 Alva was sent with a large army to the Low Countries, where he exercised such tyranny and cruelty as eventually drove the people to insurrection. In France the protestants, named Huguenots, were headed by the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni, and other nobles; the Guises were at the head of the other party; the queen-mother and the king played them against each other. Recourse was frequently had to arms, and Elizabeth had on more occasions than one assisted the Huguenots with money, and even with men.

In the beginning of this year (1571) a parliament met after an interval of five years. The puritanic party were strong in it, and some members, especially Strickland and Paul Wentworth, ventured to express themselves very firmly in opposition to the crown. Though the question of the queen's marriage was left untouched, the greatest zeal was manifested for her person and authority, and the first act passed was one making it treason to affirm that she was not the lawful sovereign, or that the laws cannot limit and determine the right to the crown and the succession; to maintain that any person except the *natural issue* * of her body is or ought to be her

* The employment of the word *natural* in this act originated, like the omission of *lawful* in another case in royal prudence. "But the papistical libellers put the most absurd interpretation on it, as if it was meant to secure the succession for some imaginary bastards by Leicester. And Dr. Lingard is not ashamed to insinuate the same suspicion." (Hallam. i. 202.)

neir or successor, was made an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment, and the second time by *præmunire*. It was also made treason to publish papal bulls, absolutions, etc.; to reconcile any one or be reconciled to the church of Rome. To import crucifixes, *agnus Dei*, or other popish trumpery, subjected the offender to the penalty of a *præmunire*.

The weak, ill-advised duke of Norfolk it was soon discovered was persisting in his treasonable projects. Mary's agent, the bishop of Ross; Ridolfi, an Italian trader, the medium of communication of Mary and Norfolk with Alva and the pope; and the duke's secretary and two of his confidential servants, being arrested, it appeared from their confessions that a plan had been arranged that the duke of Alva should land with ten thousand men at Harwich, where he was to be joined by Norfolk and his friends, and they were to march to London and force the queen to consent to Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots, and to repeal the laws against the catholics. Norfolk, who knew not of the discoveries which had been made, was summoned before the council; he denied every thing: and the queen, who (as she always declared) would have pardoned him if he had confessed his guilt, committed him to the Tower, (Sept. 7.) On the 16th of January (1572) he was brought to trial before the lord-steward and twenty-six peers. The trial was conducted with perfect fairness according to the mode then in use; he defended himself with spirit and eloquence, but the peers unanimously pronounced him guilty. In various supplicatory letters which he wrote to the queen the duke acknowledged the justice of the verdict.

The conduct of the queen on this occasion tends much to elucidate her character, as it proves her aversion from bloodshed, and will incline us to believe that her behavior in a similar case some years later was not mere hypocrisy. Norfolk's guilt was great and clear, yet she could not bring herself to put him to death. Burleigh writes to Walsingham (Feb. 11) thus: "I cannot write to you what is the inward cause of the stay of the duke of Norfolk's death, only that I find her majesty diversely disposed. Sometimes, when she speaketh of her danger, she concludes that justice should be done. Another time, when she speaks of his nearness of blood, of his superiority of honor, etc., she stayeth. On Saturday she signed a warrant for his execution. On Monday all preparations were made and concourse of thousands yesterday morning; but suddenly on Sunday late in the night she sent for me and entered into great misliking that the

duke should die the next day, and said she was and should be disquieted, and would have a new warrant made that night to the sheriffs to forbear." Again (April 9) she signed a warrant, but she revoked it after midnight.

The queen's repugnancy to shed the blood of the first of her nobles was such that even Leicester gave it as his opinion that no execution would take place. But Burleigh and the other ministers pressed it; the commons when they assembled petitioned for it; the preachers were importunate; and plots to liberate the prisoner were detected. A third warrant was not revoked, and on the 2d of June, nearly five months after his trial, the duke was led to execution.

On the scaffold Norfolk acknowledged the justice of his sentence and declared his attachment to the protestant faith. He died with constancy and resignation amidst the tears of the by-standers; for his noble birth, his popular and engaging manners, and his munificent temper had endeared him to the people. His ambition, united to weakness of character, made him a tool in the hands of an artful woman* and the wily court of Rome, and brought him to an untimely end. He certainly never dreamed of dethroning or injuring queen Elizabeth, by whom the necessity of his death was sincerely lamented.†

Abundant proofs had now [it was pretended] been given of the share of the queen of Scots in all the conspiracies against Elizabeth; Burleigh and other ministers had long been of opinion that nothing but her death would give security to the nation. The parliament resolved to proceed against her by bill of attainder, but the queen positively forbade it. A bill was then introduced and passed to make her incapable of the succession, but the queen defeated this also by a prorogation, (June 25.)

In Scotland the lords of Mary's party had in the preceding year (Sept. 4) seized and put to death the regent Lennox. The earl of Mar succeeded, but he died shortly after, and Morton was appointed regent. The lords of the queen's party laid down their arms on receiving an indemnity; and

* Though she had never seen him, her "political love-letters," as they have justly been called, are conceived in terms of the strongest affection.

† "The queen," writes Burleigh, (June 6,) "is somewhat sad for the duke of Norfolk's death." Two years after, when his sister lady Berkeley knelt to ask a favor of her, "No, no, my lady Berkeley," said she in haste, "we know you never will love us for the death of your brother."

the regent, with the aid of sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, reduced the castle of Edinburgh, which was held out by Kirkcaldy of Grange and Lethington. The former was tried and executed; the latter died in prison by his own hand, as was generally believed.

On the eve of St. Bartholomew an atrocity without parallel in history was perpetrated in the French capital. All the leaders of the protestant party had been invited thither on the occasion of the marriage of the young king of Navarre, their ostensive head, with Margaret, sister of Charles IX. The marriage was celebrated on the 18th of August; four days after, (22d,) the admiral Coligni was fired at and wounded from the window of a house belonging to a dependent of the duke of Guise. Next day the king, the queen-mother, and the court came to visit him. After midnight the tocsin sounded and the protestants were fallen on and massacred in their beds. The admiral, his son-in-law Teligni, Rochefoucauld, and nearly one thousand more of the nobles and gentry, and five thousand other protestants perished. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only saved their lives by a change of religion. Similar massacres were perpetrated at Orleans, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities in the course of the succeeding month. They closed with one at Bordeaux on the 4th of October. The number of victims immolated to the demon of fanaticism is variously estimated at from 10,000 to 100,000; the duke De Sully gives the number at 70,000, the accurate and veracious Thuanus at 30,000.* Medals were struck and an annual procession of thanksgiving was appointed to commemorate it at Paris. The tidings were received with every demonstration of joy at Madrid and in the camp of Alva. At Rome the pope and cardinals went to return thanks to Heaven for this event in the church of St. Louis, the canonized king of France.

What the connection of this atrocious deed was with the meeting at Bayonne, how long it had been premeditated, and by whom, and whether the young king was guilty or not of the fiendish dissimulation with which he has been charged, are questions into which we cannot now enter. We incline, however, to think that Charles really was deceived by his

* Dr. Lingard says that if we say about fifteen hundred "we shall perhaps not be far from the real amount"!! Dr. L. must know, that however a monkish chronicler might mistake, a man like Thuanus was not capable of falling into such an enormous error.

mother and her confederates, and was made to believe that the Huguenots had formed a dangerous conspiracy, which could only be repressed by anticipating it.

The French ambassador in England, La Motte Fenelon, was instructed to make this excuse to Elizabeth. He repaired to Woodstock, where the court was then residing. When admitted to an audience, he was led through rooms in which a silence like to that of the tombs prevailed. The lords and ladies, habited in deep mourning, took no notice of him as he passed. Elizabeth herself, however, listened to his excuses with calmness; she then showed how inadequate they were, and expressed her desire that the king should institute an inquiry, and, if the charge was found to be a calumny, punish the authors of it. Her opinion of the king's intentions, she said, would be regulated by his conduct on this occasion. Only two days before the massacre, Fenelon had proposed to her a marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's youngest brother, though he was a youth of but seventeen years. She let the treaty still go on, and when Charles soon after had a daughter born to him, she accepted the invitation to stand godmother, and sent the earl of Worcester to represent her at the christening.*

This temporizing policy was forced upon Elizabeth by the circumstances of the times. Every day gave fresh proof of the determination of the catholic powers to exterminate the reformers. Should Charles succeed in France and Philip in the Netherlands, England would be the next object of attack, and the claim of the queen of Scots be supported by foreign armies. Burleigh, Walsingham, and the other statesmen believed her death to be necessary for the safety of Elizabeth. Sandys, bishop of London, writing at this time to Burleigh on the state of affairs, suggested, as one of the precautionary measures, "forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head;" and Henry Killigrew was sent (Sept. 7) into Scotland to propose to the then regent Mar to deliver her up to him and his party, provided "they should give good assurance to proceed with her by way of justice, as they had already many times offered to do." The upright character of Mar was the cause of this measure not being carried into effect.

The apprehended storm, however, did not burst upon England. The Huguenots quickly recovered from the stu-

* [Which was greatest and least justifiable, the dissimulation of Elizabeth on this occasion, or that of Mary when her own life and liberty were in danger? See notes, pp. 481 and 488. — J. T. S.]

por into which the massacre had thrown them, and resumed their arms; Elizabeth connived at money and men being sent to them out of England. In a similar underhand manner she aided the prince of Orange and the protestants of the Netherlands. Charles IX. died of a dreadful disease, and in the pangs of remorse, (1574;) the duke of Anjou, who had been elected king of Poland, succeeded him under the name of Henry III.; the king of Navarre and prince of Condé made their escape, resumed the protestant religion, and became the heads of the Huguenots; they were also joined by the duke of Alençon, now Anjou, and the king gave them most favorable terms, (1576;) the catholics in return formed the LEAGUE headed by the Guises in concert with the king of Spain.

During all this time the utmost tranquillity prevailed in England; the queen of Scots, hopeless of aid from her own country, (where the regent Morton [the successor of Mar] merely ruled under Elizabeth,) or from the catholic princes, seems to have abstained from her machinations, and the catholics, in general connived at in their private worship, remained at rest. Elizabeth, in those stately progresses which she was in the habit of making every year, found the means of extending her popularity, and endearing herself to all orders of her people. Commercial and maritime enterprise much engaged the public mind. A trade was established with the Levant; the Russian trade, which had commenced in the late reign, was maintained; various efforts were made to reach the east by the north of Europe or America, and so early as 1567, Martin Frobisher penetrated to the sea afterwards named Hudson's Bay. Other adventurers pursued a more lucrative but less honorable course. John Hawkins, a gentleman of Devon, fitted out vessels with which he proceeded to the coast of Africa, and seizing the inoffensive natives, sold them for slaves to the Spaniards in America.

But the man who most distinguished himself at this time was Francis Drake. The father of this great navigator was a man in humble circumstances in Devon, who, having embraced the reformed doctrines in the time of Henry VIII., found it necessary, on account of the Six Articles, to remove to Kent. In the reign of Edward VI. he got into orders and was made vicar of Upnore on the Medway. He put his son Francis to a neighbor of his, the master of a bark, who on his death left his ship to the youth. In 1567 Drake sold his bark and went and joined Hawkins, then about to sail on an expedition to America; but in the bay of St. Juan de

Ulloa they were attacked by a superior Spanish force and defeated. Drake thus lost his all, but "by playing the seaman and the pirate" for some years, he retrieved his fortune. A divine in the navy having satisfied him as to the lawfulness of his design, he set sail with a man-of-war named the *Dragon* and two pinnaces in 1572, and attacked and took the town of Nombre de Dios on the isthmus of Panama. Having been informed by some Cimarrons (runaway negroes) of the approach of a caravan of mules with treasure from Panama, he waylaid and plundered it. As he was roaming over the isthmus under the guidance of the Cimarrons, they showed him from the top of a mountain the Pacific Ocean. He fell on his knees, made a vow to visit that sea, and implored the divine aid for his enterprise.

On the 13th of December, 1577, Drake sailed from Plymouth with five ships, carrying one hundred and sixty-three men. Having on his way taken the crews and stores out of two of his ships, which he then turned adrift, he passed Magellan's Straits with the remaining three. A violent tempest then came on and dispersed them; one returned through the straits, another was lost; Drake with the third proceeded along the coast of Chili and Peru, making descents and plundering the ships which he found in harbor, or on sea: for as an enemy had never appeared in these seas the Spaniards were without suspicion. As the alarm was now given, he feared to return by the way he came; he therefore boldly stretched across the ocean westwards, and reached the Moluccas, whence he proceeded to Java, and thence to the Cape of Good Hope. He landed at Plymouth on the 3d of November, 1580, after an absence of three years all but six weeks. He then went round to the Thames, and his ship was laid up at Deptford, where the queen condescended to partake of a banquet on board, and conferred on him the honor of knighthood. The amount of his plunder was 800,000*l.*, a tenth of which was divided among the officers and crew of the ship. A large sum was afterwards paid over to a Spaniard, who represented himself as the agent for those who had been plundered, and the queen learned, when too late, that instead of being given to the real owners, it was employed for the payment of the troops in the Netherlands.

The treaty for a marriage with the duke of Anjou still went on. In 1578 this prince sent over one Simier, a man of wit and capacity, as his agent; and Simier made himself so agreeable to Elizabeth that Leicester began to fear that

she would overcome her aversion to marriage, and he himself thus lose his influence with her. He therefore, to injure Simier in her opinion, gave out that he had bewitched her by magic arts; Simier in revenge informed the queen of a matter which Leicester had studiously concealed from her, namely, that he had been privately married to the widow of lord Essex. Elizabeth, who had such a strange aversion to marriage in others as well as in herself, was so enraged that, but for the intercession of lord Sussex, his personal enemy, she would have sent him to the Tower. Leicester was then accused of having employed one Tudor, of the queen's guard, to assassinate Simier. It happened, too, that as the queen was rowing one day in her barge on the Thames, in company with Simier and some others, a shot was fired by a young man in a boat which wounded one of her bargemen. A design to murder herself or Simier was at once supposed; but the young man having proved that the piece went off by accident he was pardoned at the gallows. Elizabeth said on this, as on several other occasions, that she would believe nothing of her people which parents would not believe of their own children.

Anjou himself came over soon after, and had a private interview with Elizabeth at Greenwich, and it is rather curious that though she was such an admirer of personal beauty, and the duke's face had been sadly disfigured by the small-pox, she was so far pleased with him that she seems to have had serious thoughts of marrying him. After a month or two she directed Burleigh, Sussex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham to confer with Simier on the subject.

The acquisition of the crown and dominions of Portugal by Philip of Spain in 1580, made the court of France most anxious for a close connection with that of England. A splendid embassy was sent thither (1581) to treat of the marriage. Elizabeth's heart was certainly in favor of the duke; marriage-articles were actually agreed on, and the union was to take place in six weeks. A clause, however, was added which would enable her to recede if she pleased.

The truth is, there was a violent struggle in the queen's breast between prudence and inclination. Anjou had certainly made an impression on her heart, and her pride was gratified at the prospect of an alliance with the royal house of France. On the other hand her good sense suggested to her the folly of a woman in her forty-ninth year marrying a young man, and her subjects in general and several of her ministers were adverse to a connection with the blood-stained

house of Valois; and now, indeed, as there was so little prospect of her bearing children, they were little anxious for her marriage at all. An honest, but hot-headed puritan of Lincoln's Inn, named Stubbs, wrote a book, entitled "The Gulf in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." The queen caused him and the printer, and one Page who circulated it, to be prosecuted, under an act passed in her sister's reign, and they were sentenced to lose their right hands. The sentence was executed on Stubbs and Page, and the former, loyal in the face of injustice and cruelty, instantly took off his hat with his remaining hand, and waving it over his head cried, "God save the queen!" A person of much higher rank than poor Stubbs also wrote against the marriage; sir Philip Sidney, the gallant warrior and accomplished scholar, addressed an able and elegant letter to the queen on the subject.

Anjou was at this time in the Netherlands. The people of the provinces in revolt had some years before (1575) offered the sovereignty, of which they declared Philip deprived, to the queen of England; she had prudently declined it at that time, and when it was again offered to her (1580) she persisted in her resolution. It was then proffered to the duke of Anjou; his brother permitted him to accept it and secretly supplied him with money. He entered the Netherlands with about fifteen thousand men, and he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Cambray; Elizabeth had on this occasion proved her regard for him by sending him a present of 100,000 crowns. At the close of the campaign he came over to England, where his reception from the queen was most flattering. A few days after the anniversary of her accession (Nov. 22) she, in the presence of her court, drew a ring from her finger and placed it on his in token of pledging herself to him. The affair was now regarded as decided; the envoy from the Netherlands wrote off instantly, and public rejoicings were made at Antwerp and other towns. But Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, who were strongly opposed to the match, remonstrated earnestly with the queen, and, when she retired, her ladies of the bed-chamber fell on their knees and with sighs and tears conjured her to pause, representing the evil consequences that might ensue. She passed a sleepless and uneasy night; next morning she had a long conversation with the duke, in which she exposed her reasons for sacrificing her inclinations to her duty to her people. He withdrew, deeply mortified, to his apartments, where he flung away the ring, exclaiming against the fickle-

ness of women and islanders. He, however, remained in England till the following year, (1582,) the queen still giving him hopes. When he departed (Feb. 8) she made him promise to return in a month; accompanied him as far as Canterbury; and sent Leicester and a gallant train to attend him even to Brussels. He was now made duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders, but, attempting some time after to make himself absolute, he was driven out of the country, and he died in France (1584) after a tedious illness, mourned by Elizabeth, who really loved him, though his character seems to have been as vicious as those of the rest of his family. A union with him would certainly have been productive of neither advantage nor happiness to the queen or her people.

The laws against *recusants*, as the catholics were now called, were at this time put into more rigorous execution than heretofore. We are no advocates for persecution, but we require in justice that the queen and her council should be judged by the maxims and practice of the sixteenth and not by those of the nineteenth century, and not be condemned for employing the means then in use for counteracting the plots of the pope and king of Spain for overthrowing the protestant religion in England, and depriving the queen of her crown and life.* The laws passed for the security of the queen and the reformed religion were certainly most severe, and to our ideas most unjust; but complaint ill became the catholics, who had never, where they had the power, shown the least symptom of a tolerating spirit, and if they chose to violate these laws, their punishment was merited on their own principles.

There were two classes of Romish priests who sought the glory of martyrdom in England, the Jesuits and the Seminarists. The former society, the most able support of the pretensions of the papacy, had been founded in the time of Charles V.; in blind obedience to the mandates of its general or chief, who resided at Rome, it most strongly resembled the Assassins of the East, and so many murders were at this time perpetrated or instigated by Jesuits, that we

* [The excusatory remarks here made, with respect to Elizabeth and her persecutions, ought, in all candor, to be equally applied to her sister and predecessor, Mary. Elizabeth had no more right than Mary to assume infallibility; neither has any writer a right to argue as if the tenets which Elizabeth upheld were necessarily and infallibly true. The persecutions of Mary were, doubtless, at least as *conscientious* as those of Elizabeth. Those of both were unjustifiable and useless. — J. T. S.]

fear their principles justified every crime committed in the cause of Rome. The Seminarists were a better sort of men. Fearing that when queen Mary's priests, as the catholic clergymen who still lingered in England were called, should die off, the people there would conform to the protestant religion for want of teachers of their own, William Allen who had been a fellow of Oxford, conceived the design of forming seminaries on the continent for the education of missionaries to be sent to England. The pope approved of the project, and contributed money. Allen opened the first seminary at Douay; others were afterwards established at Rome, Valladolid, and elsewhere. Zealous English catholics secretly sent their children to be educated at them, in order that they might return as missionaries to teach the doctrines of their church, and inculcate, what the English government regarded as rebellion, that the queen should be deposed as a heretic.

The first who suffered was a priest named Maine, in Cornwall, (1577.) He was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass in a private house. He was executed at Launceston as a traitor. Mr. Tregian, the gentleman in whose house he was taken suffered the penalty of a præmunire, his estate was seized, and he remained in prison till his death. The next year Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, were executed for denying the supremacy.

In 1580 the Jesuits made their first appearance in England. Persons and Campian, both formerly members of the university of Oxford, where they had professed protestantism, but who were now members of the society of Jesuits, came over, and under various disguises, as soldiers, as protestant ministers, and so forth, went through the country confirming the catholics in their religion. A chief part of their commission was to quiet the minds of the scrupulous by giving them the sense put by Gregory XIII. on the bull of Pius V., namely, that it was always binding on Elizabeth and the heretics, but not on the catholics till they could put it in execution, that is to say, they were to obey the queen until they were able to dethrone her. The notions on this head, however, advanced by Persons, were so offensive to many catholics, that they had thoughts of seizing him and giving him up to the government. Campian, a far better man, put forth papers offering to dispute on the points in controversy before the universities.

A diligent search was set on foot, and after a year's pur-

suit, Campian was taken and committed to the Tower. According to the barbarous practice of the age, he was put to the rack, and he revealed the names of several of those who had received him into their houses. Campian and twelve other priests were indicted on the 25 Edw. III. According to the printed trial nothing could be more unfair than the manner in which the trial was conducted, nothing more feeble than the evidence given.* They were, however, found guilty, and Campian and two others were executed forthwith, and seven of the remainder some months after. It is impossible not to feel pity for the fate of these upright, pious men, but we must at the same time recollect that however they might disguise it from themselves, their ultimate object was the overthrow of the government; there was probably not one of them who did not deem it his duty to dethrone Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne. They would not in fact have been Jesuits, or even catholics, if they did not; and if sincerity and purity of motive are to excuse conspiracy, governments will often find it difficult to justify themselves in punishing rebels.

Affairs in Scotland at this time caused some uneasiness to the English cabinet. Morton, though his vigorous rule kept the country quiet, gave great offence by his harshness and avarice. He at length resigned his authority (1578) into the hands of the king, now in his thirteenth year, and the royal child seemed to administer the government; but Morton soon recovered his influence. The following year, however, the Guise party sent Stuart lord of Aubigny over to Scotland, and his amiable manners soon won the heart of James, who created him earl and afterwards duke of Lennox; another favorite was Stuart of Ochiltree, afterwards earl of Arran. These two combined against Morton, and at their impulsion he was brought to trial (1581) for the murder of the king's father. He was found guilty and executed, in spite of the exertions of Elizabeth, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Orange, to save him. His execution proves the boldness and ambition of Arran, not the filial piety of James.†

* Hallam (i. 198) is of opinion that the account of the trial was "compiled by a partial hand." [Upon what proof? J. T. S.]

† Elizabeth said to the bishop of St. Andrews, "I wonder that James has had the earl of Morton executed, as guilty of the death of the king his father, and that he requires Archibald Douglas to be given up in order to treat him in the same manner. *Why does he not desire his mother to be given up in order to punish her for that crime?*" — Castel nau, Letters to the Queen of Scots in 1584.

The Jesuits resolved to take advantage of the death of Morton and the influence of the catholic Lennox. Waytes, an English priest, and then Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, appeared at Holyrood-house. James received them favorably, and as he complained of want of money it was hoped by supplying him with it to gain him over to their projects. Persons and Creighton repaired to Paris, where they secretly consulted with the duke of Guise, the papal nuncio, the provincial of the Jesuits, the Spanish ambassador, Mary's agent the bishop of Glasgow, and Dr. Allen the founder of the seminaries. It was agreed that Mary and James should be associated in the throne, and the pope and king of Spain be solicited to supply James with money.* The plan was communicated to Mary, who approved of it, as also it is said did Lennox and Arran, and James himself. But the 'Raid of Ruthven,' as it was called, disconcerted all these projects. James was seized by the earl of Gowrie in concert with some of the leading protestants, and forced to dismiss Lennox and Arran, the former of whom retired to France, where he died soon after; the latter was cast into prison. Whether the English council were cognizant of the raid or not is uncertain. They knew of the consultation in Paris and of its objects, and how vital it was to England that the supreme power in Scotland should be in the hands of protestants. Sir Henry Carey and sir Robert Bowes were sent to congratulate James on his deliverance from the counsels of Lennox and Arran; to exhort him not to resent the late seeming violence; and to procure the recall of the earl of Angus. James readily assented to the return of Angus, and he dissembled his resentment against his captors. Mary at this time wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, of which no notice seems to have been taken.

By a bold effort James succeeded (1583) in freeing himself from the restraint in which he was held. Most of the opposite party quitted the kingdom, and Arran recovered his influence. Elizabeth, desirous of knowing accurately the character of the young monarch, sent the aged and sagacious Walsingham on an embassy to his court. James, who had been the pupil of the illustrious Buchanan, and had naturally good parts, shone in conversation, and Walsingham conceived an opinion of his abilities beyond what they were entitled to.

* "It is probable," says Lingard, "that other projects, with which we are unacquainted, were also formed." No doubt the dethronement of Elizabeth was one.

The tyranny of Arran soon, (1584,) however, caused his downfall, and the English party regained their ascendancy in the Scottish council, to the great satisfaction of Elizabeth. On Arran's return to power, the conclave at Paris had proposed that James should invade the northern counties, while Guise should land with an army in the south of England to liberate Mary and dethrone Elizabeth. It would appear to be the knowledge of this plan that made the queen take no notice of a renewed proposal of Mary for transferring all her authority to her son if she was set at liberty. For Creighton, being taken by a Dutch cruiser on his return to Scotland at this time, tore his papers and threw them into the sea, but the wind blowing them back they were put together, and revealed the plan for invading England. He was given up to the English government, and being menaced with the rack made a full disclosure of the plot.

The government had so many proofs of the foreign and domestic conspiracy in favor of the queen of Scots, that they found it needful to employ every possible expedient for discovering those concerned in it. In a moral point of view the employment of spies may be reprehensible, but in times of danger no government has yet been found to abstain from this mode of discovering and thwarting the designs of their enemies; and never did ministers better know how to manage it than Cecil and Walsingham. Spies were now employed, informers were listened to, the more questionable expedient of sending counterfeit letters in the name of the queen of Scots or of the exiles to the houses of suspected catholics was, it is said, resorted to. The information thus gained led to the arrest of two gentlemen named Throgmorton; the lord Paget and Charles Arundel immediately fled to France; the earl of Northumberland (brother of the late earl) and the earl of Arundel (son of the late duke of Norfolk) were called before the council and examined. A letter to Mary on the subject of a rising having been intercepted, Francis Throgmorton was put to the rack; he owned to having concerted the plan of an invasion and a rising of the catholics with Mendoza the Spanish ambassador; on his trial he denied it; after his condemnation he again confessed it; on the scaffold he denied it once more. Mendoza, however, was ordered to depart the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he gratified his malignity by publishing lies of the queen and her ministers, and by aiding every plan for raising a rebellion in England.

It is gratifying to observe at this time the affection which

the people displayed for their queen. The French ambassador writes thus — "Queen Elizabeth has told me that several conspiracies, directed by the Jesuits, have been, by the goodness of God, discovered. Latterly when she has appeared in public, whole crowds of people fell on their knees as she passed, prayed in various ways, invoked upon her a thousand blessings, and hoped that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She often stopped and returned thanks for all this love. When I was alone with her (she rode on a good horse) amidst all this crowd she said to me, 'You see that all do not wish me ill.'" A further proof of this affection was given by the zeal with which men of all ranks pressed forward to subscribe a bond of association framed by Leicester and some others of the council for her security. Its purport was to defend her person, to avenge her death or any injury done her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants for whose advantage or at whose suggestion any evil should befall her. The queen of Scots saw plainly that she was the person aimed at, and to remove suspicion she begged to be allowed to subscribe the bond, but the permission was refused. She was at this time at Wingfield, under the custody of sir Ralph Sadler.

When parliament met (Nov. 23) an act was passed "for the security of the queen's person and continuance of the realm in peace." It enacts that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending a title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if any thing be compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person with the privy of any such person, a certain number of peers and others commissioned by the queen should examine and give judgment thereon, and all persons against whom such judgment should be published should be disabled forever from claiming the crown. The object of this act was to obtain from the reluctant queen, in case of any rebellious movements, an absolute exclusion of Mary from the succession.

A most severe law was passed against the catholics. The Jesuits and priests were ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days; those who remained beyond that time or returned should be guilty of treason; those who harbored or relieved them, of felony; students at the seminaries were to be guilty of treason if they did not return within six months; those supplying them with money to be liable to a *præmunire*, etc.

This bill was opposed by one Dr. Parry, a civilian, who described it as "a measure savoring of blood, danger, and

despair to English subjects;" for this he was committed, but he was released next day by the queen's order. Soon after he was sent to the Tower, being accused by Edmund Neville of a design to assassinate the queen. He confessed his guilt, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor.

Parry's confession was in substance as follows. He was in the queen's service from 1570 to 1580, when, having attempted to kill a man to whom he was in debt, and having obtained a pardon, he went to Paris, where he was reconciled to the church of Rome. At Venice, some time after, he hinted to a Jesuit named Palmio that he had found a way to relieve the English catholics, if the pope or any learned divines would justify it as lawful. Palmio extolled the project (which was to kill the queen) as a pious design, and recommended him to the nuncio; letters of safe conduct for Parry to go to Rome were sent by cardinal Como. He returned, however, to Paris, and there conversing with his countryman Morgan, the agent of the queen of Scots, he declared himself ready to kill the greatest subject in England in the cause of the church. "Why not the queen herself?" said Morgan. But of this Parry now had doubts, as Watts an English priest and Creighton the Scottish Jesuit had assured him it was not lawful. The nuncio Ragazzoni, however, confirmed him in his design, and he received, after his return to England, a letter from cardinal Como in the pope's name, commending his project and giving him absolution. He communicated this letter "to some in court," and he had various interviews with the queen, on which occasions (such is the force of natural feelings) he always went unarmed lest he might be tempted to injure her. A book which Dr. Allen had lately written, however, confirmed him again in his resolution; he communicated it to Neville; they arranged their plan; but lord Westmorland happening to die at this time, Neville, in hopes of getting the family estates, betrayed his confederate.

Without stopping to inquire how far this confession is true or false,* we will only observe that the world had just had a convincing proof that the catholic party scrupled not at assassination. On the 10th of July, 1584, the great prince of Orange was shot by a man named Balthazar Gerard, who confessed that he had been kept for some time in the Jesuits' college at Treves by one of the brotherhood, who ap-

* [There appears but little probability of its truth. See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 246, &c., published by the U. K. Society. — J. T. S.]

proved of his design and instructed him how to proceed Philip II. had set a large reward on the prince's head, and his great general the prince of Parma sullied his fame by personally examining the qualifications of the assassins who presented themselves.

The Dutch were dismayed at the loss of their hero and at the rapid progress of the prince of Parma, and they sent again, offering the sovereignty to Elizabeth. The matter was anxiously debated in the English council; the danger to the protestant interest was imminent; Philip was in the zenith of his power; the League was nearly triumphant in France; and if the Dutch were subdued, England would certainly be attacked. Elizabeth boldly resolved to face the danger at once, and, as the king of Sweden said when he heard of it, take the diadem from her head and hazard it on the chance of war. She declined the proffered sovereignty, but agreed to aid the States with a force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be maintained at her expense during the war; the money thus expended to be repaid by the States when peace should have been concluded, (1585.)

The chief command was given to the earl of Leicester, who, though by no means deficient in courage or talents, was totally without military experience, and he was to be opposed to the first general of the age. He landed at Flushing, (Dec. 10,) accompanied by the gallant young earl of Essex, his stepson, and a company of nobles, knights, and gentlemen to the number of five hundred. The States, in the expectation of gratifying Elizabeth by honoring her favorite, bestowed on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, and treated him nearly like a sovereign. But these proceedings were by no means pleasing to the queen; she wrote in very angry terms to both him and the States, and was not appeased without difficulty. "We little thought," wrote she to the earl, "that *one whom we have raised out of the dust*, and surrounded with singular honor above all others, would, with so great contempt, have broken our commandment in a matter of so great weight." Leicester's first campaign (1589) was not very brilliant, neither was it quite so discreditable as it is represented by writers hostile to his memory. The most remarkable event of it was the death of his nephew sir Philip Sidney, the ornament of his age and country, equally distinguished in arms, in literature, and in manners, the nearest approach perhaps to the ideal of the perfect knight that has ever appeared.

The unfortunate event thus occurred: The prince of Parma

having sent some troops to the relief of Zutphen, which Leicester had invested, they fell in with an inferior force of the besieging army. Sidney's horse being killed under him, he was mounting another when a musket ball struck him in the thigh. He turned and rode back to the main army; loss of blood making him thirsty he called for drink; a bottle of water was given him; he put it to his lips, but seeing a wounded soldier looking wistfully at it, he said, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine," and handed it to him. After lingering for about three weeks he breathed his last, with the utmost piety and resignation, (Oct. 16.) Leicester did not remain long after in Holland. On his return to the Hague he was assailed with complaints on his conduct by the States. He gave them fair words, and then sailed for England, (Dec. 3,) where the case of the queen of Scots now called for his presence.

While Leicester was thus inglorious in the Netherlands, Drake, who had been sent to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, had had more success. He took St. Domingo, Carthagena, and some other towns, and returned with booty valued at 60,000*l.*, and 240 pieces of cannon.

A league offensive and defensive was formed this year (1586) between Elizabeth and the king of Scots, for the mutual defence of their dominions and their religion against the catholic powers. The queen was to grant James a pension of 5000*l.* a year, equivalent to his claim on the English property of his paternal grandmother, lately deceased.

In this summer a conspiracy against the queen of the most dangerous character was detected by the sagacity of Walsingham. Some priests at Rheims, actuated by a fanatical hatred of Elizabeth, and regarding the deposing bull of Pius V. as inspired by the Holy Ghost, had worked themselves into a belief that her assassination would be an act meritorious in the sight of God. Three of these men, Dr. Gifford, his brother Gilbert, and one Hodgeson, instigated a man named John Savage, who had served in the Spanish army, to the deed, instructed him how to perform it, and sent him over with strong recommendations to the English catholics. About this time also one Ballard, a seminarist, came from England to Paris, and stating there to the enemies of Elizabeth the readiness of the English catholics to rise if an invasion were made, for which the present was the time, as the best troops were away with Leicester in Holland, a plan for that purpose was devised, and Ballard was sent back to prepare the catholics. It does not appear that the assassina-

tion of the queen was determined on, though Charles Paget asserted that there was no use in invading England as long as she lived.

Ballard came over in the disguise of a soldier, calling himself captain Fortescue. He disclosed the project to Anthony Babington, a young man of good fortune in Derbyshire, who had been recommended to Mary by Morgan and the bishop of Glasgow, and had been for some time the agent in conveying letters between her and them. Babington at once approved of the plot; but like Paget maintained that there was no chance while the queen lived. Ballard then told him of Savage; but he objected to committing a matter of such importance to the hand of one man, and proposed to join with him five others for whose courage and fidelity he could answer. Ballard agreed, and Babington then opened his views to some catholic gentlemen, his intimate friends, who readily consented to join in them.* The correspondence was renewed between Babington and Mary, who expressed her perfect approbation of the plan in all its parts.† She was now at Chartley, under the charge of sir Amias Paulet, a rigid puritan, but a man of strict honor.

The conspirators were in general vain, thoughtless young men, as is proved by their folly of having a painting made of the six who were to murder the queen, with Babington in the midst of them; for, in reliance on each other's honor, they deemed themselves secure from discovery. But all their doings were well known to Walsingham; a priest named Maud, who had accompanied Ballard to France, was in his pay, as also was Polly, one of Babington's confederates. Finally, when Gilbert Gifford was sent over to England to urge on Savage, he privately tendered his services to Walsingham. As Gifford was to be the medium for communicating with the queen of Scots, Walsingham wished Paulet to connive at his bribing one of his servants; but to this the scrupulous puritan would not consent: he, however,

* They were Edw. Windsor, T. Salisbury, Ch. Tilney, Chidicok Tichbourne, Edw. Abingdon, Rob. Gage, J. Charnock, J. Travers, J. Jones, H. Dunn, and Barnwell, an Irish gentleman. Of these, Tilney, Tichbourne, Abingdon, Barnwell, and Charnock were appointed with Savage to murder the queen. Tilney and Tichbourne at first refused; but their scruples were overcome by Ballard and Babington. Salisbury could not be induced to attempt her life.

† [It should be stated, that all this pretended correspondence was denied by Mary, in a manner which seemed expressive of conscious innocence. There is no improbability in the supposition that it was a forgery. — J. T. S.]

suffered a brewer's boy, who served the house with beer, to be the agent, and the letters were conveyed through a hole in a wall, which was stopped with a loose stone. Ballard and Babington, being suspicious of Gifford, gave him at first only blank letters; but finding that these went safe, they dropped all suspicions. The whole correspondence thus passed through the hands of Walsingham; all the letters were deciphered and copied, and the entire plot and the names of the actors were discovered. Walsingham communicated what he had learned to no one but the queen.

Babington wished to send Ballard abroad to urge the foreign invasion, and had procured a license for him under a feigned name. He also intended to go himself for the same purpose, and applied to Walsingham, affecting great zeal for the queen's cause. The minister kept him in hand, and even induced him to come to reside in the mean time at his house. Walsingham wished to carry on this secret mode of proceeding still longer; but the queen said that by not preventing the danger in time she "should seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God." Ballard therefore was arrested. Babington was then desirous that no time should be lost in killing the queen, and he gave his ring and some money to Savage, who was very shabby, that he might buy himself good clothes for the purpose. Finding soon after that the plot was known or suspected, they all stole out of London, and lurked for some days in St. John's Wood and other places about the city. But they were taken in a short time and put in prison, where they voluntarily made most ample confessions. They were tried, and sentenced to be executed as traitors. On the 20th of September, Ballard, Babington, Savage, and four others were hung in St. Giles's fields. After the ancient manner, they were cut down while still alive and their bowels taken out before their faces; but the queen when she heard of this cruelty gave strict orders that the remainder should not be embowelled or quartered till they had hung to be dead.

When the conspirators were arrested, sir Thomas Gorges was sent from court with the tidings to the queen of Scots. She was on her horse ready to go hunting when he arrived. She wished to return to her chamber, but she was not permitted. She was soon after brought back to Chartley, and was then conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she at length reached Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire, (Sept. 26.) During her first absence from Chartley, her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were

arrested and sent up to London; her cabinets were at the same time broken open, and her extensive correspondence both in England and on the continent was discovered and seized.

Evidence sufficient for their purpose having been now procured against the queen of Scots, the question with the council was how she should be treated. Some were for keeping her in strict confinement, as it was reckoned that she could not live long, her health being in a declining state. But Burleigh and Walsingham knew that while she lived she would never cease to plot the ruin of the queen and the protestant religion; and self-preservation urged them also, for if she were to succeed to the throne their lives they knew would be the forfeit of their loyalty to their queen. Leicester, who was in Holland, suggested the employment of poison, and sent a divine to Walsingham to justify this course; but that upright statesman rejected it, protesting against all violence except by sentence of law. It was finally resolved to bring her to trial on the late act, and a commission of forty noblemen, privy counsellors, and judges, of both religions, was appointed to examine and give judgment on her.

On the 11th of October the commissioners came to Fotheringay. Next morning they sent to Mary a letter from the queen, charging her with being accessory to the late conspiracy, and informing her of the commission appointed to try her. She read the letter calmly, denied the charges, and declared that, being an absolute [independent] queen, she would not derogate from her rank by submitting to this trial. The following day, lord Burleigh, and the chancellor, and some others waited on her; they urged her "with fair words" to submit, at the same time assuring her that her refusal would not prevent them from proceeding. She still, however, persisted; but Hatton's speech, in which he made her observe that if she was innocent, as she asserted, she wronged her reputation by refusing a trial before honorable, upright men, had some effect on her. She offered to answer before the parliament, or the queen in council, provided she were acknowledged next in succession. She at the same time declared that she would never submit to the law named in the commission. Burleigh told her they would nevertheless proceed in the cause next day. "Examine your consciences," said she; "be tender of your honor; God reward you and yours according to your judgment upon me."

Next morning (14th) she sent for some of the commis-

sioners, and said that having well weighed Hatton's reasons she was willing to appear, provided her protest was received. They assented; the court was prepared; at one end of the room was placed under a canopy a chair of state for the queen of England; opposite, at some distance, stood a chair for the queen of Scots; the commissioners sat on benches on each side, the law officers at a table in the centre.

The queen having taken her seat, the chancellor addressed her; she renewed her protest: he replied, and the protest and reply were recorded. The case was then opened by serjeant Gaudy, accusing her of participation in Babington's conspiracy. She denied all knowledge of him or Ballard, Babington's letters to her were then read; she defied them to prove that she had received them; parts of his confession were read, stating the substance of the letters he said he had received from her. Mention occurring in these of Arundel and his brothers, she burst into tears, saying, "Alas! what hath that noble house of the Howards suffered for my sake!" She then said that, let Babington have confessed what he might, it was all a flat lie that she had thus written to him. Finally a letter of hers to Babington was produced, in which she commended and approved of his plot; she demanded a copy of it, asserted it was a forgery, and hinted at Walsingham as the forger. The secretary rose and defended himself with dignity, and the queen apologized.

In the afternoon the court resumed. A copy of a letter to her from Charles Paget concerning an invasion of England was read; she did not deny it. She was then pressed with the testimonies of her secretaries; Curle she said was an honest man, but he was too pliant to Nau, of whom she did not think so well; they might have inserted things in her letters without her knowledge, and have received letters which they concealed from her. Burleigh then charged her with her intention of having her son carried to Spain, and of conveying her claims to Philip; this she did not deny. The substance of her letters to Englefield, Paget, and Mendoza, about an invasion in her favor, was then read; she said she thought herself justified in so doing, but denied any intention of injuring the queen's life. The court was then adjourned.

Next day (16th) she renewed her protest, which was recorded. Her letters to Paget were again read, in which she recommended the invasion of England and placing her on the throne, and one from Allen in which he addressed her as his

sovereign. She again denied all knowledge of Babington's plot, and asserted that he and her secretaries had accused her to save themselves. She finally required to be heard in a full parliament, or by the queen in council. She rose, and when she had conferred apart with Burleigh, Hatton, Walsingham, and lord Warwick, the court was adjourned to the 25th in the star-chamber at Westminster.

It is impossible to read the full account of this remarkable trial without admiring the ability with which Mary sustained the contest against [apparently] overwhelming evidence, and the ablest men in England. Her great anxiety seems to have been to clear herself from participation in the plot for assassinating Elizabeth.

On the 25th the commissioners met again; the secretaries Nau and Curle attested on oath the truth and reality of the letters and copies that had been produced; the queen of Scots was then pronounced guilty of all that had been laid to her charge; at the same time a public declaration was made "that the said sentence did nothing derogate from James king of Scotland in his title and honor." Parliament met in a few days, (29th;) they approved and confirmed the sentence against the queen of Scots, and petitioned the queen to have it executed. She replied in most gracious terms and promised to come to a speedy resolution. A few days after she sent advising them to consider the matter anew and try if some way might not be found for preserving the queen of Scots' life without hazarding her own security. Both houses resolved "that there could be found no other sound and assured means." The queen's reply was rather ambiguous. The sentence, however, was published; the citizens forthwith illuminated their houses, the bells of the churches rang out joyful peals, and the same manifestations of the popular feeling were made all over the kingdom.

When this was notified to Mary, and it was added that while she lived the religion of England could not be secure, she gave God thanks, claiming to be regarded as a martyr for the cause of the true church. Paulet now took down her canopy of estate and treated her no longer with the respect due to a royal personage. She wrote (Dec. 19th) to Elizabeth, making three requests, viz., that her remains might be sent to France for interment; that she might not be put to death privately, but in view of her servants and others, who might bear testimony to her faith in Christ and obedience to the church; that her servants might be allowed to depart and

retain the legacies she should leave them. To this letter, which was written in a pious and dignified strain, she received no answer.*

The king of France sent a special ambassador, Bellièvre, to intercede for Mary, but the queen set at nought his menaces and fully replied to his arguments. It is said indeed (but perhaps without sufficient warrant) that Bellièvre had secret instructions to urge the execution of Mary. King James also sent sir William Keith to remonstrate with the queen, and he wrote to her with his own hand in very strong terms. He afterwards despatched sir Robert Melvill and the Master of Gray for the same purpose, but the securities they offered for the queen's safety did not appear sufficient, and Elizabeth despised the menaces of the Scottish king. Gray it is said secretly advised her to carry the sentence into effect, saying, *Mortua non mordet*. James then ordered a prayer to be put up in the churches for his mother, "that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of his truth and save her from the apparent danger with which she was threatened." Yet even this cautious form was rejected, and the royal chaplains alone prayed for the captive queen. This is quite sufficient, we should think, to refute those who blame James for not taking arms in the cause of his mother.

The pride of Elizabeth made her assume a determined tone toward the French and Scottish ambassadors; † but she was in reality quite undecided. Her natural aversion to bloodshed, her respect to the kindred and royal blood of Mary, her apprehension of the catholic powers, and her fear of the judgment which posterity might pass on the deed, caused her to hesitate. On the other hand, those about her reiterated the dangers which would environ her while Mary lived; a conspiracy to murder her, in which the French resident Aubespine, a creature of the Guises, was concerned, had been detected; various rumors of the landing of foreign armies in England and of plots to set London on fire and kill the queen were spread; and the whole nation seemed to clam-

* [The tone of this letter, and the non-notice taken of it by Elizabeth, speak strongly of the respective characters of Mary and Elizabeth. Mr. Keightley does not attempt to defend Elizabeth's conduct here.—J. T. S.]

† "And I spake," writes the Master to James, "craving of her that her life may be spared for fifteen days; she refused. Sir Robert craved for only eight days; she said, 'Not for an hour,' and so geid her away." "She answered in the tone of a lioness who has grasped her prey, 'No not an hour!'" says sir Walter Scott. It is thus that history gains circumstances in its progress.

or for the execution of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth became pensive and solitary, and she was frequently heard to sigh and to mutter to herself these words, *Aut fer aut feri*, ('Bear or strike,') and *Ne feriare feri*, ('Strike lest you be struck.')

The warrant meantime had been drawn out by Burleigh, and on the 1st of February the queen, who was then at Richmond, sent Howard, the lord admiral, with directions to the secretary Davison to bring it to her.* She signed it, and asked him if he was not heartily sorry to see it done; he replied in terms which pleased her, and she then directed him to take it to the chancellor and have it sealed, and to send it down to the commissioners without delay, and not to trouble her any further on the subject, as she had now done all that could be expected of her. She also directed him to call as he went on Walsingham, who was ill, as "the grief he would feel on learning it would," she merrily added,† "nearly kill him outright." She then complained of Paulet and Drury,‡ who, she said, might have eased her of this burden, and desired him and Walsingham to write to sound them.

Davison showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester and at their request went to London without delay. Having seen Walsingham and arranged with him about the letter, he proceeded to the chancellor, and got the warrant sealed. On his return to Walsingham he found the letter to the two knights ready. It hinted to them the queen's wish that they should put their prisoner secretly to death. They signed it and sent it off that evening. In the morning (2d) W. Killegrew came to Davison from the queen, to say that if he had not been already with the chancellor he should not go till he had seen her again. Davison forthwith repaired to Richmond, and when the queen found that the warrant was sealed, she said, "What needeth that haste?" He replied, that he had only done what he conceived to be his duty. He then asked her if she continued in her purpose; she said she did, "albeit she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burthen on

* The succeeding narrative rests on the evidence of Davison, of the truth of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

† [This mirth, be it remembered, was exhibited by her who had such a "natural aversion to bloodshed," while signing the warrant for the execution of a woman, a kinswoman, an independent queen, who had fled to her for protection — J. T. S.]

‡ Sir Drue Drury had been lately joined in commission with sir Amias Paulet.

herself." After some further discourse to the same effect, she went to dinner. Davison then consulted with Hatton, they both went to Burleigh, who approved of Davison's intention not to proceed singly in the business, and it was agreed that the case should be laid before the council in the morning. Burleigh undertook to write the necessary letters, and Davison gave him the warrant.

Next day (3d) the council met; they resolved to take the responsibility on themselves and send off the warrant at once, and in the afternoon they met again, signed the requisite letters to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and despatched Beale the clerk of the council with them. Next morning (4th) Davison waited on the queen; she told him with a smile that she had dreamt that the queen of Scots was executed, and that she had been greatly incensed with him for it. He said it was well he had not been near her when she was in that humor. He then seriously asked her if she did not intend to go through with it. She said, Yes, with a solemn oath, but that "she thought it might have received a better form." * Davison expressed his dislike of the course she hinted at; she told him wiser men than he were of a different opinion, and that it had been suggested to her by "one in great place," (evidently meaning Leicester.) She asked him if he had heard yet from Paulet; he replied in the negative. On his return to London the same day he received a letter from him and Drury, containing a flat refusal "to shed blood without law or warrant." When he reported this to the queen, (6th,) she complained of the "niceness of those precise fellows," adding that she could have done very well without them, as one Wingfield and others would have undertaken it. When Davison next saw her, (7th,) "she entered of herself," he says, "into some earnest discourse of the danger she lived in, and how it was more than time this matter were despatched, swearing with a great oath that it was a shame for us all that it was not already done, considering that she had for her part done all that law or reason could require of her, and therefore made some mention to have letters written to sir Amias Paulet for the hastening thereof, because the longer it was deferred the more her danger increased." Davison replied, that he thought there was

* [The renewed mirth of Elizabeth on this occasion, her desire to have Mary *secretly murdered*, and her whole conduct in the affair, sufficiently indicate her feelings and impulses. More malignant malice and more ungenerous selfishness can hardly be conceived.—J. T. S.]

no need, the warrant being "so general and sufficient" she said "she thought sir Amias Paulet would look for it," and so broke off the discourse, and Davison saw her no more.

That very day (7th) the two earls, with the sheriff of the county, came to Fotheringay. They forthwith waited on the unhappy prisoner and bade her prepare for death in the morning. She received the annunciation with the utmost composure, and requested that her almoner might be allowed to visit and prepare her for death. This being a thing unheard-of, was refused,* but the services of the bishop or dean of Peterborough were proffered, which she of course declined. The earl of Kent in his zeal said, "Your life will be the death of our religion, as your death will be the life of it,"— words [from which she justly concluded that it was, in a great measure, for her religion that she suffered.] She again denied all knowledge of Babington's conspiracy.

When the earls were gone, she ordered supper to be prepared. She supped sparingly, as usual, and comforted her servants, who could not restrain their tears; she drank to them; they pledged her on their knees; they craved her pardon for any neglect of their duty, and she craved theirs in return. She then looked over her will and the inventory of her goods, and wrote some letters. She went to bed at her usual time, slept some hours, and then rose and spent the remainder of the night in prayer.

In the morning the queen arrayed herself in her richest clothes. The sheriff entered her chapel, where she and her servants were at prayers, about eight o'clock, to summon her. She rose, took her crucifix in one hand and her prayer-book in the other. She gave her blessing to her servants, who were not allowed to follow her. The door closed; she was joined by the earls and her keepers, and descended the staircase. At the foot Melvill, her steward, met her, and bursting into tears lamented that he should be the bearer of such sorrowful tidings to Scotland. She bade him to rejoice rather than lament, as the end of her troubles was arrived, and to report that she died true to her religion, to Scotland, and to France. "He that is the true judge of all secret thoughts," she added, "knoweth my mind, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done anything that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland.

* There had as yet, we believe, been no instance in any country of such a request being complied with.

And so, good Melvill, farewell!" She kissed him, and bade him pray for her. The earl of Kent reluctantly assented to her request that two of her maids and four of her men might attend her. The procession then entered the hall, Melvill bearing the queen's train. The hall was filled with spectators, and there stood in it a scaffold two feet high covered with black. Paulet aided her to ascend it. She seated herself on a stool; the warrant was read out; she replied, asserting the injustice of her sentence and denying all intention of injuring the queen. The dean of Peterborough then commenced a most ill-timed and even cruel address to her. She desired him not to trouble himself, as she was determined to die in the faith in which she had been reared. The earl then directed him to pray; the spectators joined in the prayer; but Mary, holding out the crucifix, prayed in Latin with her servants out of the office of the Virgin. "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "settle Jesus Christ in your heart and leave those trumperies." She took no heed, but continued her prayers. Her women then began to disrobe her; the executioners went to assist; she said she was not used to employ such grooms or to strip before so numerous an assembly. When she was stripped, her women began to lament aloud. She reminded them of her promise, and crossed and kissed them, bidding them to rejoice and not to weep, as they would now see the end of her troubles. She then crossed her men-servants also, bidding them farewell. She sat down again, and one of her maids fastened a Corpus Christi cloth over her face; she was led to the block; she knelt down, saying several times, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Her head was severed at the second stroke; the executioner held it up streaming with blood. "So perish all the queen's enemies!" cried the dean. "Such end of all the queen's and the Gospel's enemies!" said the earl of Kent, standing over the body. All the rest were silent from pity or from horror.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. Her conduct in the closing scene of her life was calm, pious, and dignified.

At the time of her execution Mary was in the forty-sixth year of her age. She had long suffered from rheumatism, and had lost the beauty for which she is celebrated. She is described by an eye-witness as "being of stature tall, of body corpulent, round-shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, with hazel eyes and borrowed hair." Her

own hair is said to have been "as gray as one of threescore and ten years old."

Whatever the wishes or suspicions of Elizabeth may have been, there seem to be no grounds for supposing that she actually knew of the warrant having been sent. According to Davison, when the intelligence of the execution arrived on the evening of the 8th, Burleigh and the other councillors thought it best not to tell her as yet. She heard it, however, he says, from some other quarter, and testified neither feeling nor displeasure. But in the morning, when the event was officially announced to her, she showed every symptom of grief and indignation. She shed tears; her voice was broken by sighs; she drove her councillors from her presence with reproaches; she put herself and her whole court in mourning. Davison was committed to the Tower, and then brought before the Star Chamber, where he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 marks and be imprisoned during pleasure, for contempt of the queen's majesty, breach of his allegiance, and neglect of his duty in acquainting the council with the warrant and having it executed without her knowledge. The fine, which reduced him to beggary, was rigorously exacted, and the queen would never restore him to favor. Leicester and Hatton felt her displeasure also; even Burleigh was treated with such harshness that he craved permission to resign his offices and retire. It was only after making the humblest submissions that he succeeded in mollifying his incensed sovereign.*

Though we do not regard the conduct of Elizabeth throughout this unhappy affair as that tissue of hypocrisy it is generally styled, there certainly was in it much of which we cannot approve. Elizabeth should have proceeded openly; she should not have thought of emulating the examples of private execution given by her ancestors; or have attempted to shift the responsibility to others. She certainly deceived Davison to his ruin, and would have ruined Paulet and Drury also but for their own sense of religion and honor. Her memory has paid the penalty; the execution of the queen of Scots, with all her [asserted] crimes, remains a stain on the fair fame of Elizabeth.

* [It is impossible, after seeing Elizabeth's previous conduct, not to perceive that all this pretended anger was gross hypocrisy. She was conscious of wrong, and felt what the just sentence of posterity would be upon her conduct. — J. T. S.]

CHAPTER XII.

ELIZABETH. (CONTINUED.)

1587—1603.

THE king of Scots, when he heard of the execution of his mother, naturally expressed much indignation, and his language breathed revenge. But Elizabeth wrote to him with her own hand, exculpating herself. Leicester also wrote to him, and Walsingham to his secretary Maitland, pointing out the folly and hazard of violent measures, and James allowed himself to be convinced and pacified. Nor is he to be blamed. He could have little affection for a mother whom he never knew, and who, in her popish bigotry, had proposed to give him as a hostage to the pope, or king of Spain, and in her will had disinherited him in favor of the latter, unless he renounced his religion and became a catholic. He also well knew that his people would not support him in a war with Elizabeth, and that he might thereby lose all chance of the crown of England. As for the king of France, he viewed with secret satisfaction this diminution of the power of the house of Guise. Philip of Spain was therefore the only prince who, under pretence of avenging Mary, might turn his arms against Elizabeth.

The queen, having ascertained that Philip was preparing a fleet for the invasion of England, sent out Drake to endeavor to destroy his shipping. He entered the port of Cadiz, where he burned one hundred vessels laden with stores and ammunition; he thence sailed to cape St. Vincent, and took the castle and three other fortresses; then proceeding to the Azores, he lay in wait for and captured the St. Philip, a richly-laden carrack. These losses caused the intended invasion to be deferred for a year, and their success inspired the English seamen with contempt for the Spaniards and their huge, unwieldy ships. In Holland affairs were not so favorable. Sir William Stanley, a catholic, to whom Leicester had intrusted the defence of Deventer with a garrison of twelve hundred English, betrayed it to the Spaniards, and he and his men entered their service. His example was followed by an officer named York who commanded a fort near Zutphen. Leicester himself on his return failed in an

attempt to relieve Sluys; the ill-feeling between him and the States increased daily; *they* suspected him of a design on their liberties, slighted his authority, and thwarted his plans; *he* was imperious and violent. At length the queen deemed it advisable to remove him from a situation for which he was manifestly unfit. The States elected Maurice, son of the late prince of Orange, governor in his stead, and the command of the English troops was given to lord Willoughby.

This year also the office of chancellor becoming vacant, the queen raised to that high dignity sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain. The lawyers sneered at the appointment; but the court of chancery was not then what it has since become; Hatton had good sense and honesty, and with the aid of two serjeants-at-law he discharged the duties of his office in such a manner as gave general satisfaction.

Though there had been no actual declaration of war between Spain and England, each party had for many years been injuring the other. Elizabeth aided the Dutch and countenanced the expeditions of Drake and other adventurers; Philip excited rebellion in Ireland, promoted conspiracies against the life and authority of Elizabeth in England, and was preparing to invade it in favor of the queen of Scots. After the death of that princess he resolved to put forth his own claim to the crown as the descendant of John of Gaunt. The pope Sixtus V. at his desire renewed the bull of his predecessor Pius V., and raised Allen to the dignity of cardinal, that, like Pole, he might proceed as legate to England when it should be conquered. The new cardinal forthwith published an "Admonition" addressed to the nobility of England, full of the grossest falsehoods and vilest calumnies of the queen, and composed in the vituperative style then familiar to the Romish writers. The wealth of the Indies was devoted by Philip to the building of ships and the purchase of stores, and in the spring of 1588 a fleet of one hundred and thirty-five ships of war, galleys, galleasses, and galleons,* from the different ports of his Spanish and Italian dominions rendezvoused in the Tagus. The prince of Parma meantime had ships and boats collected and built in the ports of the Netherlands for

* The *galley* was a vessel impelled with oars; it carried cannon on the poop and stern: the *galleasse* was a larger galley with cannon also between the oars; the *galleon* was a large ship of war with cannon on the sides, poop, and stern. See Lingard, viii. 324.

transporting a veteran force of thirty thousand men to the coast of England. It had been the advice of this able officer that Flushing should be first reduced, to assure the fleet of a retreat in case of accident, but Philip would hear of no delay.

While these immense preparations for her overthrow were being made, the prince of Parma was amusing Elizabeth with a negotiation for terminating all differences. But the means of resistance were meantime not neglected; all the men from sixteen to sixty were enrolled and trained by the lords lieutenant of counties, who were directed to appoint officers and provide arms; one army of 36,000 men under the queen's cousin lord Huntsdon was to be assembled for the guard of the royal person; another of 30,000 men under Leicester was to be stationed at Tilbury to protect the city. The seaports were required to furnish shipping according to their means. On this occasion the city of London set a noble example; being called upon to furnish five thousand men and fifteen ships, the citizens voluntarily pledged themselves to send double the number of each. The royal navy consisted of but thirty-four ships, but many noblemen fitted out vessels at their own expense, and the whole fleet numbered one hundred and eighty-one ships of all kinds, manned by 17,472 seamen. The chief command was held by Howard of Effingham, lord high admiral of England; the three distinguished seamen, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher held commands under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; a squadron of forty ships under lord Henry Seymour lay off Dunkirk to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

The protestants of Europe naturally regarded with intense interest the approach of the contest which was probably to decide the fate of their religion; but the Dutch alone aided the queen in her struggle. The king of Scotland, though his interests were nearly as much involved in the contest as those of Elizabeth, hesitated till he had extorted most advantageous terms from Ashby, the English resident.* The king of France was little inclined, even if able, to aid the ambitious projects of Philip though cloaked with zeal for religion, but the Guises prepared a body of their adherents to join in the invasion. Her own catholic subjects caused Elizabeth most

* He made the treaty on the 4th of August. The danger was then over, but he could not have known it.

apprehension; * her council were well aware of her readiness to rise in favor of Mary when she was living, and it was feared that their zeal for their religion might prove too strong for their national feeling. Some even advised to seize and put the leading catholics to death, but the queen rejected this expedient with horror, and contented herself with confining a few of the most suspected at Wisbeach in the fens of Ely. The catholics to their honor justified her confidence in them; their nobles armed their tenantry in her service, and some fitted out vessels, giving the command to protestants.

At length (May 29) the Invincible Armada, (*Fleet*,) as it was proudly styled, sailed from the Tagus. It consisted of 130 ships, carrying 19,000 soldiers, 8000 seamen, and 2000 galley slaves, and 2630 pieces of cannon; its commander was the duke of Medina Sidonia, aided by Juan de Recalde, a distinguished seaman. It carried a corps of one hundred and eighty monks and friars of the different orders for the conversion of the heretics, and a supply of arms for the disaffected catholics. Off the coast of Galicia it experienced a tempest, which obliged the admiral to remain for some time at Corunna to refit. When the news reached England the queen, thinking the danger over for the year, sent word to the admiral to lay up the four largest ships, but he wrote requesting to be allowed to keep them even at his own expense. He sailed toward Spain, but finding the wind changed to the south, he returned with all speed to Plymouth lest the enemy should arrive before him. On the 12th of July the Armada put to sea, and on the 19th it was off the Lizard point in Cornwall, where it was seen by Flemming, a Scottish pirate, who hastened to Plymouth with the tidings. The admiral got his fleet out to sea, though with great difficulty, as the wind blew strong into the port.

The instructions of the Spanish admiral were to avoid hostilities till he had seen the army of the prince of Parma safely landed in England; he therefore rejected the advice of his captains to attack the English fleet, and the armada proceeded up channel in the form of a crescent, of which

* Dr. Lingard says the catholics were one half of the population, Allen had said two thirds. Cardinal Bentivoglio considered the real catholics to be but a thirtieth, (Hallam, i. 239.) Those who, like Lingard, exaggerate the number of the catholics, ought to perceive that they thus justify the severities of the government toward them. [The exactly contrary inference would seem to be more just. — J. T. S.]

the horns were seven miles asunder. The motion of this fleet, the greatest that had ever ploughed the ocean, was slow though every sail was spread, "the winds," says Camden, "being as it were tired with carrying them, and the ocean groaning under their weight." The plan adopted by the English admiral was to follow the armada and harass it, and cut off stragglers. During six days which it took the Spaniards to reach Calais, the annoyance was incessant, and several of their ships were taken or disabled; the superior seamanship of the English, and the agility and low build of their ships giving them great advantage over the unwieldy galleons and galleasses. At length (27th) the armada cast anchor near Calais, and the admiral sent off to the prince of Parma, requiring him to embark his troops without delay. But this it was not in his power now to do; his stores were not yet prepared, his sailors had run away, and the Dutch blockaded the harbors of Dunkirk and Newport. The armada itself narrowly escaped destruction: on the night of the 29th the English sent eight fire-ships into it; the Spaniards in terror cut their cables; the English fell on them in the morning when they were dispersed and took two galleons, and the following day (31) a storm came on and drove them among the shoals and sands of Zealand. Here in a council of war it was decided, as the navy was now in too shattered a condition to effect any thing, to return to Spain without delay. But the passage down the channel was so full of hazard that it was resolved in preference to sail round Scotland and Ireland, dangerous as that course appeared. The armada set sail; the English pursued as far as Flamborough Head, where want of ammunition forced them to give over the chase. Storms assailed the armada in its progress; several ships were cast away on the west and south coast of Ireland, where the crews were butchered by the barbarous natives or put to the sword by orders of the lord-deputy. The total loss was thirty large ships and about ten thousand men. Philip received the intelligence with great equanimity, ordered public thanks to God and the Saints that the calamity was not greater, and sent money to be distributed among the surviving crews.

The queen of England had shown throughout the spirit of a heroine. She visited the camp at Tilbury, (Aug. 9,) rode along the lines on a white palfrey with a truncheon in her hand, and animated the soldiers by her inspiring lan-

guage.* When the danger was over she went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks to Heaven. She then granted pensions to the disabled seamen; she bestowed her favors on the admiral and his officers, and she had actually caused the warrant to be prepared appointing Leicester to the office of lord lieutenant of England and Ireland; but the influence of Burleigh and Walsingham prevented her from signing it, and as Leicester was on his way to Kenilworth after disbanding his army, he fell sick on the road and died at Corubury Park in Oxfordshire, (Sept. 4.) The queen lamented him, but she caused his goods to be seized for payment of his debts to the crown.

There is no character in history more enigmatic than that of Leicester. On the one hand, we find him for a space of thirty years retaining the favor of one of the most sagacious and penetrating of princesses, (though he had enemies enough who would gladly reveal to her any thing to his disadvantage,) and also held in esteem by some of the most virtuous men of the time, and by the rigid sect of the puritans. On the other hand, he is portrayed to us as stained with every vice, a hypocrite, a tyrant, an adulterer, a poisoner by wholesale; in short, a monster, unredeemed by a single virtue. This last portrait, which cannot be correct, appears in the most suspicious quarter, namely, a book called "Leicester's Commonwealth," written by the Jesuit Persons. The charges there made against him are in fact so atrocious as totally to destroy their credibility.

Leicester's, in truth, seems, like all others, to have been a mixed character. He was a zealous friend, and a faithful observer of his promise; he was generous, and as a statesman sufficiently acute, and we have no right to assume that he was not sincere in his religious profession. At the same time he was insolent, rapacious, and tyrannical, and in his younger days very licentious in his conduct with the other sex. It is, however, mere calumny to accuse the queen of any improper familiarity with him. They had been intimate from childhood; and this circumstance, joined with his personal beauty and his mental powers, will perhaps adequately account for her early and continued partiality.†

* Lingard endeavors to cast an air of ridicule over the whole scene. The speech ascribed to her could not, he says, have been spoken at Tilbury, as the danger was over. The letter of Drake to Walsingham, (Hardwick Papers, i. 586,) written the next day, (Aug. 10,) will show that the danger was by no means *thought* to be over.

† In 1566 he said to La Forest, the French ambassador, "I really

A strong desire of taking vengeance on Spain now animated the nation; and the following spring, (1589,) Drake and Norris, joined by a number of other gentlemen, obtained the queen's permission to fit out, at their own expense, an armament, of which the chief object was to attempt to place Don Antonio, prior of Crato, on the throne of Portugal. They took and plundered the suburb of Coruana, and the shipping in the harbor. They thence proceeded to Lisbon; but as the people showed no inclination to rise in favor of Don Antonio, and disease and want of supplies were felt, they put to sea again. On their way home they took and burned the town of Vigo. Though the expedition had been little more than two months out of England, such had been the ravages of disease that one half of the troops had perished; out of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked, but three hundred and fifty returned.

Among those who took a part in this unlucky expedition was Robert Devereux earl of Essex, a young nobleman, with whom, in chivalrous daring, united with a manly, liberal, generous spirit, few in that age could compare. He had been recommended to the notice of the queen by his step-father Leicester; and his noble qualities caused him speedily to rise in her estimation, and to occupy after Leicester's death the place in her affections so long held by that favorite. Hopeless of obtaining the permission of the queen to his exposure of himself to the perils of the expedition, Essex had stolen away from court, embarked secretly, and joined the fleet off the coast of Portugal.

Confusion at this time prevailed more than ever in France. The cowardly, treacherous Henry III. had caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be murdered; he himself perished soon after by the dagger of a fanatical monk, and the king of Navarre, being the next heir, assumed the title of Henry IV. But the bigoted catholic party, excited by Philip II., refused to acknowledge an heretical sovereign; they set up the cardinal of Bourbon against him, and the war

believe that the queen will never marry. *I have known her since she was eight years of age better than any man in the world.* From that time she has always invariably declared that she would remain unmarried. Should she, however, happen to resolve on marrying and to choose an Englishman, I am almost convinced that her choice would fall on no other than me; at least the queen has done me the honor several times to tell me so alone, and I am now as high in her favor as ever." Raumer, Elizabeth and Mary, p. 40.

continued to rage with its wonted animosity. Elizabeth aided Henry with both money and men; the English troops, led by sir John Norris, the gallant earl of Essex, and other brave officers, distinguished themselves on all occasions. Henry, however, after continuing the contest for nearly three years, found that unless he conformed to the religion of the great majority of his subjects, he had little chance of ultimate success. He therefore (1593) declared himself a catholic, and gradually the whole kingdom submitted to him. Elizabeth, though grieved at his change of faith, felt it her interest to maintain the alliance she had formed; and her troops aided in the reduction of such places as still held out against him. Against Spain the naval warfare was still kept up, and the earl of Cumberland, sir Martin Frobisher, and Thomas White did much injury to the Spanish trade. The English at this time also first made their way to the East Indies. Two vessels, commanded by George Riman and James Lancaster, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Riman perished off the east coast of Africa; but Lancaster proceeded, and, after enduring many hardships and losing the greater part of his men, returned to England.

The year 1590 was distinguished by the deaths of the able and disinterested secretary Walsingham; of Thomas Randolph, who had been on thirteen embassies to Scotland, three to Russia, and two to France; of sir James Crofts, and of the earl of Shrewsbury, earl-marshal of England. The following year the chancellor Hatton died. The generous Essex endeavored to procure Walsingham's office for the unfortunate Davison; but the queen's resentment against him was too strong, and Burleigh, as a means of bringing forward his son sir Robert Cecil, took the duties of the office on himself. The great seal was committed to serjeant Puckering, under the title of lord-keeper.

In 1594, Richard, son of sir John Hawkins, sailed to the South Sea; but he was made a prisoner on the coast of Chili and sent to Spain. The same year James Lancaster was furnished with three vessels by the merchants of London; he captured thirty-nine ships of the enemy, and took and plundered the town of Fernambuco, on the coast of Brazil. The next year (1595) the able and enterprising sir Walter Raleigh set forth in search of fortune to America. He had seduced one of the maids of honor, (to whom, however, he made reparation by marriage,) for which offence the queen threw him into prison; she restored him some time after to

liberty, but not to favor, and his enterprising spirit, unable to endure inactivity and thirsting for wealth, urged him to attempt the discovery of those stores of the precious metals, far exceeding all that Peru and Mexico had yielded, which fame said lay in the region of Guiana in South America. He sailed from Plymouth, (Feb. 6,) took a small town in the isle of Trinidad, and leaving his ship there went in his boats for four hundred miles up the river Orinoco. But the city of El Dorado; which he sought, was not to be found, and the fall of the rains prevented his further progress. On his return to England he published an account of the country of Guiana, full of the most extravagant fictions.

At this time also Drake, Hawkins, and sir Thomas Baskerville sailed with twenty-six ships and a body of troops to America. They failed in an attempt on Puerto Rico in Cuba. Hawkins died soon after, and Drake, having vainly attempted to cross the isthmus to Panama, put to sea again. He died at sea of the dysentery; and Baskerville, after a smart action with a Spanish fleet off Cuba, returned to England.

Philip had by no means abandoned his designs upon England; he even listened seriously to the chimerical project of some English exiles for placing his daughter on the throne of that country, as being the nearest catholic descendant of John of Gaunt. His preparations being known, the queen gave her consent to the proposal of Essex to attack him in his own dominions. A fleet of one hundred and fifty vessels, of various sizes, English and Dutch, carrying fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers, commanded by the lord admiral Howard, Essex, sir Thomas Howard, Raleigh, Vere, Carew, and Clifford, sailed from Plymouth, (June 1,) and proceeded to Cadiz. On reaching that port (20th) they saw in it fifteen men-of-war and forty merchantmen. It was proposed to attack the men-of-war: the cautious admiral hesitated; at length he gave way, at which Essex was so elated, that, regardless of decorum, he flung his hat up into the air. The action lasted for six hours; the enemy then attempted to run his ships ashore, but three of them were taken and about the same number burnt. Essex then landed six hundred men, and advanced against the town; he drove off the troops that opposed him, and entered the town along with them; the admiral had by this time landed his men, and forced his way in. No further resistance was made; the inhabitants agreed

to pay a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives: all the property in the town became the prize of the victors. It was a part of the instructions given by the queen, "that they should spare the women and those that were very young or else decrepit, and put none to the sword but such as made opposition." These instructions were religiously obeyed; the nuns and other women, to the number of three thousand, were conveyed under an escort to the port of St. Mary, being allowed to take with them their clothes and jewels. A ransom being refused for the merchantmen, the duke of Medina Sidonia ordered them to be burnt. The entire loss sustained by the king of Spain was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. The secret of his domestic weakness was revealed to the world, and the union of valor and humanity displayed by the English exalted them in all men's estimation.

The daring Essex wished to retain the town and endeavor to rouse the Moriscoes of Andalusia to insurrection; but his more cautious colleagues refused their consent: the men too were eager to get home with their plunder. The town, therefore, with the exception of the churches, was burnt, and the fleet returned to England, having been but ten weeks absent.

Philip, undismayed by his reverses began to assemble a new fleet for the invasion of Ireland. Elizabeth consented that another expedition against Spain should be fitted out, in which Essex should have the chief command, with Raleigh and sir T. Howard for his seconds. It consisted of one hundred and forty ships carrying eight thousand soldiers. It sailed from Plymouth, (July 9,) but a tempest shattered it, and before it could be refitted it was found that the provisions had nearly run out. The attack on Spain was therefore deferred for the present, and Essex proceeded to the Azores to intercept the Indian fleet. He had informed his officers that it was his intention to take the isle of Fayal; the fleet happened to separate, and Raleigh and his division arriving first at that isle he landed and took it. Essex was highly offended; he put Sydney and some other officers under arrest; but when advised to bring Raleigh to a court martial, he nobly replied, "I would, had he been one of my friends." He soon, however, laid aside his anger and restored them all to favor. The Spanish fleet, owing it is said to Essex's want of seamanship, escaped into port. Three vessels, however, were captured, which sufficed to pay the charges of the expedition

Essex was some time after his return raised to the dignity of earl-marshal, and sir Robert Cecil and he became better friends than they had previously been.

An opportunity for peace with Spain now presented itself, (1599.) Henry of France, finding tranquillity absolutely requisite for his kingdom, entered into negotiations with Philip for that purpose. It was hoped that a general pacification might be effected; but as Philip refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not abandon them, Henry was obliged to conclude a separate peace.

In the English council the Cecils were for peace, Essex was vehement for continuing the war. It is said that in one of the debates the aged lord treasurer took a prayer-book, and pointed out these words of the Psalmist to Essex: "Men of blood shall not live out half their days," — words afterwards regarded as prophetic. Soon after, the question of appointing a deputy for Ireland was discussed in presence of the queen. She herself wished to appoint Essex's uncle sir William Knolles, while Essex was strenuous in favor of sir George Carew. In the heat of the argument he so far forgot himself as to turn his back on the queen in a kind of contempt. She gave him a box on the ear, and told him to go to the d—l; he clapped his hand on his sword, swore he would not put up with such an affront even from Henry VIII. himself, and left the court in a passion. The coolness between the queen and her capricious favorite lasted for about five months, at the end of which time he reappeared at court. It was thought, however, that he never regained his former place in her heart.

During this temporary disgrace of Essex, the great lord Burleigh died, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years, leaving a character for prudence, integrity, loyalty, and patriotism, rarely attained by statesmen. The queen, attached to him from a deep sense of his virtues and merits, shed many tears at his death, and she never after could think of him or hear his name pronounced without being affected.

The condition of Ireland now claims our attention. This unhappy country still remained in its pristine barbarism; the descendants of the English conquerors had sunk nearly to a level with the original natives, while the distinction of race was maintained only as a source of evil. The Reformation proved, like every thing else, a root of bitterness to Ireland. Compulsion, not persuasion, was employed to bring the people to a purer faith; the barbarous Irish and many of the de-

generate English clung the closer for it to their old superstition; the courts of the Vatican and Madrid took advantage of this feeling. Sanders and other bigots were sent thither to stir up rebellion; and many of the native Irish, by serving in the Spanish armies, acquired the skill and discipline requisite for opposing the regular armies of England. Throughout the whole reign of Elizabeth, warfare more or less active prevailed in Ireland. Fitzmaurice, earl of Desmond, who ruled in barbaric state over a large portion of Munster, was by the arts of Sanders and others precipitated into a rebellion, which ended in the ruin of himself and his family and the confiscation of his immense estates, (1583.) Hugh O'Nial, whom the queen had raised to the dignity of earl of Tirone, was now the most formidable opponent of the English government. He had cast off his allegiance, united the northern Irish under himself, and was supplied with arms and ammunition from Spain. Intelligence now arrived of his having defeated and slain sir Henry Bagnal and fifteen hundred men. It was proposed in the council to send lord Mountjoy thither as chief governor; but Essex strenuously opposed this appointment, and in the description which he gave of the kind of person who should be sent he drew his own portrait so accurately that it was plain to all what his object was. Cecil, Raleigh, and his other enemies gladly seized on the occasion of removing him from court. The new title of lord lieutenant was conferred on him, and he left London in March amid the acclamations of the people, and accompanied by a gallant train of nobles and gentlemen. The forces placed at his disposal amounted to eighteen thousand men.

Instead of marching against Tirone at once, Essex, at the persuasion of some of the Irish council, who wished to secure their estates in Munster, led his forces thither. Here he passed the better part of the summer, and though the natives made little resistance, his army melted away by disease and desertion. On his return to Dublin he was obliged to write to the English council for two thousand additional troops: yet even when these arrived he found that from desertion and other causes he could lead but four thousand men against O'Nial. He therefore listened to a proposal of that chief for a conference. They met on the opposite banks of a stream; a truce till the following May was agreed on, and Essex engaged to transmit to England the demands of O'Nial, which were too high ever to be granted

Though Essex had received orders not to leave Ireland, he resolved to anticipate his enemies, who he was conscious had now a fair opportunity of injuring him in the royal mind, and, on the morning of Michaelmas eve, the queen saw him enter her chamber before she had finished dressing, and throw himself on his knees before her. Taken thus by surprise, she gave him her hand to kiss. He retired in high spirits, and was heard to thank God that though he had met with many storms abroad he had found a sweet calm at home. Before the day ended, however, the calm turned to a storm; * the queen, who would not have her authority infringed, ordered him to confine himself to his room, and in a few days committed him to the custody of the lord-keeper Egerton. Anxiety of mind brought on him an attack of illness; the queen, who really loved him, sent him some broth from her own table, and with tears in her eyes desired the physician to tell him, that were it not for her honor she would visit him herself.

After his recovery he was allowed to retire to his own house, where in the society of his countess, the accomplished daughter of Walsingham and widow of sir Philip Sidney, he devoted himself to literature, the study of which he had never neglected. The accounts of the success of Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in Ireland, and the injudicious expressions of the popular feelings in his favor, gave strength to the arguments of his enemies, and the queen directed that he should be examined before the privy council. He made no defence, throwing himself in a strain of affecting eloquence on the queen's mercy. The sentence passed was that he should not exercise any of his offices, and should confine himself to his own house. He behaved with the greatest humility and submission, and would probably have recovered his former state of favor had not a slight circumstance occurred which caused his ruin.

A monopoly of sweet wines had been given to Essex for a term which now expired. On his application for a renewal the queen refused it, saying she must first learn its value, and that an unruly beast must be stinted in its proven-

* "When I did come into her presence," says Harrington, "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage, and I remember she caught my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore 'By God's Son I am no queen; that *man* is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.'"

der. Essex now fancied there was a settled design to ruin him; he began to give ear to the evil suggestions of his secretary Cuffe and others who recommended violent courses; he increased the number of his dependants; he took the opinions of some divines on the lawfulness of using force against a sovereign. Some of the more zealous puritan clergy (a party which, like Leicester, he always favored) recommended his cause to the citizens in their lectures. He even opened a correspondence with the king of Scots, assuring him that Cecil and the other ministers were in favor of the Infanta, and advising him to assert his right to the succession, in which he offered to support him with his life and fortune. In his imprudence he could not refrain from using disparaging language of the queen, such as saying "she was now grown an old woman, and was as crooked within as without." All this was conveyed to the queen's ear by his enemies among the court ladies.

Drury-house, the residence of the earl of Southampton, was the place where the principal malcontents used to meet; but Essex himself never was present. Plans were formed for seizing the palace and obliging the queen to dismiss his enemies and alter her mode of governing. The suspicions of the ministers were awakened, and Essex was summoned before the council (Feb. 7, 1601.) He feigned illness; in the night his friends resorted to him, and as next day was Sunday and the chief citizens would be assembled according to custom at Paul's Cross, it was resolved to try to induce them to follow him to the palace.

In the morning the lord-keeper and some others were sent to Essex-house. They were admitted through the wicket, but their attendants were excluded, and after some altercation they were confined in one of the rooms. Essex then issued forth at the head of about eighty knights and gentlemen; on the way to the city he was joined by about two hundred others, but on reaching St. Paul's he found no one there. He advanced, shouting, "For the queen, my mistress!" but few noticed him. Soon after the lords Burleigh and Cumberland entered the city proclaiming him a traitor; he attempted to return home, but was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate; he then entered a boat at Queenhithe and returned by water. He found his prisoners gone; soldiers began to surround the house; cannon were brought from the Tower; lord Sands advised a sally sword in hand, but Essex did not yet despair, and he surrendered on the promise of a fair trial.

Essex and Southampton were brought to trial on the 19th before a jury of twenty-five peers. As some of them were his personal enemies he claimed a right to challenge them, but this right was denied by the judges. The facts were easily proved, but Essex denied all intention of injuring the queen. They were found guilty. Essex said that for himself he should neither solicit nor refuse mercy, but he hoped the life of his friend would be spared, who had only acted from affection to *him*. Southampton threw himself on the mercy of the queen.

In prison Essex was attended by Ashton, his favorite divine, who awoke in his bosom such a degree of spiritual terror and remorse that he made a most ample confession, disclosing the secrets of his friends, and even aggravating the guilt into which their regard for him had led them. He requested, it is said, to be executed within the walls of the Tower. The conflict of passions usual to the queen's bosom on such occasions now took place. She signed the warrant; she countermanded it; she at length suffered the execution to take place.

On the 3d of February at eight in the morning, Essex was led to the scaffold. He behaved with great piety and resignation, acknowledging the justice of his sentence and calling his offence "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin." The first blow of the axe deprived him of sense and motion; at the third the head was separated from his body, and thus in only his thirty-fourth year was terminated the mortal existence of the gallant, honorable, upright earl of Essex, a man too frank, open, and candid to be able long to maintain himself against such wily and artful opponents as Raleigh and Cecil, and too headstrong, imprudent, and arrogant to avoid offending his affectionate but haughty mistress.

The life of Southampton was spared, but Essex's step-father sir Christopher Blount, his secretary Cuffe, and his steward Merrick were executed.

The only event of much importance in the remainder of the queen's reign, was the reduction of Tirone and the other Irish chiefs by the deputy Mountjoy, (1602.) The king of Spain had sent a body of six thousand men to their aid under Juan d'Aguilar and Alfonso O Campo, but these generals were obliged to capitulate to the lord-deputy at Kinsale and Baltimore.

The brilliant career of Elizabeth was now drawing to its close. By her great temperance she had enjoyed good

nealth and spirits through a long life. In the spring of 1602, when the duke of Nevers was entertained by her at Richmond, she opened the ball with him in a gaillarde, which she danced with grace and spirit; and in the autumn she made her annual progress, riding out to view the sports of the field, and having dancing in her privy chamber. But gradually her spirits sank, and she became silent and melancholy. The memory of Essex, the gallant and upright, whom she had been forced to sacrifice, augmented her dejection; and the visible decrease of her popularity in consequence of it added to her pain. But in fact nature was giving way and life had ceased to yield enjoyment.

Toward the end of January, (1603,) she removed on a wet and stormy day to Richmond, though she had a cold. She grew worse, but she would not attend to the advice of her physicians. The death of her relative and friend the countess of Nottingham* soon after occurred, which afflicted her greatly. She drooped daily; her sighs and tears were frequent. On the 10th of March, she fell into a stupor and lay some time for dead. When she recovered she had cushions brought for her to lie on; for she would not go to bed, being persuaded that if she did she should never leave it. She thus continued for ten days, refusing both food and medicine. The prelates who were about her urged her to provide for her spiritual safety and recommend her soul to God. She mildly replied, "That I have done long ago." The lord-admiral, who had most influence over her, at length got her to bed, partly by entreaty, partly by force. On the morning of the 23d, the lord-admiral, the lord-keeper, and secretary Cecil, asked her whom she would wish to succeed; she replied, "My seat has been the seat of kings; I will have no rascal, but a king." When asked to explain, she said, "Who should that be but our cousin of Scotland?" During the day she became speechless. In the afternoon, when the primate and the other prelates had left her, the councillors returned, and Cecil asked her if she still continued in her resolution, "whereat, suddenly heaving herself upwards in her bed, and pulling her arms out of bed, she held her hands jointly over her head in form of a crown." At six in the evening she made signs for the archbishop and her chap

* The well-known story of the ring—given by the queen to Essex, and which he sent to her by the countess of Nottingham, who by Cecil's advice did not deliver it—rests on the authority of Aubrey and Osborne, and is generally regarded as apocryphal.

ains. The primate examined her of her faith; she replied by signs; he prayed at her desire till it was late in the night. He then retired, and at the hour of three in the morning the queen gently yielded up her spirit. At ten o'clock king James was proclaimed.

This great queen had nearly attained the age of seventy years, during forty-five of which she had occupied the throne. When we look back on the dangers she surmounted, on the power and influence to which she attained both at home and abroad, on the respect in which she was held by foreigners, and the admiration and affection of her own subjects, we must at once recognize the true greatness of her character. Elizabeth was endowed by nature with vigor of mind, prudence, sagacity, and penetration. She knew how to select those adapted for the public service, and she steadily supported them against the arts and intrigues of their enemies. In her deportment she was majestic, in her manners affable and courteous, but still the sovereign,* in her dress and style of living splendid and magnificent. She loved popularity, and omitted no honest art for gaining it.

The defects of this great princess were those of the woman. She loved dress overmuch, she was a coquette by nature, and delighted in the language of courtly and amorous adulation; she excessively admired beauty in the other sex, and indulged in familiarities of act and language toward her favorites highly indecorous when judged by the present standard. Hence her inveterate enemies, the papists, have taken occasion to represent her as a modern Messalina. In her temper Elizabeth was prone to anger, she often struck those with whom she was offended, and oaths were familiar to her lips. She was frequently vacillating and uncertain in her resolutions. Toward the close of her reign her frugality approached the bounds of parsimony.

To the unprejudiced eye which contemplates the lustre of her regal virtues, these defects will, however, appear but as spots on the sun. Posterity confirms, and ever will confirm,

* "Her mind," says Harrington, "was ofttime like the gentle air that cometh from the westerly point in a summer's morn; 'twas sweet and refreshing to all around her. . . . Again, she could put forth such alterations, when obedience was lacking, as left no doubtings whose daughter she was." A little further on he says, "When she smiled it was a pure sunshine that every one did choose to bask in if they could; but anon came a storm from a sudden gathering of clouds, and the thunder fell in wordrous manner on all alike."

the judgment of her contemporaries, which placed Elizabeth in the very first rank among sovereigns.*

The court of Elizabeth was gay and splendid, and contrasted strongly with the gloom of that of the latter years of her fanatical sister. One historian has represented it as little better than a Paphian temple, on the authority of one Faunt, a rigid, querulous puritan; as if there ever was a court which would not appear licentious and dissolute in the eyes of an austere religionist. The fact is that the Reformation had raised the tone of morals, and in protestant courts actions were severely censured which were regarded as merely venial offences at Rome, Paris, and Madrid. Still the court of Elizabeth partook of the character of the times, and it certainly could not vie in decorum and morality with the present court of England.

The heaviest charge brought against Elizabeth and her government is the persecution of the catholics. Let us calmly consider the state of the case. During the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, there was a pretender to the throne, whose title the catholics in general regarded as better than hers; conspiracies were continually formed against her; she had been spiritually outlawed by the pope. To guard against the evils which menaced the queen and the protestant religion, severe laws were passed by the legislature, and several of those who violated them were executed, not on account of their religion, but, as was constantly asserted, as traitors. The mode of execution was that which had been in use for centuries. It was barbarous and cruel, no doubt; but the queen directed a mitigation of it, at least in London. As to those who suffered, many of them appear to have been upright and conscientious men; but they knew the law, they wilfully violated it, and they therefore had little right to complain when the penalty was inflicted.† We are far from justifying severe and cruel laws, and we are as sincere advocates for the rights of conscience as any but we would

* [See note to p. 451. — J. T. S.]

† "There seems to be good reason for doubting whether any one who was executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen." (Hallam, i. 222.) [It is difficult to see how this lessens the iniquity of the laws. At any rate it is equally applicable to the victims in Mary's reign. They, too, knew the law and wilfully violated it!! The evasion of the ministers of Elizabeth that the victims were *traitors*, is contemptible. — J. T. S.]

nave Elizabeth and her ministers judged by the maxims of their age. Toleration was then a thing unknown; individuals might have been in favor of trying it, but it would have been quite an experiment; and we are perhaps not justified in asserting positively that it would have been a successful one. The fact certainly is, that the course adopted *did* succeed, and that during the reign of Elizabeth popery completely lost its ground in England *

The persecution of the puritans in this reign has not the same plea of self-defence in its favor; it is only an instance of the spirit of the age. No party in fact were more intolerant than the puritans themselves; they were the most zealous promoters of the severe measures against the catholics.

This reign also was deformed by the horrid practice of burning as heretics those who went further than the party in power had chosen to go in their secession from Rome. Four persons suffered under the writ "De comburendo hæretico." A single voice, that of honest John Foxe, the martyrologist, was raised, but raised in vain, against depriving men of their lives for their religious opinions.

The queen favored commerce and maritime enterprise, being well aware of the importance of naval power for the defence of the realm. The trade which had been opened with Russia in her sister's reign, when English vessels penetrated through the Icy Sea to Archangel, was continued, and daring traders conveyed their goods thence to the Caspian, and sold them in Persia. A trade was also opened with Turkey. But the efforts of the queen for the promotion of trade were frustrated in a great measure by the practice of granting patents of monopoly, which she carried to a greater extent than had been done by her predecessors. To her frugal temper this seemed a thrifty mode of gratifying her courtiers, and rewarding the meritorious. The grantees sold their patents to companies of traders, who set on the articles the highest prices that purchasers could pay; salt, for example, being raised from 15*d.* to 15*s.* a bushel. Scarcely any article had escaped the rapacity of the courtiers;† but in 1601, when the matter had caused a great ferment in the

* [See note, p. 501. — J. T. S.]

† When the list was read in the house in 1601, a member cried, "Is not bread in the number?" "Bread!" cried the rest in amaze. "Nay," said he, "if no remedy is found for this, bread will be there before the next parliament."

commons, the prudent queen promised that she would revoke all such patents as should be proved injurious.

The reign of Elizabeth was also a period of literary glory. Hitherto the name of Chaucer almost alone could be placed on the rolls of genius; but now a noble band of poets appeared, who were to set England on a line with Greece and Italy. To whom are unknown the undying names of Shakespeare and Spenser, the chiefs of this poetic choir? In prose, Hooker first gave proof of the depth and eloquence, the dignity and harmony, of which the English language is capable of being the vehicle.

Newspapers, now of such importance, first appeared in England during the reign of Elizabeth. In the year of the Armada a kind of gazette, named the Mercury, was established.

The period during which the throne of England was occupied by the house of Tudor was one of transition in politics and religion. The crown at this time acquired a degree of strength and influence unknown to the Plantagenets, but the power which was to control it was secretly growing up. This new power was the commons; for those who in reality had withstood the prerogative of the Edwards and the Henries were the ancient nobility, the feudal aristocracy, beneath whose protection the house of commons acted against the crown. But the war of the Roses, and various natural and political causes, had thinned the ranks and broken the power of the feudal baronage, and the commons without leaders or support became timid and submissive. A new nobility, indebted to royal favor for its honors and to royal munificence or profusion for its wealth, sprang up.* It was naturally timid, subservient, and self-seeking, and we have seen on numerous occasions how abjectly it obeyed the royal will. Were it not for the spirit breathed by the Reformation, which gradually infused vigor and courage into the breasts of the commons, the sacred flame of liberty might have become extinct. It is to the puritans we are mainly indebted for its conservation. The growing strength of the house of com-

* Only a small portion of our nobility can trace its honors beyond the time of the Tudors

mons may be traced through the last three reigns; it is proved by the anxiety of the crown to obtain influence in it by procuring seats for its minions; to effect this, numerous boroughs were created or restored to their right of sending members to parliament, and those of course were selected in which the crown or its supporters would have influence.

The power of the crown to the end of this period was, however, considerable. Its chief instrument in the state was the court of the Star Chamber, in the church that of the High Commission. The former, which we have seen employed by Henry VII. for preventing the hinderance of justice, gradually acquired new powers, and became coëxtensive with the ancient royal council. Its proceedings were summary and arbitrary; it took cognizance of a great variety of offences, such as the making of scandalous reports of persons in power, spreading seditious rumors, etc. If a jury ventured to find a verdict contrary to the wishes of the crown, they were summoned before the court of Star Chamber, and often severely punished. It served to keep all ranks in their obedience to the crown and the law, and, when we consider that the want of a standing army made prevention a necessary part of the duty of government, we shall perhaps find that this summary jurisdiction produced more good than evil.

The court of High Commission was the Inquisition in miniature; it was instituted under Elizabeth, but it had its origin in a measure of her popish sister. It was empowered to inquire into and punish all breaches of the acts of supremacy, uniformity, etc. It was chiefly directed against the puritans, and in the hands of intolerant prelates it became an instrument of oppression, whose severity drove them to a separation from the church.

The feudal rights of the crown still continued, and were made, especially by Henry VII., the means of oppression. Those of wardship and marriage were peculiarly galling. Minors were actually sold like cattle to persons desirous of turning them and their estates to profit, and the injury thereby done to property and to morals was excessive.*

In conclusion, we must again repeat that it is to the Reformation we are chiefly indebted for our deliverance from civil as well as ecclesiastical oppression. *It* infused the

* See sir Thomas Smith's Commonwealth of England, Book ix chap v; also the old play "The Miseries of enforced Marriage."

spirit of liberty into the heart of man, and gave the courage necessary to assert it. Had it not been for *it*, England might in her political capacity have resembled those countries in which it was repressed; and in her religious capacity she might, like them, exhibit the spectacle of the lower classes, and the female sex in general, immersed in the grossest idolatry and superstition; while men of sense and education, disgusted with the absurdity of the popular creed, had flung away all belief, and plunged into infidelity and atheism. We need not observe how different from this is the aspect presented by protestant England

APPENDIX.

A, page 1.

THE history of Britain under the Romans will be found in Cæsar, Suetonius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, and the other historians of the first five centuries of the Christian æra.

For the subsequent history the following are the principal sources.

Gildas, a Briton, wrote in the sixth century. The brief notices of Nennius, a monk of Bangor, come down to the year 625.

The ecclesiastical history of Venerable Bede relates the most important events from the landing of the Saxons in 449 to 734.

The Saxon Chronicle of the Abbey of Peterborough } 449 to 1153
extends from.....

William of Malmesbury, from.....	— — 1143
Henry of Huntingdon.....	— — 1154
Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans.....	— — 1016
Ranulf Higdon of Chester.....	— — 1066
Matthew Paris and his continuator Rishanger.....	— — 1273
Matthew of Westminster.....	— — 1307
J. Bromton.....	588 — 1198
R. Hoveden.....	732 — 1202
Chronicle of Mailros.....	735 — 1272
Henry Knighton.....	956 — 1399
Annals of Burton Abbey.....	1004 — 1263
— Margan Abbey.....	1066 — 1322
— Waverley Abbey.....	— — 1291
William of Newbury.....	— — 1197
Walter Hemingford.....	— — 1300
T. Wilkes.....	— — 1304
Gervasius.....	1122 — 1199
Radulf de Diceto.....	1148 — 1199
Trivet.....	1136 — 1307
Walsingham.....	1273 — 1422
Whethamstede.....	1441 — 1461

The histories of the abbeys of Croyland, Ely, and Ramsey also furnish many circumstances. That of Croyland by Ingulf and his continuators extends from 626 to 1486; that of Ely from Edgar to the Conquest; and that of Ramsey from Athelstan to the Conquest.

The rime-chronicle of Robert of Gloucester extends from the earliest times to the end of Henry III.; that of Peter Langtoft to the end of Edward I.; and that of Harding to the accession of Edward IV.

The prose chronicle of Fabyan ends with Henry VIII.; Halle's extends from the accession of Henry IV. to the end of Henry VIII.; Grafton's from the accession of Richard I. to that of Elizabeth; Holingshed, Speed, and Stow narrate the events from the earliest times to 1586, 1605, and 1631.

To these are to be added More's and Buck's histories of Edward V

and Richard III.; Bacon's of Henry VII.; Herbert's of Henry VIII. Hayward's of Edward VI.; Godwin's of Mary; and Camden's of Elizabeth, (all in Kennet's History of England) and the original papers in Burnet, Haynes, Murdin, and other collections.

B, page 3.

The following were the principal British tribes or nations:—1. Damnonii, (Cornwall and Devon.) 2. Durotriges, (Dorset.) 3. Belgæ, (Somerset, Wilts, Hants, Wight.) 4. Atrebatii, (Berks.) 5. Regni, (Surrey, Sussex.) 6. Cantii, (Kent.) 7. Dobuni, (Oxford, Gloucester.) 8. Cattieuchlani, (Beds, Bucks, Herts.) 9. Trinobantes, (Essex, Middlesex.) 10. Icenii, (Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon.) 11. Coritani, (Northampton, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby.) 12. Cornavii, (Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Salop, Cheshire.) 13. Silures, (South Wales.) 14. Dimetæ, (Caermarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke.) 15. Ordovices, (North Wales.) 16. Brigantes, (from the Humber to the Tees.) 17. Ottaduni, (thence to the Tyne.)

C, page 10.

The names of most places show their Saxon origin. Thus, the Saxon *býpurg*, *buph*, (*town*), exhibits itself in *bur*; bury, borough, brough, as, Burton, Sunbury, Brougham; *stæd* (*place*) in *stead*, *sted*, as, Hampstead; *hýprrt* (*forest*) in *hurst*, as, Pensehurst; *leag* (*lea, plain*) in *lay*, *ley*, *lea*, *leigh*, as, Layton, Bexley, and a number of proper names, as, Stanley, Ashley, Townley, &c.; *stow*, *sto*, as, Godstow; *þopp* (*village*) in *thorp*, *throp*, as, Althorp; *þeopð* (*town on a river*) in *worth*, as, Tamworth, Isleworth; *ham* (*home, dwelling*) in *ham*, as, Witham, Petersham, Grantham; *ýs*, *ege* (*island*) in *ea*, *ey*, as, Eaton, Thorney; *tun* (*town*) in *ton*, as, Whitton, Kingston; *stoc* (*place*) in *stock*, *stoke*, as, Woodstock, Basingstoke; *ceap* (*traffic*) in *chepe*, *chip*, *chipping*, as, Chipstead, Chipping Ongar, East Cheap. The Danish *by* (*town*) may be found in Derby, Whitby, and many villages on the eastern coast; the Roman *castrum* in *cester*, *chester*, Winchester *vici* in *wick*, Norwich; and *stratum*, in *street*, Stratford, &c.

D, page 25.

As this is related by Asser, the friend and biographer of Alfred, its truth cannot well be questioned. Yet it is not without its difficulties, as will thus appear. In 855, when Alfred was but six years old, his father married the French princess Judith; we are therefore to suppose that the queen, Alfred's mother, was then dead. In 857 Ethelbald married his father's widow; he was succeeded in 860 by his brother Ethelbert, who must have been then grown up. In 861, therefore, when Alfred was twelve years old, (and Asser says it was when he was twelve or more,) there only remained Ethered and himself to contend for the book, and where was their mother then?

E, page 52.

The number of William's ships was 3000, according to Gemmeticen sis. Wace in his Roman de Rou says he had heard of that number but that his father had told him there were only 696. The Chronique de Normandie says that some said there were 907 ships besides the small craft.

G. Rictavensis, William's chaplain, estimates the army at sixty thousand men, of which fifty thousand were *milites*, that is, men-at-arms or knights and squires. The numbers of knights in the roll of Battle Abbey, however, is but four hundred, and Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, iv. 352) says that if we calculate according to the military usages of the age, and compare William's armament with that of the fourth Crusade, of which alone we have an exact enumeration of the component parts, the result will be as follows:—Each of the four hundred knights had ten *suivans d'armes*, which gives four thousand four hundred horsemen; each *suivant* had three archers or crossbow-men, making twelve thousand, and, adding the crews, the whole might amount to twenty or twenty-five thousand men.

It may further elucidate this to observe, that when Robert of Gloucester was coming to the aid of the empress Matilda, he embarked, according to Malmsbury, about three hundred *milites* in 52 ships. See also above, p. 245, for the proportion between the ships and troops of Henry V.

F, page 54.

We have in the text endeavored to reconcile the accounts of Rictavensis and Malmsbury. The former says that William buried Harold on the strand, the latter that he gave the body to his mother, by whom it was interred at Waltham.

According to the annals of Waltham, two of the brethren, Osgood and Ailric, followed Harold to Senlac. After the battle they craved permission of the victor to search for the body of their benefactor. Leave was granted, but they were unable to recognize it among the piles of the slain. They then went and fetched Harold's mistress Editha, called the Swan's Neck for her beauty; and her affectionate eye quickly discerned his mangled remains, which they forthwith conveyed to Waltham.

Others said that Harold was conveyed alive to Dover, that he recovered of his wounds, visited several parts of the Continent and the Holy Land, and ended his days as an anchorite in a cell* near the abbey of St. John at Chester. Finally, Knighton says that William gave Harold's body to his mother without any ransom, that he was not quite dead, and that he lived for nine months.

H, page 120.

Bromton, who loved a romantic tale, is the earliest author who notices the story of Fair Rosamond. His words are these:

"Regina sua Elianora jamdudum incarcerata, factusest adulter manifestus palam et impudice, puellam retinens Rosamundam. Huic nempe puellæ spectatissimæ fecerat rex apud Wodestoke mirabilis architecture cameram operi Dedalino similem, ne forsan a regina facileprehenderetur. Sed illa cito obiit, et apud Godestowe juxta Oxoniam in capitulo monialium in tumba decenti est sepulta, ubi talis superscriptio invenitur:

Hic jacet in tumba Rosa mundi non Rosa munda;
Non redolet sed olet quæ redolere solet."

* Giraldu Cambrensis, *Itin. Walliæ* Harleian MS. 3779. Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 419, 6th edit.

The story, like most of the kind, gained in time; for Fabyan, the next who notices it, says the king "had made her a house of a wonder-working, so that no creature, man nor woman, might win [get] to her, but if he were instruct by the king or such as were right secret with him, touching the matter. But the common fame telleth that lastly the queen came to her by a clew of thread or silk, and dealt with her in such manner that she lived not long after." Hollingshed adds that the king happened to draw the clew of silk with his foot from her chamber to the entrance. Speed says, that as Rosamond was sitting out in the air, she was startled at the sight of those who were in quest of her; she ran in, but dropped her clew, and the end caught in her foot and thus unwound. In the ballad the knight who had charge of her is called out; he is then slain, and his clew seized; the queen goes in and forces Rosamond to drain a bowl of poison.

The progress of the tale is this. Henry kept Rosamond privately, hence the notion of a labyrinth; this suggested the clew of Ariadne; then some mode was to be devised by which the queen obtained it. On Rosamond's tomb among other ornaments was the figure of a *cup*, and hence the poisoning was added.

There is no doubt of Longsword's being the son of Henry and Rosamond. The earl of Salisbury died in 1196, and after his death king Richard gave the heiress Ela to his natural brother William, who was then probably about five-and-twenty. Longsword died in 1226 after his return from Guienne, whither he had accompanied the king's (Henry III.) younger brother Richard. As from the narrative in Paris he appears to have been in full vigor at that time, and his death was ascribed to poison, he was probably not more than fifty-five.

We have gone into these details, because it is said that Geoffrey, archbishop of York, who was born in 1159, was Henry's *youngest* child by Rosamond. This throws back the amour with Rosamond to the beginning of his reign, and makes Longsword nearly seventy when he died. We may further observe that according to Dugdale, Rosamond's eldest brother Walter died in 7 Henry III. (1422,) that is, when Geoffrey was sixty-three. It is therefore probable that Geoffrey was not his nephew.

The common derivation of Rosamond, *quasi Rosa Mundi*, is wrong. It is an ancient Teutonic name, Rosmund, i. e. *Rose-mouth*, like Wahrmond, (Pharamond,) *True-mouth*.

I, page 126.

It is quite plain that the English were never ignorant of the place of their king's captivity. Yet in the following century a pleasing legend was devised, how the faithful minstrel Blondel went for years from castle to castle in Germany to try to discover in which his royal patron lay. By playing a ballad, the joint composition of himself and the king, he at length found him; for at one fortress, when Blondel had sung the first part, the king, who was there a captive, took it up and concluded it. Blondel then hastened to England, and gave the first certain news of the abode of Richard. See *The Crusaders*, vol. ii.

K, page 178.

We must confess that we have doubts whether Wallace was the hero his partial countrymen make him.

The only contemporary writer is the riming chronicler Langtoft. He thus introduces Wallace:

"Nowe Eduard is oute the barons be not trewe,
 The suffred, as it sais, the Scottis oft to rise
 With William the Walais, ther hede and ther justise,
 Thugh fals concelement William did his wille,
 Our castels has he brent, our men slayn fulle ille."

Langtoft further says that in 1304 Wallace offered to make peace with the king provided he was secured in a good estate. Edward in a rage devoted to the Fiend him and all who should sustain him, and set a reward of three hundred marks on his head. Wallace was betrayed some time after by his man Jack Schort (whose brother he had slain) to sir John Monteith, who took him one night "his leman bi." At London he was drawn, hanged, embowelled while still alive, and quartered; just, we may add, as David prince of Wales had been, and as was the barbarous usage of the age toward all who were executed as traitors.

Langtoft being his authority, one is surprised to read in Tytler (Hist. of Scot. i.) that "Wallace was *betrayed* and taken by sir John Monteith." To whom did he *betray* him? Again, he says, "The circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution reflect an indelible stain on the character of Edward, and, were they not stated by the English historians themselves, could scarcely be credited." Why not credited? Edward looked on Wallace as a rebel and murderer, and punished him in the usual manner.

Hemingford commences his account of Wallace thus: "Erat quidam *latro publicus* Willelmus Walays nomine." Trivet's account of him is to the same effect. Walsingham says, "Hic, ex infima gente procreatus, processu temporis factus est vir sagittarius, illius artis peritia quæritans victum suum."

The riming chronicler Hardyng gives a peculiar account of the capture of Wallace. He says that Robert Umfreville earl of Angus defeated in a battle in Argyle Wallace and his brother John, and brought them prisoners to London, where they were hanged as traitors.

Such are the English accounts of Wallace. The Scottish historian Fordun, whose chronicle ends in 1385, (eighty years after Wallace,) introduces him thus: "Eodem anno (1296) Willelmus Wallace quasi de latibulo caput levavit et vicecomitem de Lanark, Anglicum virum strenuum et potentem in villa de Lanark, interfecit." He says that Wallace was of a good family. Wintoun, a later writer than Fordun, (his chronicle ends in 1408,) gives a curious dialogue on this occasion between Wallace and the viscount.

In the later narratives of Blind Harry, Hector Boece and Buchanan the deeds of Wallace are expanded and embellished in the usual manner.

On the whole we shall perhaps have the most exact idea of Wallace if we compare him with the partisans or guerillas of Spain. The following passage of Mackintosh (i. 262) exalts him, we think, far too much:—"His name stands brightly forward among the foremost of men, with Vasa, with the two Williams of Orange, with Washington, with Kosciusko, with his own more fortunate but less pure successor Robert Bruce. His spirit survived him in Scotland. The nation, shaken to its deepest foundations by a hero who came into contact with them, and who conquered by them alone, retained the impulse which his mighty arm had communicated."

L, page 178.

According to Fordun and Wintoun, Bruce and Comyn had previously agreed on insurrection. Bruce, being summoned to the court of England, was in London when Comyn wrote secretly to Edward giving him information of the plot. Edward charged Bruce with it; he denied it; the king appeared satisfied, but he formed a secret determination to put him to death. That very night, when Bruce was at supper, his friend the earl of Gloucester (Glovernia) sent his chamberlain to him with twelve pennies and a pair of spurs; the money, he was told, was in payment of what he had lent the earl the day before. Bruce understood the enigmatic warning; he lost no time in making his escape to Scotland. On the borders he met a man whose appearance was suspicious; he slew him, and found on him letters from Comyn to Edward, and he now fully resolved to punish him for his treachery.

Of this journey to Scotland, we may observe, Langtoft and Hemingford say not a word. The tale gradually received additions; the pennies become crowns of gold; Bruce has a groom; there is a fall of snow; the horses are shod with the shoes reversed. Thus was formed the narrative we may read in Buchanan, and from him in Hume.

M, page 192.

"According to the judgment of the house of peers in 1330, Mortimer commanded, (he confessed it before his death, Rot. Par. ii. 62,) Gournay and Ogle perpetrated the murder. Mortimer suffered death; the other two had fled out of the kingdom; but a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the apprehension, or of 100 marks for the head, of Gournay; and another reward of 100 marks for the apprehension, and of 40*l.* for the head, of Ogle, (Rot. Par. ii. 54.) What became of Ogle I know not; Gournay fled into Spain, and was apprehended by the magistrates of Burgos. At the request of the king of England he was examined by them in the presence of an English envoy. What disclosures he made were kept secret, but we may suppose that they implicated persons of high rank, as the messengers who had him in charge received orders to behead him at sea on his way to England, (Rymer, iv. 488-491.)"—Lingard.

N, page 213.

Occasional barbarity was not incompatible with the virtues of chivalry, as the following incident will show. When the Black Prince heard of the revolt of the city of Limoges, "then," says Froissart, "he sware by his father's soule, whereby he was never forsworne, that he wolde gette it agayne, and that he wolde make the traytours derely abyte their falsnesse." The city was taken by mine, and the prince issued orders to give no quarter. "It was great pytie," says the chronicler, "to se the men, women and chyldren that kneeled downe on their knees before the prince for mercy; but he was so enflamed with yre that he toke no hede to theym, so that none was herde, but all putte to dethe as they were mette withal, and suche as were nothing culpable. There was no pytie taken of the poore people who wrought never no maner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages suche as had done the yvell and trespass. There was not so harde a hert within the cytie of Lymoges and yf he had any remembraunce of God out that wepte pyteously for the great mischefe that they sawe before

their eyen; for mo than three thousand men, women and chyldren were slayne and beheaded that day: God have mercy on their soules! for I trowe they were martyrs.'

O, page 218.

The leaders of the insurgents adopted the practice usual in such cases of giving themselves fictitious names. Such were Jack Straw, Jack Mylner, (Miller,) Jack Carter, Jack Trueman, &c., under which names they put forth addresses such as the following:

"Jakke Mylner asket help to turne his mylne aright. He hath grounden smal smal; the king's sone of heven he scal pay for alle. Loke thy mylne go aryght with the foure sayles and the post stand in steadfastnesse. With ryght and with myght, with skyl and with wylle, let myght help ryght, and skyl go before wylle and ryght before myght, then goth oure mylne aryght. And if myght go before ryght, and wylle before skylle, then is our mylne mys a dyght."

The following is one of Ball's addresses:

"John Balle Seynte Marye prist greteth wele alle maner men, and byddes hem in the name of the Trinite, Fadur and Sone and Holy Gost, stond manlycke togedyr in trewthe, and helpeth trewthe and trewthe schal helpe yowe. Now regneth pride in pris, and covetise is holde wys; and lecherye with outen shame, and glotonye with outen blame. Envye regneth with tresone, and slouth is take in grete sonesone. God do bote, for now is tyme. Amen."

P, page 239.

Mr. Tytler (History of Scotland, iii. Appendix) has revived an old story, related by Fordun and Wintoun, of Richard II. having escaped from prison and being maintained for twenty years at the court of Scotland. There is no doubt that a person who pretended to be, or rather was made to personate, that monarch, was countenanced there, (as Warbeck was afterwards,) and probably with a view to annoy Henry, whose seizure of Prince James may perhaps thus be best explained.

Sir James Mackintosh (History of England, i. 381) has briefly, but we think completely, confuted Mr. Tytler.

Q, page 293.

It is well known that the truth of this account of the murder of the prince has been questioned by Back, Carte, Walpole, and Laing. Their arguments have, we think, been amply confuted by Hume and Lingard. We will here notice the principal ones, and the replies to them; first stating the evidence for the murder.

The historian of Croyland, who wrote in 1486, the year after Richard's death, says that when Buckingham and the others had entered into a confederacy to release the prince, "*vulgatum est dictos Edwardi filios, quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, decessisse in fata.*" He also says that their cause had been avenged in the battle of Bosworth, and that Richard, not content with obtaining his brother's treasures, destroyed his offspring, (*oppressit proles.*) This writer could not then have doubted of the murder. Rouse, who died in 1491, says that Richard imprisoned Edward and his brother closely, and within little more than two months killed them, but so secretly that "*post paucis simis notum fuit qua morte martyrizati sunt.*" André, the historiog-

rapher of Henry VII., says, "ferro feriri jussit." More, in 1513, gave the narrative in the text from the confession of the assassins.

Buckingham and his friends must have been certain of the death of the princes, or they would never have offered the crown to Henry on condition of his marrying Elizabeth; and what reason could Richard himself have for wishing to marry her if she were not now the representative of her father?

In the year 1674 a chest, containing bones answering in size to those of the two princes, was found by the workmen who were taking away the staircase leading from the king's lodging to the Tower chapel. It was ten feet under ground.

Against all this it is alleged that for many years after it was doubted if they were dead. "Some remain yet in doubt," says More, "whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or not." "In vulgus fama valeret," says Polydore Virgil, "filios Edwardi regis aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse atque ibi superstites esse." Bacon also mentions the "rumors and whisperings" of one of them at least being alive. The wonder, however, to any one versed in history, and who recollects the stories of Richard II., of Don Sebastian, and others, would be if such reports did *not* prevail.

Walpole endeavors to show from the rolls of parliament that Edward V. was living in 1484, and that therefore the tale of his being put to death during Richard's progress in 1483 cannot be true; but Lingard observes, that what he quotes is from the petition presented at Baynard's castle, and only proves, what was never doubted, that Edward was then alive.

But the grand argument is this. There are in Rymer two instruments dated August 31, "teste rege apud Wesmonasterium." Richard therefore was in London on that day, and we know that he was crowned at York on September 8th; there was no time then for the passage of all the messengers to and from London, and the whole story in the text is a fiction. Lingard, however, shows that this only proves that the chancellor was at Westminster. He gives as instances; Richard II. was at Bristol April 27, 1399, of which day we have a writ *teste rege* at Bristol, and another *teste rege* at Westminster; and there are thirty-three writs of Edward V. *teste rege* at Westminster April 23d, yet we know that he did not reach London till May 4th, and did not go to Westminster at all.

R, page 296.

We were not quite correct in using the words "an extant letter." The original letter from Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk we believe no longer exists, but Buck, who saw it in the cabinet of the earl of Arundel, states that in it she desired the duke "to be a mediator for her to the king in the behalf of the marriage propounded between them, who was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought, withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the queen would never die."

S, page 316.

The advocates of Perkin Warbeck say that—1. He was acknowledged by the kings of France and Scotland, and the duchess of Burgundy; 2. Henry never confronted him with the queen, her mother and sisters; 3. His accent was perfectly English; 4. He was like the

duke of York, 5. Henry never inquired into the circumstances of the murder of the princes.

To all this it is replied that—1. The king of France acted from political motives; so most probably did the king of Scotland; the object of the duchess of Burgundy, who had already favored Simnel, probably was to overthrow Henry and establish the claims of her nephew Warwick. 2. See above, p. 316. The royal ladies had abundant opportunities of seeing him. 3 and 4 are mere assertions, without any proofs being offered. 5. It is probable that Henry considered the fact of the death of the princes too well established to require any proof; or himself, as a Lancastrian, not called on to punish the domestic crimes of the house of York.

Finally, few but those who were outlaws adhered to Warbeck, and no gentleman ever joined him in his various invasions of England. That Henry would never have left him at liberty if he thought him in the slightest degree dangerous, is proved by his very different treatment of the earl of Warwick.

T, page 360.

The words in the text respecting More's persecution of the reformers are perhaps too strong. Of his superstition the following are proofs:

Erasmus notices his tendency that way. He always wore a hair shirt next his skin, and "he used sometimes," says Roper, "to punish his body with whips, the cords knotted." When he was chancellor, the duke of Norfolk coming one day to dine with him at Chelsea found him at church with a surplice on him, singing in the quire. "God's body! God's body! my lord chancellor," cried the duke, "a parish clerk, a parish clerk—you dishonor the king and his office." "Nay," replied he, "your Grace may not think that the king your master and mine will with me, for serving of God his master, be offended, or thereby count his office dishonored." It was a matter of the greatest comfort that he was to die on the eve of St. Thomas à Becket, his patron saint. "I comber you good Margaret much," writes he to his daughter, "but I would be sorry if it should be any longer than tomorrow. For it is St. Thomas even' and the Utas (Octave) of St. Peter; and therefore tomorrow long I go to God. It were a day very meet and convenient for me."

U, page 366.

Sanders's account of Anne Boleyn is an admirable specimen of popish mendacity. He says she was the daughter of lady Boleyn by Henry VIII. during her husband's absence on an embassy in France, whither Henry had sent him with this design.* While Henry was carrying on his adulterous intercourse with lady Boleyn, he cast an eye of lust on her elder daughter Mary, whom on the return of sir T. Boleyn he took to court and made his mistress.† Sir Francis Brian, a relation of the Boleyns, on being asked by Henry his opinion of such a connection.

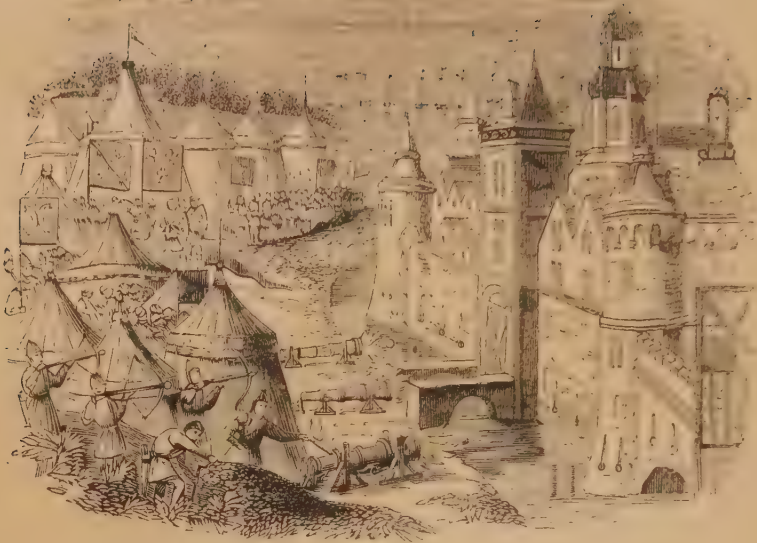
* Sanders relates this on the authority of Mr. Justice Rastall, the nephew of sir T. More. It suffices for its confutation to observe that Anne was born in 1507, before Henry had completed his sixteenth year, and two years before he came to the throne.

† "That her elder sister, and even her mother, preceded her in the favor of her royal lover, are assertions made by her enemies with a boldness equal to the total absence of every proof of their truth."—Mackintosh, ii. 150.

said it was only like eating the hen first and then the chicken. The king laughed, and said to him he was truly his Vicar of Hell, a title Brian had long had for his impiety. As for Anne, she was, he says, no great beauty, as she had a projecting tooth, a sallow complexion, as if she had the jaundice, a kind of wen under her chin, and a sixth finger on her right hand. At fifteen years of age she intrigued with the butler and chaplain. She was then sent to France to be educated, at the king's expense, and soon after she went to the French court, where she led so profligate a life that she was called the English Hackney and the Royal Mule. On her return to England, when she became the object of the king's affection, she took example by the fate of her mother and sister, and affected the most rigid chastity. In vain did sir T. Boleyn remind Henry that she was his own daughter, in vain did sir T. Wyatt declare before the parliament that he himself was a favored lover, and offered to give the most convincing proofs of her infamy: the king was not to be diverted from his intention of marrying her. She afterwards attempted to poison bishop Fisher. Finally, when she despaired of having a son by the king, and at the same time was resolved to be the mother of a king, she committed incest with her own brother, and then adultery with Norris and the others !!!

Turn we now to cardinal Pole: he says Anne herself first suggested the idea of a divorce. "*Ille ipsa*," writes he to Henry, "*sacerdotes suos, graves theologos, quasi pignora promptæ voluntatis misit, qui non modo tibi licere affirmarent uxorem dimittere, sed graviter etiam peccare dicerent quod punctum ullum temporis eam retineres, ac nisi continuo repudiare gravissimam Dei offensionem denuntiarent. Hic primus totius fabulæ exorsus fuit.*" This account is quite irreconcilable with all the others, and it only proves (what every one who reads his writings impartially will perceive) that Pole was a weak, credulous, passionate man. Unlike Sanders and others, he was honest, and when he says he saw or heard a thing we may believe that he did; but his mere opinion or assertion is no proof of its truth. What Lingard says on this occasion, that he "would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false," only proves that Pole believed the story himself.





Siege of the town of Africa.



Richard the Black Prince at the sack of Linoges.

THE ILLUSTRATED
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BY
THOMAS KEIGHTLEY.

REVISED AND EDITED,
WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS,

BY
JOSHUA TOULMIN SMITH,
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NEW ENGLAND," &c.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

THE Roman lyric poet, when addressing his friend who was engaged in a work on the Civil War of Rome, says to him,

Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.

The same may be said to him who undertakes to relate the Civil War of England; for though nearly two centuries have elapsed, the passions and parties to which it gave birth still exist. There are those, of whose political creed it is an article that Charles I. was without blemish; there are others, in whose eyes Pym and Hampden are political saints. To neither of these parties do I belong; my experience has taught me that it is not in history that we are to look for faultless characters; that uncontrolled power is sure to be abused; that a nation must have real grievances to complain of when it opposes its government; and that popular assemblies are as tyrannic, and can as little brook opposition, as any single despot. In that memorable contest, I have therefore found much to blame on both sides, and I have never hesitated to condemn what I did not approve. The same is the case in the subsequent part; and if my language should at any time appear too strong, I trust it will be ascribed solely to my hatred of injustice and oppression. In all parts of my history, I claim not to be judged of by isolated passages.

I commit my brief history of the house of Stuart to the world, with little fears as to the result. To satisfy the zealots on either side, I know to be impossible without an abandonment of truth; but there are those who view the British constitution as progressive, and as brought to its present state through much suffering and arduous struggles, who regret neither the despotism of the crown nor that of the Long Parliament, and who are content

calmly to trace the virtues, the faults, the errors, the passions, even the vices, of our ancestors, and to mark how, under Providence, they have coöperated for final good. It is of such that I seek the approbation; and, sanctioned by it, I trust that my work will prove efficacious in preserving an important portion of the British youth from political error, and inspiring them with a love for the only well-poised constitution that the world has ever seen.

My history of the house of Brunswick, it will be seen, is little more than a sketch. I always intended it should be such, but I had reckoned on more space for it. As it chiefly consists of foreign wars and parliamentary debates, which to interest should be given in long detail, I do not regret having sacrificed it in some measure to the more absorbing theme of the much-perverted annals of the house of Stuart.

T K.

LONDON

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JAMES I.

A. D. 1603—1613.

ON the death of queen Elizabeth, the right to the crown of England lay between the descendants of Margaret and Mary, daughters of Henry VII., married to the king of Scotland, and to Brandon duke of Suffolk. By the last will of Henry VIII., sanctioned by an act of the legislature, the crown was settled on the latter in case of the failure of his own issue. The legal right, therefore, of the house of Suffolk was beyond dispute. But, on the other hand, the general feeling in favor of primogeniture and hereditary right was too strong to be thus overcome; and the advantages to be derived from the accession of the king of Scotland were so great, that the nation readily acquiesced in the last disposition of the late queen, and James was proclaimed with as little opposition as if he had been an heir-apparent.

During the latter years of queen Elizabeth, the jesuited portion of the catholics* had been in secret correspondence with the king of Spain about asserting the claim of his daughter, the Infanta; while others, with the sanction of the pope, who did not wish to aggrandize too much the house of Austria, looked to Arabella Stuart, daughter of

* The English catholics were divided into two parties; the *jesuited* as they were named, that is, the adherents of the jesuits, and the *followers* of the secular clergy.

the younger brother of James's father, alleging that her birth within the realm obviated, in law, her defect of primogeniture; for, though Arabella was a protestant, they had some hopes of her conversion. They did not, however, feel themselves strong enough to make any efforts in her favor; and James, who had long been in secret communication with the court of Rome and the English catholics, had given them reason to expect that they might expect freedom from molestation, at the least, under his dominion.

After the death of Essex, sir Robert Cecil had entered into close and secret relations with the king of Scotland, engaging to remove all difficulties in the way of his peaceful succession. His efforts had been completely successful; and James, on receiving due notification of his having been proclaimed, prepared to set forth for the Land of Promise, as he termed it to his hungry and longing favorites. The change was to him great indeed; he was about to pass from a throne of most scanty revenues, and a realm where the royal authority was continually thwarted by a turbulent, ferocious nobility, and a morose, domineering clergy, to a kingdom where the regal power had long been nearly uncontrolled, and where the revenues of the crown were splendid and ample.

On the 5th of April James departed from Edinburgh. When he entered England, the people every where poured forth in joyous crowds to greet him; and the nobles, as he proceeded, entertained him sumptuously at their houses. But the contrast was striking between him and their late glorious sovereign. When Elizabeth was on a progress, she was splendidly attired; her people had free access to her, and their proofs of affection were received with smiles and with courteous expressions, blended with the majesty and dignity inseparable from her air and mien. They beheld their new monarch meanly attired, for he cared not for dress; his clothes were always of one fashion, quilted so as to be stiletto-proof, and worn till they were in rags: his person was ungraceful, his limbs feeble, his gait being what, in the dialect of his country, is termed '*todlin*.' His tongue was too large for his mouth, and thus augmented the uncouthness of his broad northern accent. Under pretext of its enhancing the price of provisions, he forbade the resort of people to him on his way; he allowed ladies, it is said, to kneel to him, and spoke in language derogatory of the fair sex in general. At Newark he ordered a pick-pocket, taken

in the fact within the range of the court, to be executed without trial.* In short, by the time he reached London his popularity was well nigh gone.

On his approach to the capital, James took up his abode for some days at Theobalds, the residence of sir Robert Cecil; during which time he formed his council, by adding to that of the late queen the following Scots: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, lord Hume, lord Kinloss, sir George Hume, and sir James Elphinstone. A proclamation was issued, holding forth hopes of a mitigation of the evils of monopolies, purveyance, and protections in lawsuits. The king then began to shower his honors with a lavish hand on his subjects of both nations. Knighthood, for example, was bestowed with such profusion, that in the course of three months he had conferred that honor on not less than seven hundred persons. A pasquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, entitled 'A Help for weak Memories to retain the Names of the Nobility.'

The principal titles conferred were as follows: Cecil was created successively baron Essingdon, viscount Cranburne, and earl of Salisbury; lord Buckhurst was made earl of Dorset; and lord Pembroke's brother Philip earl of Montgomery; the chancellor Egerton became baron of Ellesmere. James also, to evince his gratitude to the friends of himself and his mother, released the earl of Southampton from the Tower, and restored him and the son of the earl of Essex to their estates and honors. He admitted into the council Thomas Howard, the son, and Henry, the brother of the late duke of Norfolk; and some time after, he created the former earl of Suffolk, and the latter earl of Northampton. He also restored the title of Arundel and Surrey to Thomas son of Philip, the eldest son of that unhappy duke.

Ambassadors from foreign powers now arrived to congratulate James on his accession. Henry IV. of France sent his friend and minister, the marquess Rosni, (afterwards duke of Sully,) to study the character of the new monarch, and try to induce him to join in an extensive league against the house of Austria. Sully, on his arrival, prepared to put himself and suite in deep mourning, out of respect to the memory of the late queen; but he gave up the design, on being assured by the resident ambassador that he should

* "I hear our new king," writes sir J. Harrington, "has hanged one man before he was tried; it is strangely done; now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he has offended?"

thereby give mortal offence at court.* He bound James so bent on peace with Spain, that he would only engage to aid the Dutch underhand. Sully's opinion of the British monarch is briefly and truly given in his expression, that he was "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Here it may be useful to give some further account of king James. He was now thirty-six years of age; his education had been confided to the celebrated George Buchanan; but though the tutor had been one of the ablest assertors of the doctrine that all power proceeds from the people, to whom the holder is answerable for the exercise of it, the pupil had adopted the most extravagant ideas of the extent of the royal prerogative. Flattered by courtiers, and regarding himself as the representative of the endless line of Scottish monarchs, and of the Saxon and Norman lines in England, he considered the people as made for kings, who are to them as the shepherds to their flocks, and are accountable to God alone for their trust. As he was learned, and wrote with facility, he had embodied his notions in a work for the use of his son, which he named the '*Basikon Doron*,' or *Royal Gift*. He had also published works on demonology and other subjects but little suited to the pen of a monarch. He was in effect a royal pedant, (a very rare character,) with large stores of acquired knowledge, with shrewdness and sagacity, but wanting wisdom. By himself and his flatterers he was styled the British Solomon.†

By his union with Anne, sister of the king of Denmark, James had now surviving two sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter, Elizabeth. The queen was a woman of an intriguing, ambitious spirit, fond of amusement and gayety. Prince Henry, as he grew up, developed a character every way the opposite of that of his father.

James was hardly well seated on his throne, when a double conspiracy, it was said, was formed against him. The one was named the '*Bye*,' the '*Surprise*,' or the '*Surprising Plot*,' for reasons which will presently appear. The chief actors in it were two secular popish priests, named Watson and Clarke; sir Griffin Markham, a catholic gen-

* James affected to speak slightly of Elizabeth; but, as he offered to appear as chief mourner at her funeral, his forbidding mourning at court may have had its source in his aversion from gloom; he did the same on the death of his own son.

† Henry IV., on hearing this, said he hoped he was not the son of David the fiddler, [alluding to Rizzio, see vol. i. p. 467.]

dleman; George Brooke, brother of lord Cobham, (who himself had knowledge of it,) and lord Grey of Wilton, the head of the puritans. Common discontent was the only principle of union among these discordant elements. Their plan was to *surprise* and seize the king, then convey him to the Tower or to Dover Castle, and oblige him when there to grant a full pardon to all concerned, secure toleration to the catholic religion, and dismiss his privy council. Watson, it was said, was then to be chancellor, Brooke treasurer, Markham principal secretary, and Grey marshal and master of the horse. This last, however, finding the catholics to predominate in their councils, made a pretext to withdraw himself from them; and one thing or another causing the execution to be deferred, Cecil came to the knowledge of it,* and the principal conspirators were arrested.

The other plot was named the 'Main,' or the 'Spanish Treason.' The chief parties in this were said to be sir Walter Raleigh, lord Cobham, and George Brooke. Its object, as was asserted, was to place Arabella Stuart on the throne by the aid of a Spanish army and Spanish money. Brooke formed the link between the Main and the Bye. When the latter plot was discovered, Raleigh was arrested as a suspicious person; but as he was really ignorant of it, nothing could be brought against him, and he was dismissed. A letter, however, which he wrote to Cobham, to put him on his guard, having been intercepted, they were both committed to the Tower.

The court being at Winchester on account of the plague, the two priests, with Brooke, Markham, sir Edward Parham, and two other gentlemen, were arraigned there on the 15th of November. Parham was acquitted, all the rest were found guilty. On the 17th Raleigh was brought to trial. The only evidence against him was the declaration of Cobham; for when he was on his examination, (July 20,) he was shown a note from Raleigh to Cecil, hinting that he had intelligence with Aremburg, the Spanish minister, and he then declared that he would tell all the truth; and he revealed what he said was Raleigh's project. Against this, Raleigh produced a letter, written subsequently by Cobham, fully acquitting him: in reply to which, the counsel for the crown gave in a letter written by Cobham only the night before, repeating his charge. The prosecution was conducted in

* He is said to have had his information from the jesuit party

the most virulent manner by sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general. Raleigh defended himself with great skill, temper, and dignity; but the jury, (which was a packed one,) insufficient as the evidence was, found him guilty, and he was sentenced to die. To use Raleigh's own words, "it was as unjust a condemnation, without proof and testimony, as ever man had." The king himself, as Raleigh afterwards asserted, prayed that *he* might never be tried by a Middlesex jury. It is also said, that when Coke heard, as he was walking in the castle garden, that the jury had found Raleigh guilty of high treason, he said, "Surely thou art mistaken: I myself accused him but of misprision of treason." Osborne says that "some of the jury were afterwards so touched in conscience as to demand of Raleigh pardon on their knees."

On the following Friday Cobham was tried by his peers. He behaved in the most abject manner possible, throwing the whole blame on his brother and Raleigh. He was found guilty without hesitation. Next day Grey was arraigned: he defended himself with great spirit and ability; but the evidence was too strong against him, and he also was condemned.

The two priests were hung, and embowelled in the usual barbarous manner, before they were dead. Brooke was beheaded. Markham was led to the scaffold. Just then a messenger came from court, and whispered to the sheriff, who gave the prisoner two hours' respite, and took him away. Grey was next brought out, but the sheriff withdrew him also, saying that Cobham was to precede him. Cobham, when he came on the scaffold, "did much cosen the world," for he showed the greatest firmness and resolution. He expressed his sorrow for his offence to the king, and "took it upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of Raleigh was true." The sheriff then told him that he must be confronted with some other persons. Grey and Markham were immediately led forth; and while they gazed on each other in amazement, the sheriff announced to them that the king granted them their lives. Markham was banished the kingdom; Cobham was deprived of his offices and estates, and he died some years after in the utmost misery. Grey remained a prisoner in the Tower till his death, in 1614. Raleigh's life also was spared for the present.

The preceding drama was a device of the king's, who was certainly not a man of blood. It is quite evident that one object in view was, to obtain what might be regarded

as Cobham's dying assertion of the guilt of Raleigh; for (though cowards sometimes die with courage) there seems reason to think that Cobham's magnanimity was the result of his knowledge of his life not being in danger. The king was inimical to Raleigh as the enemy of Essex, and as one of those who had proposed that he should be permitted to mount the throne only on conditions. Cecil was now the enemy of Raleigh, whose talents he feared; and on the whole, we think there is some probability in the hypothesis of Cobham's being merely the tool of him and lord Henry Howard in fixing the charge of treason on Raleigh, who might thus be immured for the rest of his days. It is probable that there was no intention of touching his life. The intrigue with Spain, with which Raleigh was charged, seems contrary to the tenor of his whole life and actions.*

The next affair which occupied the attention of king James was one more congenial to his disposition. When he was on his way to London from Scotland, the puritan clergy presented their Millenary petition,† praying for reformation in the church. They desired that the sign of the cross should not be made in baptism, or that rite be administered by women; that the ring should be disused in marriage; confirmation be abolished; the clergy not wear the cap and surplice, or teach the people to bow at the name of Jesus; the service be curtailed, and the Apocrypha not be read as part of it; church music be reformed; the Lord's day not be profaned, or the observation of other holidays enjoined. They also prayed that none but able men should be ordained, and that they should be obliged to reside on their cures; that bishops should not hold livings in *commendam*; that men should not be excommunicated for small matters, etc. The two universities forthwith set forth violent declarations against the petitioners, and in favor of the present state of the church. The king, being brought up in the kirk of Scotland, which rejected all that was complained of, could not with decency slight the petition. He therefore issued (Oct. 24) a proclamation for a conference between the two parties to be held in his own presence at Hampton Court.

The conference commenced on the 14th of January,

* See Jardine's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i., and Cayley's and Tytler's *Lives of Sir Walter Raleigh*.

† called, as it was to have been signed by one thousand (*mille*) clergymen.

1604. On the side of the church appeared the primate Whitgift, Bancroft bishop of London, seven other prelates, and eight dignitaries; the puritans were represented by Dr. Reynolds and three others, who had been selected by the king himself. The first day the puritans were not admitted, and the king made a speech, in which he expressed his joy that "he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face." * He assured them that he did not propose any innovation, but that he only desired to remove such disorders as might appear. He then suggested some slight alterations in the liturgy with respect to absolution and confirmation; he also objected to baptism by women and lay persons. The amendments which he proposed were adopted without hesitation; and next day (16th) the puritans were admitted, and the king required them to state their objections. To each of their arguments James himself replied. At length, when Reynolds made proposals for holding assemblies of the clergy, and referring cases thence to the diocesan synod, the king lost his temper. He told them, as was the truth, that they were aiming at a Scots presbytery, "which," said he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the Levit. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath." Then turning to the bishops, and putting his hand to his hat, he said, "My lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy; for, if once you are out, and they in place, I know what will become of my supremacy; for, No bishop, no king." He then asked Reynolds if he had any thing more to say; but that divine, finding the cause prejudged, declined to proceed. "If this be all your party have to say," said the king, rising, "I will make them conform themselves, or else hurry them out of this land, or do worse." The prelates were overjoyed at the behavior of the king. Whitgift protested that he had spoken from the spirit of God. Bancroft ex-

* Alluding to the rudeness which he had experienced from some hot-headed young ministers in Scotland, of which various instances are on record.

claimed, "I protest my heart meriteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us a king as, since Christ's time, hath not been." The chancellor said "he had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person."*

Next day the puritans were called in to hear the alterations made in the prayer-book. Their entreaties for indulgence to some men of tender consciences only excited anger; the conference thus terminated, and on the 5th of March, a proclamation was issued, enjoining strict conformity. A persecution of the nonconformists speedily commenced, and three hundred ministers were punished by suspension, deprivation, and other modes.

On the 19th of March, the king met his first parliament. In the commons the redress of grievances, chiefly those of purveyance and the feudal incidents, was anxiously sought, and an equivalent in revenue was proposed to be given to the crown. Attempts were also made to have the laws mitigated in favor of the puritans, while those against the catholics were increased in severity. The king, finding he had little chance of obtaining a subsidy, sent to signify that he would not require it, and parliament then separated.

In the summer a peace was concluded with the court of Spain on sufficiently honorable terms; and James, having no foreign affairs to disturb him, devoted himself to his studies, his hunting, and his other amusements. Meantime a few fanatic catholics were busily engaged in a horrible project for destroying himself, his family, and both houses of parliament. We speak of the Gunpowder-Plot, of which we will now narrate the details.†

When James was looking to the succession to the crown of England, he naturally sought to engage all parties in his interest. The catholics were still numerous and wealthy, and it is not to be doubted that he held out to them hopes of a toleration. They were therefore zealous in his favor, and on his part he ceased for two years to levy the fines for recusancy. He, however, had little real liking for their religion, and he more than once publicly declared his intention of treading in the footprints of Elizabeth; moreover, his Scottish favorites, having in many cases expended their

* In our ears this sounds as monstrous and almost impious flattery. Such it would be at the present day, no doubt; but exaggerated expressions of praise or blame were the style of that age.

† See the excellent account of it which forms the second volume of *Jardine's Criminal Trials*.

small patrimonies, were craving for supplies; he therefore put the law against recusancy again in force, and assigned these persons pensions off the lands and properties of the catholics, which of course were levied with insolence and severity. This, and the enactment of new severities against their religion in the late parliament, convinced the catholics that they had little favor to expect. They were irritated, no doubt, but they had no thoughts of seeking redress by force, being averse from civil conflicts or aware of their inferiority in strength.

There were, however, some spirits of a different kind among them. Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good property in Northampton and Warwickshire, descended from the minister of Richard III., had been brought up a catholic; but he deserted that religion, plunged into all sorts of excesses, and ran through his patrimony. He then (1598) returned to his old religion, and, making up for his apostasy by zeal, became a fanatic, and engaged in all the treasons and conspiracies which agitated the latter years of Elizabeth. He now conceived the diabolical project of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder. This design he communicated in Lent, 1604, to John Wright and Thomas Winter, two catholic gentlemen of good character, family, and fortune. The latter hesitated at first, but his scruples soon gave way, and he went over to the Netherlands on a double mission; the one was to try to induce the constable of Castile, who was coming over to conclude the peace, to make some stipulations in favor of the catholics, the other to engage in the plot some gentleman of courage and of military knowledge and experience. Finding that the court of Spain would not hazard the peace which was so necessary to it, on their account, he proceeded to execute the other part of his commission; and the person on whom he fixed was one Guy Fawkes, a man of good family in Yorkshire, who, having spent his little property, had entered the Spanish service. If we may credit Father Greenway, the associate and panegyrist of the conspirators, Fawkes was "a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanor, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances," — in a word, a fanatic in whose eyes religion justified every deed. Though this high-wrought character is doubtless beyond the truth, there seems on the other hand to be no ground for regarding Fawkes as a mere vulgar ruffian.

Winter and Fawkes came to London in the month of April. Catesby then communicated the project to Thomas Percy, a kinsman of the earl of Northumberland, whose steward he was, and who had been sent by him to Scotland, before the queen's death, to ascertain James's sentiments toward the catholics. He had reported most favorably, and he was now mortified at having been so completely deceived in his expectations. Like Catesby, he had been a debauchee, and was now a fanatic.

Catesby, Wright, Winter, Percy, and Fawkes, having met by appointment in a house behind Clement's Inn, took an oath on the Holy Trinity and the sacrament never to disclose what was then to be proposed. Percy and Fawkes were then informed of the plan, of which they both approved, and then in an upper room of the same house they heard mass and received the sacrament from the hands of Father Gerard, a jesuit, who, whatever may be our suspicious, was not, as far as we have evidence, acquainted with their vow and its object.

A house adjoining the parliament-house was now taken in Percy's name; and Fawkes, under the assumed name of Johnson, and as Percy's servant, was put in charge of it. Another house was hired at Lambeth, where the powder and the timber for the construction of the mine which they proposed to run might be collected, and the care of it was committed to one Robert Keyes, who was likewise sworn to secrecy. Parliament being adjourned till the 7th of February following, the conspirators went down to the country, agreeing to meet again in November. During the summer and autumn the proceedings of the government against the catholics were extremely rigorous, and several jesuits and seminarists were tried and executed. The conspirators were therefore the more confirmed in their resolution.

On the night of the 11th of December Catesby and his associates entered the house in Westminster, well supplied with mining tools, and with hard eggs and baked meats for their support. They began to mine the wall of three yards in thickness between theirs and the parliament-house. Fawkes stood sentinel while the others wrought. Finding the work more severe than they had expected, they summoned Keyes from Lambeth, and they admitted Wright's brother Christopher into their association. They spread the matter which they extracted in the day over the garden at night, and not one of them ever went out of the house or

even into the upper part of it, lest they might be seen. They wrought without ceasing till Christmas-eve, when Fawkes brought them intelligence that parliament was further prorogued till October. They then agreed to separate till after the holidays, when they would resume their labors.

During the month of January, (1605,) Catesby admitted into the conspiracy Robert the elder brother of Thomas Winter, and John Grant of Norbrook, near Warwick, and an old servant of his own named Thomas Bates. In February they renewed their labors in the mine, and they had pierced half way through the wall, when they suddenly, as we are assured, heard the tolling of a bell within the wall under the parliament-house; they stopped and listened; Fawkes was called down, and he also heard it. On sprinkling the place, however, with holy water, the mysterious sound ceased; it was frequently renewed, but the same remedy always proved efficacious, and it at length ceased altogether. One day they heard a rushing noise over their heads; they thought they were discovered, but Fawkes, on inquiry, found that it was made by a man of the name of Bright, who was selling off his coals from a cellar under the house of lords in order to remove. They resolved at once to take the cellar, for, exclusive of the labor, they found the water now coming in on them. The cellar was taken in Percy's name also; twenty barrels of powder were conveyed to it from the house in Lambeth, their iron tools and large stones were put into the barrels with it, in order to give more efficacy to the explosion, and the whole was covered with billets and fagots; and lumber and empty bottles were scattered through the cellar. They then closed it up, placing marks withinside of the door, that they might be able to ascertain if any one should enter it during their absence. Having sent Fawkes to Flanders to inform sir William Stanley and other English officers of the project, and try to obtain foreign aid, they separated for the summer. In the autumn sir Edmund Baynham was sent to Rome as the agent of the conspirators, with whose designs it is likely he was acquainted. As it was necessary to have horses and arms ready, Catesby pretended that he was commissioned to raise a troop of horse for the Spanish service, and he had thus a pretext for collecting arms, etc., at his own house, and at that of Grant; and several catholic gentlemen undertaking to join him as volunteers, he directed them to prepare their arms and to be ready when called on. He and Percy now thought it necessary to associate some gentlemen

of wealth in order to obtain the requisite funds, and they fixed on sir Everard Digby of Rutlandshire, Ambrose Rookwood of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham of Northamptonshire; the two first, who were weak bigots but virtuous men, hesitated at first, but finally joined cordially in the project; the last, a man of indifferent character, was only admitted on account of his wealth, and Catesby, it is said, had always a mistrust of him.

Parliament being finally appointed to meet on the 5th of November, the conspirators made their final arrangements. Fawkes was to fire the mine by means of a slow match, which would take a quarter of an hour to reach the powder; and as soon as he had lighted it, he was to hasten and get aboard a small vessel which was ready in the river, and carry the news over to Flanders. Digby was on that day to assemble a number of the catholic gentry under pretext of a hunting party at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire; and as soon as they heard of the blow being struck, they were to send a party to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was at lord Harrington's, in that neighborhood, and she was to be proclaimed in case Winter should fail in the part assigned him of securing one of her brothers.

There was one point which had been disputed from the beginning, namely, how to act with respect to the catholic nobles. Catesby, it would seem, had little scruple about destroying them with the rest, but the majority were for saving their friends and relations. Tresham, in particular, was most earnest to save his brothers-in-law, the lords Stourton and Mounteagle. It was finally agreed that no express notice should be given, but that various pretexts should be employed to induce their friends to stay away. This, however, did not content Tresham, and some days after he urged on Catesby and Percy that notice should be given to lord Mounteagle; and on their hesitating he hinted that he should not be ready with the money he had promised, and proposed that the catastrophe should be put off till the closing of the parliament. His arguments, however, proved ineffectual.

On the 26th of October, lord Mounteagle went and supped at his house at Hoxton, where he had not been for a month before. At supper a letter was handed him by a page, who said he had received it from a strange man in the street. It was anonymous. By his lordship's direction a gentleman named Ward read it aloud. It desired him to make some excuse for not attending parliament, "for God and man," it

said, "hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time," with sundry other mysterious hints. Lord Mounteagle took it that very evening to lord Salisbury at Whitehall, who showed it to some other lords of the council; and it was decided that nothing should be done till the king's return from Royston, where he was hunting.

It has been a matter of much dispute by whom this letter was written. The most likely person by far was Tresham, and it is not improbable that he had already given full information to lord Mounteagle, and through him to the government, and that the letter was only a device to conceal the real mode of discovery. Tresham too was anxious to save his friends, and but for their own infatuation this might have been effected, for Winter was informed next morning of this letter, and they could have escaped in the vessel prepared for Fawkes. On the 30th Tresham came from the country to London; Catesby and Winter charged him with having written the letter, intending to poniard him if he confessed or hesitated; but he denied with such firmness, that they were, or affected to be, satisfied, and they resolved to go on with their design.

Next day (31st) the king returned to London; a council was held the following day on the subject of the letter, and James himself is said to have divined its secret meaning.* It was determined to search the cellar, but not till Monday the 4th. On that day the lord chamberlain, lord Mounteagle, and others, went to the parliament-house. They found Fawkes in the cellar, but they made no remark, and that night sir Thomas Knevet, a magistrate, was sent to the place with his assistants; he met Fawkes as he was stepping out of the door, and arrested him, and on searching the cellar, thirty-six barrels of powder were discovered. Fawkes was brought before the council, where he avowed and gloried in his design, but refused to name his accomplices; he was then committed to the Tower.

Some of the conspirators had already left London, others fled when they heard of the seizure of Fawkes; they went with all speed to Ashby St. Leger's, where they found several of their friends; they all rode to Dunchurch to meet Digby and his party. Their dejected looks told their story; all those who were not too deeply implicated departed forthwith to provide for their safety. Catesby and the others then, in

* He might have done this, and yet Cecil have known the real fact already.

the vain hope of raising the catholics of Wales and the adjoining counties, went to Norbrook, and thence to Huddington and Holbeach, a house of Stephen Littleton's. Their number was now reduced by desertion to about sixty men; the catholic gentry drove them from their doors with reproaches; the common people merely gazed on them as they passed. At Holbeach, Digby and Stephen Littleton privately left them, but the former was seized at Dudley. As they were drying some of their powder which had been wetted, a burning coal fell into it, and Catesby and some others were much injured. In the night Robert Winter slunk away. Next day, (8th,) about noon, the sheriff arrived with the *posse comitatus*, and surrounding the house summoned them to surrender; on their refusal he ordered an assault. Thomas Winter and the two Wrights were wounded; Catesby and Percy placing themselves back to back were shot through the bodies by two balls from one musket; the former died instantly, the latter next day; Rookwood was also severely wounded, and the whole party were made prisoners. Robert Winter and Stephen Littleton, after concealing themselves for about two months, were betrayed by the cook at Hagley House, the abode of Mrs. Littleton.

The apprehension of Fawkes did not affect Tresham like the others. He appeared openly in the streets, and even went to the council and offered his services against the rebels. On the 12th, however, he was arrested and committed to the Tower. It is probable that the object of the council was to extract evidence from him against the jesuits, and in this they partially succeeded; but soon after his committal he was attacked by a fatal disease, and he died on the 27th of December. The catholic writers of course ascribe his death to poison, but the fact of his wife and his servant being with him during the whole of his illness suffices to confute them.

Fawkes was at first sullen, but on the 8th of November he made a full confession, concealing, however, the names of his associates, whom, however, next day he named to lord Salisbury. It is highly probable that, according to custom, the rack had been applied to him. On the 15th those taken at Holbeach reached London. They were all examined frequently, and from what was elicited from them, especially Bates, a proclamation was issued (Jan. 16, 1606) against the jesuits Garnet, Greenway, and Gerard.

On the 27th, sir Everard Digby, the two Winters, Fawkes, Grant, Rookwood, Keyes, and Bates, were brought to trial

before a special commission, composed of privy councillors and judges. The principal evidence against them were their own confessions, but there could not be a shadow of doubt respecting their guilt. Sentence of death was passed, and on the 30th, Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates were hanged and quartered at the west end of St. Paul's churchyard. The next day Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Fawkes, and Keyes were executed opposite the parliament-house.

The jesuit Gerard escaped from Harwich to the continent. Greenway disguised himself and came to London, where, as he was standing one day in a crowd, reading the proclamation, he was recognized by a man who followed and arrested him. He affected to go with him cheerfully, but in a private street he flung him off, and made his escape to Essex, and at last got over to Flanders. Henry Garnet, the superior of the jesuits in England, had concealed himself at Hendlip Hall, the seat of Mr. Abington, near Worcester. A hint, however, having been given that some jesuits were concealed there, the house was surrounded on the 20th of January by sir Henry Bromley; but so well contrived were the places of concealment, that it was not till the eighth day that Garnet and another jesuit, named Hall or Oldcorne, were discovered. They were brought up to London and committed to the Tower, where Garnet was treated with extraordinary mildness: their examinations before the council were frequent, but he would confess nothing. A practice by no means uncommon (one which indeed yet continues) was then resorted to; Garnet and Oldcorne were told by their keeper that there was a concealed door between their cells, through which they might converse. Two persons were meantime so placed as to be able to hear what they said, and this led to important discoveries. It was Garnet's principle to deny, and that even with oaths and solemn asseverations, every thing with which he was charged, until he found it useless to do so any longer. For this he has been justly, but perhaps too severely blamed. It is a maxim of the law of England that no man is bound to accuse himself; * at the present day a prisoner is cautioned against replying to questions tending to implicate him; and on his trial, by the general plea of 'Not guilty,' he in effect denies the whole charge against him. Garnet, in reality, did no more than this; fear of the torture (to which, however, he was never subjected) prevented his being silent, and his denials

* "Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum" — *Magna Charta*.

of the charges against him were the natural result of the desire not to be accessory to his own death.

From Garnet's own confessions, and the evidence of others, it was proved that, in June, 1604, he learned from Catesby or Winter, that there was a plot in hand; and in the June of 1605 Catesby inquired of him respecting the lawfulness of destroying some innocent catholics in a plan designed for the promotion of the catholic religion, to which he gave an affirmative reply. Shortly after the whole plot was revealed to him by Greenway, (not in confession, as he said at first,) with whom he continued to converse from time to time respecting the progress of it. So many other convincing facts appeared, or were proved, as can leave no reasonable doubt of Garnet's participation in the treason. He was tried on the 28th of March by a jury of citizens of London, in presence of the earl of Salisbury and other commissioners, and was found guilty; and on the 3d of May he was hung on a gallows in St. Paul's churchyard. By the express order of the king he was not cut down for the further operation of his sentence until he was quite dead. He has been canonized by his church, and his name now figures in the Roman martyrology.*

In the whole course of history an instance more demonstrative of the baleful effects of a false sense of religion on the mind and heart is not to be found than this plot. A more horrible design never was conceived; yet those who engaged in it were mostly men of mild manners, correct lives, and independent fortunes, — all, we may say, actuated by no ignoble motive, but firmly believing that they were doing good service to God. "I am satisfied," said John Grant on the day of his execution, "that our project was so far from being sinful, that I rely on my merits in bearing a part of that noble action as an abundant satisfaction and ex-

* Miracles of course were required. A new species of grass, therefore, grew on the spot where he last stood in Hendlip lawn. It was in the form of an imperial crown, and the cattle never touched it. A spring of oil burst forth on the spot where he was martyred. But the chief miracle was 'Garnet's Straw.' This was an ear of the straw used at his execution, which a young catholic picked up, and on which there appeared the face of the martyr. The story made such a noise that the council inquired into it; it appeared of course to have been a pious fraud. Garnet was addicted to intemperance, a habit likely to grow on one in his situation. There were also insinuations made against him and a lady named Anne Vaux, who was his constant companion wherever he went. We, however, believe that lady's character to have been without stain, and regard her as a single-minded devotee.

piation for all sins committed by me during the rest of my life." "Nothing grieves me," said Robert Winter to Fawkes, 'but that there is not an apology made by some to justify our doing in this business; but our deaths will be a sufficient justification of it, and it is for God's cause." It is said by Greenway, that as Rookwood was drawn to execution, his wife stood at an open window in the Strand, comforting him, and telling him "to be of good courage, inasmuch as he suffered for a great and noble cause." Of the truth of this, however, we are rather dubious; fear alone would, we apprehend, prevent her from giving utterance to such expressions.

✓ The English catholics, it is well known, were divided into two almost hostile parties, the jesuited and that of the secular priests. The conspirators were all of the former party, and the latter, who had been utterly ignorant of the plot, were unanimous, loud, and, we have no doubt, sincere in the abhorrence which they expressed at it. Digby, in a letter to his lady, laments to find that the cause for which he had sacrificed every thing was disapproved of by catholics and priests, and that that which brought him to his death was considered by them to be a great sin. But they had their share in the penalty, for a new and more severe penal code was enacted. The lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton were imprisoned and fined for their suspicious absence from parliament. The earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000*l.*, deprived of his offices, and adjudged to remain for life a prisoner in the Tower.

A favorite object of the king, ever since his accession, had been the effecting of a union (a legislative one it would appear) between his two kingdoms. The measure was submitted to the parliaments of both countries, but national prejudices and jealousies were too strong to permit so desirable a measure to be then effected; and all that could be obtained was the abolition of the laws in which each treated the other as strangers and enemies, and a decision of the English judges declaring the *postnati*, or Scots born since the king's accession, to be natural subjects of the king of England.

During the six succeeding years of James's reign (1607--12) little occurred to disturb the national tranquillity, though the king and the house of commons still went on bickering; he straining every nerve to obtain money unconditionally, — *they* struggling to secure in return an abolition of purveyance, wardship, and other feudal oppressions. The king meantime

chiefly attended to his hunting and his writing ; the task of supplying his lavish expenditure fell to Salisbury, now lord treasurer, like his father, but with a very different sovereign, and a far more refractory parliament to manage. His health appears to have given way under his mental anxiety, and he died at Marlborough, (May 24, 1612,) as he was returning from Bath, where he had been to try the waters. His character was that of a sagacious, prudent statesman ; but he wanted the high principle and honorable feeling of his great father. "He was," says Bacon, "a more fit man to keep things from getting worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be better."

Toward the close of the year 1612, the king and country were deprived of the heir-apparent, prince Henry. His death caused little grief to James, who looked on him rather as a rival than as a son ; and the prince made no secret of the contempt in which he held his father, whose character was the opposite of his in every respect. Henry was zealous in his attachment to the reformed faith ; he abstained from costly and immoral pleasures and excesses ; his delight was in athletic and martial exercises. When one time the French ambassador came to take leave of him, he found him handling the pike. "Tell your king," said the prince, "how you left me engaged." He greatly admired sir Walter Raleigh. "Sure no king but my father," he used to say, "would keep such a bird in a cage." He died (Nov. 6) in the 18th year of his age, of a fever, the consequence of excessive and injudicious exercise. His death was of course imputed by the people to poison ; the earl of Rochester, the royal favorite, was the person charged, and some even suspected the king himself, how unjustly we need not say.

The death of prince Henry was a subject of general regret, and it is a curious question how far it was a misfortune or otherwise to the nation. It has sometimes struck us, that had he come to the throne, animated as he was by a martial spirit, he would have entered vigorously into the defence of the elector palatine and the prosecution of a war with Spain ; and that to obtain supplies from parliament he would, like the great Edwards, have made the needful concessions in favor of liberty, and that thus the civil war might have been averted. But it was not in this manner that the liberties of England were to be secured ; they were to pass through the fire of civil discord.

James, with his habitual aversion to gloom, forbade any one to approach him in mourning ; he would not allow the

preparations for the Christmas revels to be interrupted, and in the following February (1613) he celebrated with extraordinary splendor the nuptials of his only daughter, Elizabeth with Frederick the count palatine of the Rhine. The princess was only in her sixteenth year.

A lady of high rank was at this time paying the penalty of her proximity to the throne. Arabella Stuart had, though expressly forbidden by the king, given her hand in secret to sir William Seymour, son of lord Beauchamp. As both were descended from Henry VII., the king's jealousy took alarm, and *he* was committed to the Tower, *she* to the house of sir Thomas Parry; at Lambeth. They were, however, permitted by their keepers to have secret interviews, and the king then ordered that Arabella should be removed to Durham. She refused to leave her chamber, but she was taken out of it by force. James, however, allowed her to remain a month at Highgate for her health. While there, she disguised herself in man's attire, and rode to Blackwall, and then went down the river to where a French bark lay ready, and got aboard. Seymour meantime, disguised as a physician, made his way out of the Tower, and entered a boat which was to convey him to the bark; but the French captain, fearing to wait, had set sail in spite of Arabella's entreaties. Seymour got over to Flanders in a collier; the bark was taken off the Nore, and Arabella was immured in the Tower. To her petitions for liberty James replied, that "as she had tasted of the forbidden fruit she must pay the forfeit of her disobedience." The harsh treatment which she experienced deprived her of reason, and she died in the fourth year of her confinement, the victim of that odious policy of state which, on the plea of self-preservation, tramples on all the principles of nature and justice. It is remarkable that Arabella's husband was afterwards, as marquess of Hertford, one of the most devoted adherents of the son of her persecutor.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES I. (CONTINUED.)

1613—1625.

It is time now that we should proceed to notice a remarkable feature in the character of this feeble monarch—his favoritism. To this he had been addicted from his earliest days; and it is rather curious that he, the most slovenly of men in his own person, should have been as fastidious as even the late queen about the looks and dress of those who were about him. A few years before the time of which we now write, on the occasion of a tilting-match, lord Hay, one of the Scottish nobles, selected a youth of the border family of the Kerrs for his equerry. Robert Kerr or Carr was now about twenty years of age, tall and handsome, and but just returned from his travels. It was his office to present his lord's shield and device to the king; and as he was about to perform it, his horse became unruly and threw him. His leg was broken in the fall, and James, affected by his youth and beauty, had him removed to a room in the palace, where he visited him after the tilt. The visits were frequently renewed; the youth gradually won the heart of the king, who resolved to make of him a scholar, a statesman, and a man of wealth and rank. The last was easy; to effect the former he himself became his tutor in Latin and his lecturer in politics. While Salisbury lived, the favorite, though laden with wealth and raised to the dignity of viscount Rochester, took no part in affairs of state, but after the death of that minister the duties of his offices were devolved for some time on the new viscount. Rochester, from the outset of his career, had the good sense to select an able adviser in the person of sir Thomas Overbury, a man of talent and judgment, but ambitious and insolent, and little encumbered with scruples. His prudence, however, kept his patron's bark steady before the wind, and his voyage might have been prosperous to the end had it not struck on the rock of illicit love.

The young earl of Essex, as we have seen, had been restored in honor and estate at the king's accession; and Salisbury, whose own eldest son was married to a daughter of the earl of Suffolk, in order to increase his influence by

family connection, proposed a match between her sister, the lady Frances, and young Essex. No objections being made, the marriage took place, the bridegroom being fourteen years of age, the bride his junior by a year. Immediately after the ceremony the young husband was sent to travel on the continent; the bride was committed to the care of her mother, who, instead of keeping her in the seclusion appropriate to her situation, adorned her with the showy accomplishments of the age, and took her to court. Here her beauty and her graces became the subject of general admiration; prince Henry is said to have cast an eye of favor on the lovely young countess; but Rochester, by the aid of letters composed for him by Overbury, won her heart, and ere long, it is said, she made him a secret surrender of her modesty.

When Essex returned, at the age of eighteen, and claimed his privileges, he was received by his lady with distaste and aversion. Her parents obliged her to live with him, but she persisted in denying him his conjugal rights, for she thought so long as she did that she could not properly be called his wife. A separation from him, and a marriage with Rochester, were now the objects of her wishes, and the viscount was equally eager with herself for the union.

When Rochester informed Overbury of his design, the latter, who saw in it nothing but evil to his patron and ruin to himself, remonstrated in the strongest terms; he dwelt on the infamy of the countess's character, the odium and hazard of the attempt to obtain a divorce, and he finally threatened to abandon him if he persisted in his project. All this Rochester forthwith communicated to the countess. In her rage she offered 1000*l.* to a knight named sir David Wood, whom Overbury had injured, to assassinate him. Wood refused; Rochester then prevailed on the king to appoint Overbury his envoy to Russia. This office, at Rochester's secret instigation, he declined, saying that the king could not, in law or justice, send him into exile; for this contempt, as it was termed, he was committed to the Tower, where, after a confinement of about six months, he died suddenly.

Meanwhile the business of the divorce was proceeded with; the countess suing for it on the ground of bodily incapacity on the part of her husband. The king, to his disgrace, took a warm interest in it; and Essex, whether conscious of defect, or desirous to be released from a woman who hated him, made such admissions as gave a pretext to even out of twelve of a court of delegates to yield to the

wishes of the king and pronounce a sentence of divorce. Shortly after (November 4) the fair adulteress was married to her paramour (whom James, that she might not lose in rank, had created earl of Somerset) in the royal chapel, in presence of the king and queen, with extraordinary magnificence. The bride daringly appeared in the virgin costume of the day, her hair hanging in curls down to her waist. It may be that the king was not aware of the infamy of the parties; the favorite had lately given him 25,000*l.* to relieve his necessities, and he hoped by this union to set him on good terms with the father and uncle of the bride.

The vengeance of Heaven, though delayed, is frequently sure, and the crimes of this guilty pair were destined to come to light. The qualities by which Somerset had won the royal favor soon began to decay; his youthful bloom was fading, for conscience dimmed its lustre. Another object too had caught the unsteady affections of the king. George, one of the sons of sir George Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire, a tall, handsome youth of about one-and-twenty, who had travelled a little, and spent a short time at the court of France, and whose taste in dress was exquisite, appeared at court, and the impression he made on the king's mind was at once preceptible, by his appointing him to the office of cup-bearer. The enemies of Somerset conceived the idea of setting up Villiers as his rival; but James had formed a cunning plan of taking no one to his favor unless specially recommended by the queen; "that if she should complain afterwards of the *dear one*, he might make answer, It is long of yourself, for you commended him unto me." The task of gaining the queen was committed to archbishop Abbot, and, after long refusing, she consented, with these prophetic words, "My lord, you know not what you desire. If Villiers gain the royal favor, we shall all be sufferers; I shall not be spared more than others; the king will teach him to treat us all with pride and contempt." Forthwith (April 24, 1615) Villiers was sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber, and knighted. The king wished the two favorites to live in harmony, but Somerset haughtily spurned the advances of Villiers, and the court was soon divided into two parties.

Reports now were rife that Overbury had not come fairly by his end, and circumstances brought the guilt of it so near to the earl and countess that James directed chief justice Coke to make out a warrant for their committal. The king's hypocrisy on this occasion is almost incredible. Somerset

took leave of him at Royston to go up to London, on a Friday, promising to return on Monday. James, as usual, hung about his neck, and slobbered his cheeks, declaring he should neither eat nor drink till he saw him again, adding, "For God's sake give thy lady this kiss for me." Yet the earl was not in his coach when the king said, "Now, the devil go with thee, for I will never see thy face more."

A dreadful tissue of iniquity was now unravelled. It appeared that the countess had long been intimate with a Mrs. Turner, the widow of a physician, a woman of infamous character, and was by her made acquainted with one Dr. Forman, a pretended conjurer, who supplied her with means for preventing the earl of Essex from consummating his marriage, and with philtres for attaching the viscount; that Mrs. Turner had recommended one Weston, who had been her husband's bailiff, as a fit person for their designs on Overbury, and sir Gervase Elways, the lieutenant of the Tower, a creature of Somerset's, was made to appoint him to attend on the prisoner; and Northampton, the abettor of his niece's depravity, assuring Elways that what was to be done had the king's approbation, engaged him to wink at the attempts that Weston might make on the prisoner's life. The course adopted was to mingle slow poisons with Overbury's food, but these not succeeding, Weston gave him a poisonous clyster, which had the desired effect. He was buried immediately, Northampton averring to the king that he had died of an odious disorder caused by his vices. Some time after, the apothecary's boy who had assisted Weston in giving the clyster, being at Flushing, talked freely of the matter, and his information being conveyed to sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary of state, inquiry was set on foot by the king, and all the suspected persons were arrested. Weston made an ample confession, and he, one Franklin, and Mrs. Turner,* were executed at Tyburn, and Elways was beheaded on Tower-hill. The countess, when arraigned, pleaded guilty; Somerset, who was perhaps innocent, defended himself stoutly for the space of eleven hours, but he was found guilty by his peers. The king granted a pardon to the countess, the execution of the earl's sentence was suspended, and some years after it was reversed. They were allowed to retire to the country, with an allowance of 4000*l.* a year, where they lived in misery, hating and shunning each other. The count

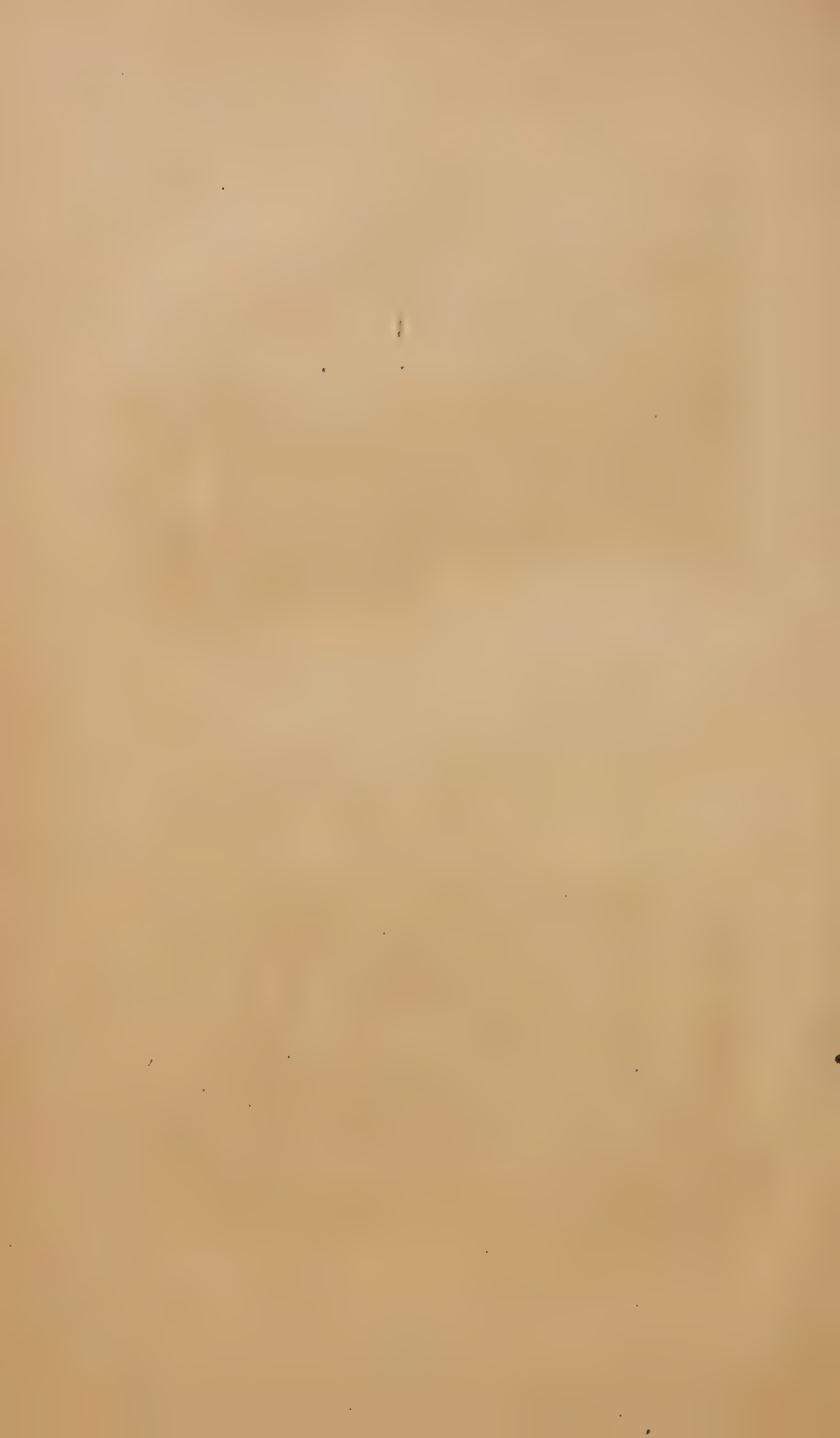
* She had introduced a yellow starch for stiffening ruffs, and she wore one of them at the gallows.



40. Funeral procession of King James I. Page 36.



41. Sir Walter Raleigh taking leave of King James. Page 26.



ess died (of a loathsome disease it is said) in 1632, the earl lived till 1645.

Shortly after these trials, sir Edward Coke, the chief justice, who had given offence by his conduct on them, and by his vigorous maintenance of the authority of the law of the land against the encroachments of the prerogative, was dismissed from his high office. In effecting this, the arts of sir Francis Bacon, the attorney-general and his rival, were of great efficacy. This extraordinary man, who united the noblest genius with the meanest soul, who was the first philosopher and statesman, and at the same time one of the most servile flatterers of his age, was made, on the death of lord Ellesmere, lord keeper, and afterwards chancellor, and he thus attained the summit of his ambition.

Sir Walter Raleigh was now at liberty, for the new favorite had been induced to exert his interest in his behalf, and he was liberated after a confinement of thirteen years. But he was poor; his property had been seized when he was condemned; and the manor of Sherbourn, which, before the death of queen Elizabeth, he had conveyed to his eldest son, was also lost, for a single word had been omitted in the deed of conveyance, and this omission was held to invalidate it. Lady Raleigh and her children threw themselves at the feet of the monarch, imploring him not to deprive them of their only support; but his unfeeling reply was, "I mun ha' the land, I mun ha'-it for Carr;" for this minion had, as the phrase then was, *begged* it. James, however, gave her, by way of compensation, 8000*l.*, for what was said to be worth 5000*l.* a year.

It will be recollected that Raleigh had already made an unsuccessful voyage to Guiana. His imagination still ran on the gold-mines which he fancied that region to contain; even while in prison he had kept up his claims to it, by sending out small expeditions, and he now proposed to fit out an expedition at the expense of himself and his friends, the king to receive the usual fifth of the gold and silver to be thence imported. The avarice of James was tempted, but he had long had an anxious desire to unite his house in marriage with the royal line of Spain, whom he therefore feared to offend, and who he knew hated and dreaded Raleigh. Moreover, Gondomar, the Spanish resident, had by his wit and his adroit flattery, gained a most undue influence over the royal mind. The moment he heard of the rumored expedition, he remonstrated with the king; James assured him that he would not give Raleigh a pardon, so that his former sentence

would still hang over him ; and that if he made any attack on the Spanish settlements, he would either have him executed or deliver him up on his return. Gondomar affected to be satisfied ; he learned from the king all the particulars of the expedition, which he transmitted to Spain, and directions were sent out to the Spaniards in Guiana to oppose Raleigh when he arrived.

After a delay of nearly a year, Raleigh sailed (1617) from Plymouth with fourteen vessels. Misfortunes befell him from the very outset ; two of his ships quitted him, a number of his men perished by a contagious disease, which brought himself to death's door. At length, in November, he reached the mouth of the Orinoco, up which river he sent five of his vessels, each containing fifty men, under captain Kemys, who professed to have discovered the mine in one of the former voyages, giving him strict orders not to molest the Spaniards ; for it is to be observed, that since Raleigh had been last there, and had taken possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, the Spaniards had settled there and built a sort of town, named St. Thomas. As the English passed this place, they were attacked by the Spaniards in the night ; but they repelled the assailants, pursued them to the town, and took it. In the action Raleigh's eldest son and the Spanish governor, a near kinsman of Gondomar's, were slain. They then proceeded up the river in search of the mine, but to no purpose ; and having suffered severely from an ambuscade of the Spaniards, they returned to Raleigh, who, aware of the full extent of the mischief that had been done, reproached Kemys so bitterly with his conduct, that he retired to his cabin and put an end to himself. Raleigh was soon compelled to return home by a mutiny among his men, and he arrived at Plymouth in the beginning of July, 1618. The king was exasperated ; Gondomar claimed, and was promised vengeance, and a proclamation was issued against Raleigh ; this he learned at Kinsale in Ireland, and yet he proceeded to Plymouth, and was on his way to London when he was arrested by his kinsman sir Lewis Stukeley. It is the statement of Raleigh's son, that the earls of Arundel and Pembroke were bound to the king for his return, and that to free them from this engagement he thus surrendered himself. But when he had exonerated them he thought himself justified in making his escape if he could ; accident or treachery, however, foiled all his attempts, and he was once more consigned to the Tower. He was now subjected to various examinations ; and to sir Thomas

Wilson, keeper of the state papers, a man of more learning and talent than honor and virtue, was committed the odious office of endeavoring, under the aspect of mildness and sympathy, to draw out of him a confession of a treasonable intercourse with the French agent. In this, however, he failed, as the prisoner was perfectly innocent on that head.

About the middle of October a letter arrived from the king of Spain, expressing his wish that Raleigh should be executed in England, rather than given up to him. Accordingly a privy seal was directed to the judges of the king's bench, commanding them to proceed to execution against sir Walter Raleigh, under his former sentence. When the prisoner was required to show cause against it, he submitted that his majesty's commission, giving him power of life and death over others, amounted to a pardon. This plea was overruled by the chief justice, execution was granted, and on the 29th of October the aged warrior was conducted to a scaffold in Old Palace Yard. There were present several of the nobility: sir Walter spoke with his usual calmness and courage, clearing himself from all the charges made against him. Respecting the earl of Essex, his words were, "I take God to witness I had no hand in his blood, and was none of those that procured his death. I shed tears for him when he died." The dean of Westminster asking him in what faith he meant to die, he said, "In the faith professed by the church of England, and that he hoped to be saved, and have his sins washed away by the precious blood and merits of our Savior Christ." When he had put off his doublet and gown, he asked the executioner to let him see the axe. He poised it, and running his thumb along the edge, said with a smile, "This is a sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." The executioner going to blindfold him, he refused, saying, "Think you I fear the shadow of the axe, when I fear not the axe itself?" He gave the signal by stretching out his hands, and his head was struck off in two blows. "Every man," says a witness, "who saw sir Walter Raleigh die, said it was impossible to show more decorum, courage, or piety, and that his death would do more hurt to the faction that sought it than ever his life could have done."

Sir Walter Raleigh died in the sixty-sixth year of his age. In his character were united the warrior, the statesman, the courtier, and the man of letters and science. Were it not that his imagination occasionally predominated over his judgment, he might have easily been the first man of his age. His death is an indelible stain on the character of the

king, who betrayed him to the Spaniards, and then put him to death,* after he had virtually pardoned him, and on a charge of which he must have known him to be innocent. The panegyrists of the contemptible monarch (Hume in the van) have sought to blacken the character of his victim, but their calumnies have been amply refuted; and with all his faults sir Walter Raleigh is to be numbered among England's most illustrious sons.

The queen, who had vainly tried to interest the favorite for Raleigh, died early in the following year, (1619.) In the very same year a crown was offered to her son-in-law. The privileges which had been secured by imperial edicts to the Bohemian protestants having been violated by the emperor Matthias, they had recourse to arms, and on his death refused to acknowledge his successor, Ferdinand of Austria, as king of Bohemia. They offered the crown to the elector of Saxony, and on his refusal, to the elector palatine, who imprudently accepted it, and was crowned (Nov. 4) at Prague. His father-in-law, though ignorant of the Bohemian constitution, (by which the crown was elective,) at once pronounced the Bohemians rebels, and ordered him to resign the crown; but the people of England exulted at the prospect offered of an increase of strength to the protestant cause, and were urgent with the king to aid the elector in his contest with the house of Austria. James was now sadly hampered between his love of peace, his high notions of the divine rights of kings, and his anxiety to procure an infanta for his son, on the one hand, and his family feeling and the clamors of his subjects on the other. He had recourse to the usual refuge of weak minds. a middle course; he mediated and negotiated: he allowed sir Horace Vere to raise a regiment of 2400 men, for the defence of the palatinate. But all was in vain; a decisive defeat under the walls of Prague (Nov. 4. 1620) deprived the elector of his crown, and his hereditary dominions were rapidly conquered by Spinola, the general of the king of

* Marriage treaties with Spain seemed to require the cement of innocent blood. Witness Warwick and Raleigh.

† See Cayley and Tytler. Mr. Hallam seems to think ill of Raleigh, but without giving his reasons. This able writer has, however, what appears to us an unfair habit of judging the men of the sixteenth by the maxims of the nineteenth century, and a kind of prejudice against Elizabeth and her great men, Essex (perhaps the least great) excepted. That Lingard should be adverse to Raleigh was to be expected; he was the foe of Spain.

Spain. He and his family retired to the Hague, where they lived in poverty, and king James was to the end of his life occupied in fruitless negotiations for the restoration of the palatinate.

The affairs of the palatinate, and the expense caused by them, obliged the king to call a parliament, (1621.) One of the first matters to which the commons turned their attention was the old grievance of monopolies, and the practice of impeachment was revived. Sir Giles Monpesson, who had patents for the manufacture of gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, in which he and his agent, sir Francis Mitchell, had been guilty of great fraud and oppression, was the first object of attack. Monpesson escaped to the continent; but the lords condemned both him and Mitchell to be fined and imprisoned, and to lose their knighthood. But a far higher head than these was to be abased by this parliament. Articles of impeachment were exhibited against the viscount of St. Alban's* (as Bacon was now styled) for bribery and corruption in his high office of chancellor, (March 21.) From his bed, to which he had taken, he wrote to the lords confessing the truth of the charges. He was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000*l.*, be imprisoned during pleasure, and be incapacitated from approaching the court, sitting in parliament, or holding any office of dignity or profit. The king remitted the fine, and gave him his liberty, and the remaining five years of his life were chiefly occupied with abject efforts to recover the favor of the court. In his defence it was alleged that it had long been the usage for the chancellor to accept presents from suitors; but it was replied that no precedents could justify so pernicious a practice. The unanimity with which he was condemned, and his not daring to make a defence, would seem to intimate that he had far outgone his predecessors. Yet Bacon was not an avaricious man; it was his love of show, his want of economy, and his easiness to his servants and dependants that obliged him to have recourse to all modes of obtaining money. It is also said that he could have defended himself; but that, as his defence would have contained disclosures of matters which the king wished to remain unknown, promises were made him to induce him to refrain from that course.

* [The title *Verulam*, by which Bacon is more commonly known, is the name of an ancient city, of which, but the site, and a few ruins, now remain, immediately adjoining the present town of St. Albans.
—J. T. S.]

The session terminated in a quarrel between the king and the commons. They drew up a petition praying him to engage vigorously in the defence of the palatine; to make war on Spain; to marry his son to a protestant princess; to enforce the laws against papists. On obtaining a copy of the petition he expressed the utmost indignation, and wrote to the speaker, complaining of the "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits" in the house, who presumed to meddle with mysteries of state, things beyond their capacity. The house, in reply, intimated that they were entitled to interpose in matters relating to the dignity and safety of the throne and kingdom. Their liberty of speech was, they said, their ancient and undoubted right, an inheritance transmitted from their ancestors. When the approach of the committee with this address was notified to James, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for so many kings, he said, were a-coming. In his answer, he wished that they had rather said that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself, for most of them had grown from precedent, which rather shows toleration than inheritance. If, however, they did not encroach on the prerogative, he assured them he would be careful to maintain their lawful liberties and privileges. This produced a memorable protestation on the part of the commons, that their privileges were their birthright and inheritance; that affairs of state are proper subjects of counsel and debate in parliament; and that the members have a right to freedom of speech, and should not be molested for any thing said or done in the house, except by censure of the house itself. The king tore this protest with his own hands from the journals, and published his reasons for so doing. He dissolved the parliament forthwith, and he committed some of the most prominent members to prison, and sent others on a commission to Ireland by way of punishment.

The Spanish match was the object nearest to James's heart. Philip III. had kept the matter hanging for years, in the hope of obtaining conditions which might lead to the reëstablishment of popery in England. On his death, (1622,) James hoped that with the young king, Philip IV., a more speedy arrangement might be effected, and he sent the able and experienced lord Digby, (soon after earl of Bristol,) who had been already three times his minister at Madrid, once more ambassador to Spain. James also despatched an envoy to the pope, and he relaxed the penal laws discharging a great number of the recusants from prison

Philip, who was evidently sincere, exerted himself to procure a dispensation at Rome, and James and his son subscribed the religious articles respecting the infant, after they had been seen and corrected at the Vatican; they also pledged themselves that the persecution against the catholics should cease, if they only performed their worship in private houses. Every thing seemed now arranged, when a romantic adventure of the prince came to disconcert the whole project.

Villiers, who was now marquess of Buckingham, was haughty and insolent, but open and sincere; a zealous friend, and a violent enemy, utterly devoid of prudence, and incapable of restraining his passions. In the heyday of his favor he had not hesitated to let the prince of Wales taste of his insolence; and that prince, who was of a cold, proud, reserved temper, felt this deeply, and testified his displeasure in strong terms. A gleam of prudence, however, probably suggested to Buckingham that, as the king was growing old, and he was himself a young man, his situation might not be an enviable one under the successor, unless he had previously appeased him. He, therefore, bent all his endeavors to effect this object, and he succeeded so completely that he soon stood even higher with the prince than with the king, who was now rather weary of his insolence.

Buckingham now took an opportunity of remarking to the prince how slowly the treaty for his marriage went on, and how much it might be accelerated by his own presence at the court of Madrid, by which advantages respecting the palatinate and other matters might also be obtained. The prince's imagination was kindled, and Buckingham then proposed that they two, with a few attendants, should travel in disguise to Madrid. Charles gave a ready consent; he threw himself on his knees before his father, and having made a previous condition that he would not consult with any one on what he was going to request, craved his permission to undertake the journey. Buckingham, who was present, backed the suit, and the king gave a reluctant consent.

But when James was left to himself and had time to reflect calmly on the matter, he saw it in its true form of absurdity and danger both to the person of the prince and to his own reputation, and when they came to him next day for their despatches, he began to explain to them the various cogent reasons which had made him resolve to retract his

consent. The prince remonstrated with dutiful submission, and shedding tears; but Buckingham, who was used to deal with him in a different way, told him that no one in future would believe any thing he said; that he had, contrary to his promise, revealed the matter to some rascal who had furnished him with these pitiful reasons, but that he would find out who this counsellor was, and that the prince could never forget his disappointment or forgive the author of it. The weak monarch, thus bullied, renewed his consent; and it was agreed that sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, a gentleman of his bedchamber, (both of whom were well acquainted with Spain,) should alone accompany them. Cottington was forthwith sent for. "He will be opposed to the journey," whispered Buckingham to the prince. "He dares not," was the reply. When he came, the king having told him that he was going to be intrusted with a secret which he must not reveal to any one, added, "Here is baby Charles and Steeny,* who have a great mind to go post into Spain and fetch home the infanta. They will have but two more in their company, and have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Cottington urged sundry objections; the king threw himself on his bed weeping, and crying, "I told you this before," and lamenting and exclaiming that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles. Buckingham fell to reviling and threatening Cottington; but the king said, "Nay, by God, Steeny, you are much to blame for using him so. He answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely; and yet you know he said no more than I told you before he was called in."†

All ended in the king's renewing his consent. The prince and marquess went (Feb. 17) to a house of the latter's in Essex; whence, attended by his master of the horse, sir Richard Graham, and furnished with false beards and periwigs, they proceeded to Dover, where they were joined by Cottington and Porter. Under the assumed names of Jack and Tom Smith they passed over to Bou

* These were James's familiar names for the prince and Buckingham. He called the latter Steeny, from a fancied resemblance between his countenance and that of St. Stephen. James used to style himself their *dad*; and Buckingham seems to have termed himself the *dog* of the royal family, for as such he subscribes himself in his letters to the king; and the queen addresses him as "My kind Dogge," in her letter requesting him to intercede for Raleigh.

† See Clarendon, (i. 30,) who had the account from Cottington himself.

Logne and proceeded to Paris, where they stopped one day and saw the king, the queen-mother, and the princess Henrietta at dinner, and again at a masked ball to which they were admitted in the evening. They travelled rapidly through France, and on the evening of the 7th of March, they reached Madrid, having left their attendants a day's journey behind. They went straight to Bristol's house; the prince staid in the street while Buckingham went in, bearing their portmanteau. Bristol is said to have evinced little surprise at their appearance, having already had some suspicion of their design from conversations with Gondomar, who appears to have been the real author of the project, which he suggested to Buckingham. The next day, the arrival of the prince being notified at court, he was waited on by the prime minister, the count-duke of Olivarez, and in the evening the king in person came to visit him. Nothing could exceed the respect with which he was treated; the king every where gave him precedence; he was presented, after the Spanish manner, with two golden keys to the royal apartments; the council were ordered to obey him; the prisons were thrown open, and all sumptuary laws were suspended.

Our limits do not permit of our entering into the details of the prince's abode in Spain: Numbers of the English nobility repaired thither to attend the son of their king; and though he was not given access to the infanta, and could only get a sight of her at a distance, the negotiation for the marriage was proceeded in with good faith by the Spanish court. They were not, however, without hopes of his conversion; the pope himself wrote to him, and the reply of Charles was conceived in such terms as must have given good hopes of a change of his faith; * yet Charles was at no time given to change in religion or any thing else, and we fear that we must view his conduct, on this occasion, as an instance of the duplicity and insincerity which characterized him through life. The pontiff added some more articles to the dispensation, the most important of which was, that the children should be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age. The articles were transmitted to London, and were sworn to by the king and council; James

* "The letter to the pope is by your favor more than compliment; which I never say before, and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said in that nice argument but what will endure the light." It is thus that Clarendon writes of it to secretary Nicholas. — Clarendon State Papers, ii. 337.

also swore privately to others for tolerating the catholics. But the death of the pontiff now caused new delays, and Buckingham had by this time resolved to break off the match. He regarded Bristol as his political rival, and he was jealous of the consideration with which he was treated; he had had several quarrels with Olivarez: the Spaniards, on the other hand, viewed with disgust his shameless profligacy, his arrogant temper, and the want of respect and decorum in his conduct toward the prince. He was also anxious to get back to the English court, where he found that he had more enemies than he had suspected.

James, under pretext of the new delay, was induced to send an order for the return of the prince. It was now arranged that a procuration should be left with Bristol, to be delivered after the arrival of the dispensation; that the espousals should take place before Christmas, and the prince be represented by Philip himself or his brother Don Carlos. The infanta took the title of princess of England, and a suitable court was formed for her. Buckingham, as lord high-admiral, having gone before to see that the fleet was ready, Charles took a solemn leave of the queen and the infanta; Philip accompanied him on his way as far as the Escorial, and they parted as brothers. Several of the Spanish grandees accompanied Charles to St. Andero, where he embarked; and on the 5th of October he landed safely at Portsmouth, to the great joy of the king and the nation.

The dispensation came from Rome on the 12th of November. Philip appointed the 29th for the espousals, and the 9th of December for the marriage; the nobility were invited to attend, the towns and cities of Spain were commanded to make public rejoicings, when couriers came from England to Bristol, ordering him not to deliver the proxy, to prepare to return to England, and to tell Philip that James would only go on with the marriage on condition of his giving a pledge to take up arms in defence of the palatinate. Philip justly complained of the indignity thus offered him; the orders for the marriage were recalled; and the infanta with tears laid down her new title. Bristol, on his return, was ordered to remain at his country seat and to consider himself a prisoner, and thus at once fell down the edifice which James had been so many years erecting.

In all this it is easy to discern the influence of Buckingham, but the Spaniards were the dupes of their own arti-

fices. They had protracted the negotiations for years, in the hope of extorting the most favorable terms possible for the catholic religion in England. Their object was certainly a laudable one, for it evinced a zeal for what they regarded as the truth; but their zeal carried them too far, and they injured rather than served their co-religionists. As for prince Charles, it had perhaps been fortunate for him if he had married the infanta, for his subsequent misfortunes may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the influence of his queen.

With the large dower of the Spanish princess, James had hoped to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments, but that hope being gone, no resource remained but to summon a parliament. To this measure, when urged by the prince and Buckingham, he gave an unwilling consent, and when parliament met (Feb. 24, 1624) he addressed it, submitting the late negotiations and all other matters to its consideration. On the subject of religion, he required them to judge him charitably as they would be judged, adding that he had certainly, on sundry occasions, relaxed the severity of the penal laws; but as to dispensing with or altering them, "I never," he cried, "promised nor yielded, I never thought it with my heart, nor spoke it with my mouth." This daring falsehood he uttered in the presence of his son and Buckingham, who well knew his oath to the secret articles of the marriage treaty!

A few days after, Buckingham addressed the two houses the prince standing by to prompt him and vouch for the truth of what he said. By the aid of downright falsehoods, of misrepresentations, of garbled extracts of despatches, he made out, to the satisfaction of those who were glad of any pretext for a quarrel with Spain, that the Spanish court had been insincere from first to last in the negotiation. An address was voted requesting the king to break off the treaties with the court of Madrid; Buckingham became a universal favorite; bonfires and public rejoicings testified the delight of the people at the prospect of a war with the papists. The king gave a reluctant consent to a war, and the commons voted a sum of 300,000*l.* for carrying it on, which, at the king's own desire, was to be paid into the hands of treasurers appointed by themselves.

Cranborne, earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer, was now impeached for bribery and other misdemeanors. He was a citizen of London, who had risen chiefly through the favor of Buckingham; but he had of late incurred his dis-

pleasure, and his patron and the prince now urged on his impeachment: the king, who saw further into matters than either of them, "told the duke that he was a fool and was cutting a rod for his own breech, and the prince that he would live to have his belly-full of impeachments;"* but they heeded him not: Middlesex was found guilty by the lords.

Toward the end of this year a treaty of marriage was effected between the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria, sister of the king of France. Unhappily for the house of Stuart, one of the articles was, that the queen should have the education of the children till they were thirteen years of age. James and his son, heedless of their late oaths† and protestations, also agreed to articles which nearly amounted to a toleration of the catholic religion.

The king thus at length succeeded in his darling object of obtaining a high match for his son; but he was not fated to witness his marriage. He died on the 27th of March in the following year, (1625,) after a fortnight's illness. His disorder was said to be tertian ague and gout in the stomach. He met his end with great constancy and devotion, charging his son to be steadfast in his religion, and not to desert his sister and her children.

The character of this monarch was a strange mixture of sense and folly. On perusing his writings, one cannot fail to be struck with the shrewdness, sagacity, and good sense which they exhibit; yet ever and anon something occurs to prove that the author was not a wise man. It was, however, in his actions that James's folly most displayed itself, and here he forfeits all claims to respect. Wisdom in conduct is never, we believe, to be found where moral courage is absent, and this last usually requires physical courage for its support. In this James was notoriously deficient; and hence nothing great, little good, can be recorded of him. His treatment of Arabella Stuart was cowardly and cruel, that of Raleigh unjust and pusillanimous; in the case of the Somersets his conduct was disgraceful. In his habits x James was filthy; he drank to excess, he swore and blasphemed in an odious manner; he had a nasty trick of kissing

* Clarendon, i. 47

† Charles had, a few months before, bound himself by oath, "That whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that were popish, she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home." Journal of Commons, 756 Lingard, ix. 302.

and beslobbering his favorites, that gave rise to surmises of improper familiarities, which, however, are without proof, and therefore are entitled to no credit. In a word, with all his learning and his talents, it would be difficult to find a monarch less entitled to respect than James I.

The court of James was licentious and profligate to an extreme degree, and if we may believe the accounts of the time, even the court-ladies appeared in public in a state of beastly intoxication. The whole story of the Somersets presents a lamentable picture of aulic depravity. At the same time, the court was often the scene of great magnificence, and those stately masques where Ben Jonson supplied the poetry, and Inigo Jones the machinery, far exceeded any of the court entertainments of succeeding times.

The history of the reign of James is more than that of the court than of the nation. The most important national event which it contains is that of the colonization of the north of Ireland, which we will now briefly relate.

On the suppression of the rebellion of the Desmonds in the late reign, their immense territories had become forfeit to the crown. A plan of colonization was adopted, and the lands were parcelled out among undertakers (as they were named) at low rents. The grants, however, were too large and the conditions were not duly complied with, so that though Munster thus received a large accession of English blood, (the stock of its nobility and gentry of the present day,) the experiment was a failure. After the accession of James, O'Neal and O'Donnel, the great northern chieftains, fled to Spain, and their territories, amounting to half a million of acres, fell to the crown. The king and Bacon then devised a system of colonization which was carried into effect by sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy. The grants were to be in three classes of 2000, 1500, and 1000 acres. Those who obtained the first were to build a castle and a bawn or strong court-yard; the next a house of stone or brick and a bawn; the third a bawn only. They were all bound to plant on their lands, in certain proportions, able-bodied men of English or Lowland-Scottish birth, who were to live in villages, and not dispersedly. A portion of these lands were also granted to the native Irish. This was a noble plan, and though, like every thing designed for the benefit of that unhappy country, the cupidity and injustice of those who sought their profit in oppressing the natives, prevented its attaining its object fully, it has been productive of great and permanent benefit; and what was formerly the wildest and most barba-

rous part of even Ireland, is now that which in industry and civilization makes the nearest approach to England.

In the fifteenth year of his reign (1617) the king re-visited his native realm. The chief object of his visit was to extend his power in matters of religion, and to seek to approximate the churches of England and Scotland. In this last country, between the avidity of the great lords, who had robbed the church of its landed property without shame or remorse, and the fanatic spirit of the reformed preachers, and the feebleness of the crown, the ancient system of church government had been unable to keep its ground. Episcopacy had been formally abolished, and the republican form named Presbytery erected in its place. But man is still man, under all forms; and the revolvers against spiritual tyranny, pious and well intentioned as they undoubtedly were, even exceeded the pretensions of their predecessors; and since the days of Becket, Britain had witnessed no such assumptions of immunity from civil jurisdiction as were put forth by Melville, Black, and other champions of the church and opposers of the crown in Scotland. Their conduct, however, having led to a tumult in Edinburgh, in which the king ran some risk, the parliament was induced to pass a law establishing the authority of the crown over the clergy, and the king succeeded in obtaining the consent of the clergy to his appointment of fifty-one of their number to titular prelaties, who were to sit in parliament as representatives of the church. In this state of things James succeeded to the crown of England.

In 1606 an act of the legislature restored to the bishops a part of their revenues; they were some time after made perpetual moderators of the provincial synods, and they finally (1610) regained all their original powers, the rights of ordination and spiritual jurisdiction being vested in them. When the king visited Scotland (1617) he required that some of the rites of the church of England should be adopted, such as kneeling at the eucharist, giving it to persons on their deathbed, and the practice of confirmation by a bishop. These were rejected by the first assembly which was convened, but the following year means were found for having them received, and the Scottish clergy were thus brought into a reluctant agreement with the church, which they regarded as little better than that of Rome.

The state of religion in England during this reign was far from satisfactory. After the death of archbishop Whitgift (1603) the king conferred the primacy on Bancroft, bishop

of London, a prelate distinguished by his zeal against presbytery and puritanism. The puritan ministers underwent the persecution of being silenced, disgraced, and imprisoned, while Bancroft lived; but his successor, Abbot, a far better man, had a leaning toward their opinions, and they now experienced favor rather than the reverse.

Hitherto the protestants in general had held most of the opinions which are termed Calvinistic, especially on the subject of predestination, or the absolute decrees of the Eccl^y, as it was explained in the writings of St. Augustine; but about this time the milder doctrine of the Greek fathers had been promulgated in Holland by Arminius, from whom it was henceforth named. James, who had been reared in the opposite sentiment, was quite outrageous, when Vorstius, who held these opinions, was appointed to a professorship at Leyden. The States, to propitiate him, were obliged to deprive and banish their new professor; indeed, the king hinted that they might as well have committed him to the flames. Yet James himself, and a portion of the prelates and clergy, afterwards adopted the Arminian tenets. It is rather curious that those who thus became the most strenuous asserters of the freedom of man's will were the great upholders of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience.*

The liberties of England owe so much to the puritans, that one feels little inclined to dwell on their errors; but justice requires that they should appear in their true colors, and not be suffered to make a monopoly, as it were, of virtue and goodness. In piety and in moral conduct they were, taken on the whole, superior to their opponents; but they were harsh and morose, inquisitorial and censorious, absurdly

* The following anecdote is well known: "On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of king James I., Mr. Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Dr. Andrews, the bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neal, bishop of Durham, standing behind his majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation these prelates had with the king, on which Mr. Waller did often reflect. His majesty asked the bishops, 'My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?' The bishop of Durham readily answered, 'God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir,' replied the bishop, 'I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The king answered, 'No put-offs, my lord.' 'Then, sir,' said he, 'I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it.' Mr. Waller said the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the king." — *Life of Waller*, prefixed to his *Poems*.

scrupulous about trifles, and the enemies of all pleasure and innocent recreation. The modes, however, of opposing them that were employed were injudicious. The persecution of them was of a kind calculated rather to annoy and irritate than to suppress, and the publication of the '*Book of Sports*,' though well intended, did more harm than good. The following was the occasion of it. The puritans had been gradually converting the Christian Lord's Day into a Judaical Sabbath, — not, we may observe, the Sabbath of the Mosiac law, in which, as at all their festivals, the people of Israel were 'to rejoice before the Lord,' but a gloomy, sullen day of hearing sermons and shunning all innocent recreations, — and this, in their usual arbitrary spirit, they would have forced on all, whatever their opinions might be. The catholics naturally took occasion to censure the reformed religion for this gloom and morosity; and the king and his clerical advisers thinking differently from the puritans on the subject, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to prevent the people from having, after divine service, dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, and other manly and harmless recreations, as also may-poles, may-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, and bowls, were prohibited. No recusant, however, was to have the benefit of this liberty, which was confined to those who had attended divine service that day. '*The Book of Sports*,' as it was termed, was ordered to be read out in the churches; but primate Abbot forbade it to be read in his presence at Croydon, and it only served to give the puritans an occasion of representing their opponents as being totally devoid of religion.

The houses of commons during this reign were deeply pervaded by the puritanical spirit* — a proof of its prevalence throughout the nation. Hence, with their zeal for repressing the abuses of the prerogative, and securing the liberties of the people, were joined an anxiety for the persecution of the catholics, and a continued effort to extend the rigid principles of their party

* When, in 1621, a bill was brought into the commons for the more strict observance of the Sabbath, Mr. Shepherd opposed it; he objected to the word Sabbath, justified dancing on that day by the example of king David, and was for allowing sports on it. For this boldness he was, on the motion of Mr. Pym, expelled the house. Such were puritanical notions of freedom of speech

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I.

1625—1629.

THE new monarch, now in the twenty-fifth year of his age, offered in his morals and character a favorable contrast to his father. He was grave and serious in his deportment, regular in his conduct, a lover and a patron of the fine arts, but an enemy to licentiousness and riot of every kind. He had, however, imbibed to the fullest extent his father's absurd notions of the divine rights of kings, and their accountability to God alone for the discharge of the duties of their high office. Any attempts to limit his authority he regarded as usurpation and rebellion, and, as we shall see, he held that any concessions extorted from the monarch were revocable, as contrary to his duty to God to grant. Charles was also sincerely attached to the episcopal form of government in the church. To his misfortune, he was also blindly devoted to the insolent, rapacious, self-willed, domineering upstart whom the folly of his father had gorged with wealth and offices,* and made ruler of himself and his kingdom.

The first care of Charles was to celebrate his marriage with the princess Henrietta Maria. The nuptials were performed by proxy at Paris, (May 1,) whither the duke of Buckingham repaired with a splendid train to conduct the young queen into England. The king met her at Dover, and thence took her to Hampton Court, as the plague was raging in London.

On the 18th of June Charles's first parliament met at Westminster. The king submitted to it the state of his finances; he was encumbered by a debt of his father's to a large amount; he had all the expenses of his marriage and other charges to meet, and he was about to be engaged in a war against the whole house of Austria. To meet all these, "the house of commons," Hume sarcastically observes, "conducted by the wisest and ablest senators that had ever flourished

* He was lord high admiral of England and Ireland, warden of the cinque ports, master of the horse, justice in eyre of the forests and chases this side the Trent, constable of Windsor castle, knight of the garter, &c. &c. The wealth that had been heaped upon him is almost past computation.

in England, thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000*l*." Such conduct appears to be, as that partial writer represents it, a cruel mockery of an innocent and a confiding young monarch. When carefully examined, however, it will perhaps appear in a different light. We will, for this purpose, take a brief view of the composition of the two houses of parliament.

During the whole of the Tudor period we have seen the house of lords the humble instruments of the will of the crown, to whose bounty they owed their wealth and honors. But nearly a century's possession of the monastic lands had inspired many of them with a feeling of security and independence; and as they gazed on the venerable turrets of Wilton, Woburn, and the other abbeys and priories which now formed their abodes, they caught a portion of the spirit which had animated the barons of the days whose memory these stately piles recalled. Their honors, too, had acquired the sanction of time, and they viewed with disdain the dignities of the upstart Buckingham, whose pride, insolence, and rapacity galled their souls. An opposition to the crown, composed of these men and of the maintainers of puritan doctrines, now appeared in the lords, and its strength may be estimated by the circumstance of the earl of Pembroke, its head, being the holder of ten proxies, only three less than those of Buckingham, the dispenser of wealth and favor.*

In the commons there were the two parties essential to a popular assembly in a monarchy — the supporters of the crown and its measures, and the opponents of abuses and advocates for the rights and privileges of the subjects; that is, the court and the country-party. The former were a minority, and they felt the necessity of proceeding with caution, extenuating and softening rather than defending abuses. The latter were mostly puritans, zealous against all that appeared to them superstitious in religion, hostile to the exorbitant powers exercised by the prelates, and perhaps in many cases secretly inclined to the presbyterian form;† but at the same time sincerely anxious for the national rights and liberties. There were other members, (afterwards known by the name

* It was shortly afterwards resolved that no peer should hold more than two, which continues to be the rule. This practice, by the way, supposes either a superlative degree of wisdom, or an unreasoning spirit of party in peers, who thus vote on all questions without having heard the arguments for and against them.

† That there was such a spirit abroad is evident from the demands made at the Hampton-court conference. See above, p. 8

of *patriots*,) who were more zealous for civil liberty than for changes in religious ceremonies, and who did not view with any great abhorrence the cope and surplice or the wedding-ring. Such were sir Edward Coke, sir Thomas Cotton, John Selden, John Pym, and others.

Puritans and patriots were alike animated by a zeal against popery. One of the first proceedings of the commons was to require every member to receive the sacrament in St. Margaret's church, and thus testify his attachment to the protestant religion; for there was now a regular establishment of capuchin friars at Somerset-house, the residence of the queen, and these men boldly paraded the streets in their habits; the jesuits and other priests also began to show themselves openly in various places, and the court was known to be full of catholics. The commons then petitioned the king to enforce the laws against recusants. Dr. Montague, one of the court-divines, having published a work called "*Appello Cæsarem*," recommending the catholics to the favor of government, and representing the puritans as a people desiring an anarchy, and therefore to be discouraged, he was summoned to answer for it at the bar of the house of commons. The Arminians exerted themselves in his favor; the king declared that he was one of his chaplains; but all availed not; he was forced to give securities to answer the charge of contempt of the house, and impugning the articles of the church of England.

The object of the king was to obtain an immediate supply of money; the commons wished to couple with it a redress of grievances. They saw that the king was a mere puppet in the hands of Buckingham, and they now had their doubts of the justice of the war with Spain, into which he was about to plunge the nation. They were loath to vote a large sum without conditions, and they could not with a good grace refuse supplies. They therefore adopted a middle course; they voted two subsidies, (about 140,000*l.*) for immediate use. They also, instead of voting, as had long been the usage, the duties of tonnage and poundage to the king for life, granted them only for a year. The lords, however, rejected this bill. At the request of the two houses, on account of the plague, there was an adjournment for three weeks, when they were to meet at Oxford.

The parliament now learned the following circumstance. King James had promised the French king to aid him by a loan of eight armed vessels to be employed against Spain in the Mediterranean. These ships, under admiral Pen-

nington, came to Dieppe, and there the crews suspected, or rather discovered, that they were to be employed against the Huguenots of Rochelle. They forthwith drew up a *round robin*, and laid it under the admiral's prayer-book, and Pennington, declaring that he would rather be hanged for disobedience in England than fight against his fellow-protestants in France, returned to the Downs. Buckingham, by false representations, induced them to return to France; but when they found that they had been deceived, they, with the exception of one gunner, abandoned their vessels, which were taken by the French and employed against Rochelle.

The knowledge of this did not prepossess the commons much in favor of the king and Buckingham. They therefore still talked of a redress of grievances as preliminary to a supply; they put sundry questions to the duke, asking, among others, if he had not broken off the match with Spain out of spleen to Olivarez, and whether he had not made that with France on still less favorable terms. They were in train to impeach him; but the king, to save him, dissolved the parliament, contrary to the advice of his privy council.

It is usual, with the advocates of Charles, to make it a heavy charge against the parliament, that they had involved him in a war with Spain and then refused the supplies. But war had not yet been declared, and Charles was under no necessity of entering into it. Urged on, however, by his own passions or those of Buckingham, he was bent on war with that monarchy. To show his protestant zeal, he, in violation of his engagements at his marriage, issued a proclamation enforcing the laws against recusants; to raise money he levied tonnage and poundage at the ports, though the bill for it had not passed; he issued privy-seals to the nobility and gentry, and suspended the payment of all fees and salaries. Ships and troops had meantime been assembled at Plymouth, and in the month of October a fleet of ninety sail, carrying ten thousand soldiers, put to sea. Buckingham had given the command to sir Edward Cecil, now lord Wimbleton, a man advanced in years, who had long been in the Dutch service, but who was generally held to be incompetent. Cadiz was the place fixed on for attack, but no council of war was held till they were in sight of the port; and time was thus given for escape to the shipping, which might have been captured had they entered the port at once. The troops, however, landed and marched rapidly to secure the bridge leading from the isle, in which

Cadiz stands, to the main land. But the soldiers, meeting with cellars full of wine, got drunk and unruly, and their timid leader reëmbarked them, though no enemy had appeared. He then sailed to intercept the Plate-fleet, but it passed him in the night. He returned to Plymouth, (Dec. 8,) after losing more than one thousand men by disease. The council instituted an inquiry, but after many examinations of Wimbledon and his officers, they judged it best to bury the affair in silence.

The failure of this project was a heavy blow to the king. Had it succeeded, and had he gotten the plunder of Cadiz and the Plate-fleet, he would have been, in some measure, independent of his parliament; but now he had rashly run into a war, and without the aid of the commons he had no mode of extricating himself. He had, moreover, pledged his word to call a parliament after Christmas. All, therefore, that could be done, was to try to break the strength of the opposition. Pembroke was induced to seek a reconciliation with Buckingham; and the great seal was taken from bishop Williams, whom Buckingham feared, and committed to sir Thomas Coventry. In order to exclude Coke, and six others most hostile to the favorite from the house of commons, the king himself inserted their names in the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year: at the same time new proclamations were issued against the recusants, to convince the nation of the king's zeal for religion.

The king was crowned on Candlemas-day, (1626,) and four days after, (Feb. 6,) the parliament met. They appointed committees of religion, of grievances, and of evils, their causes and remedies.

The progress of their inquiries was not pleasing to the king: he reminded them of his wants; they promised three subsidies and three fifteenths, if a favorable answer were given to their prayer for the redress of grievances; the king advised them to hasten the supply; else, said he, "it will be worse for yourselves; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be he last that shall feel it." The commons promised obedience, but ere they proceeded in the matter, they came to the resolution of impeaching the favorite, as the main cause of the evils for which they sought redress. Buckingham had now also a formidable foe in the lords. The earl of Bristol wrote to the peers, complaining that his writ of summons had been withheld. On their noticing it, the king directed that the writ should be issued, but at the same time he wrote to Bristol, ordering him not to avail himself of it. Bristol sent

this letter to the house, asking their advice on the subject, and claiming permission to appear and accuse his enemy of high crimes and misdemeanors. Forthwith the attorney-general, by order of the king and Buckingham, charged Bristol himself with high treason. The lords resolved to hear both parties, giving precedence to the last, but deciding that the charge against the earl should not impeach his testimony.

The charges made against Bristol chiefly rested on the testimony of the king himself. Against this, as an injurious precedent, the earl properly remonstrated. Still, however, their intrinsic weakness was such that he was able easily to make a full and convincing reply to them. To the charges which *he* made against the duke no reply was given. He accused him of having conspired with Gondomar to draw the prince to Spain that he might be there induced to change his religion; of having while there disgraced his country by his indecent and licentious conduct; of having broken off the treaty because the Spanish council refused to treat with him, and of having on his return deceived the king and parliament.

The commons, having voted that "common fame is a good ground of proceedings for that house," sent up to the lords an impeachment against the duke. The managers of it were sir Dudley Digges, sir John Eliot, John Selden, John Pym, and four other members. They charged him with the purchase and the sale of offices, with procuring titles and pensions for his kindred and allies, with giving the ships to be employed against Rochelle, with embezzling the king's money and obtaining grants of the crown lands, with having given plasters and potions to the late king in his sickness, etc. The king, asserting himself to be implicated by Digges and Eliot in the terms which they employed in urging this last charge, committed them both to the Tower. The commons refusing to proceed with any business till their members were released, sir Dudley Carleton was so imprudent as to remind them how in other countries kings, finding parliaments to turn liberty to license, took away and abolished them; "and now," said he, "the common people, wanting good food, look more like ghosts than men, and go in canvass cloth and wooden shoes." For this he narrowly escaped being made to ask pardon on his knees. Digges and Eliot, having denied or explained what was laid to their charge, were set at liberty. The duke made a plausible defence drawn up for him by sir Nicholas Hyde, an eminent lawyer

and the king, effectually to screen him, dissolved the parliament, (June 15,) though the supplies had not been voted. To the prayer of the lords for a short delay, he replied, "No, not of one minute," and in a 'Declaration' which he issued, he stated "that in this, as in all his other royal actions, he is not bound to give an account to any but to God alone, whose immediate vicegerent he is." The earls of Arundel and Bristol, as the duke's enemies, were both placed in confinement.

Charles had at this time family dissensions also to annoy him. The young queen was under the complete influence of her priests and her servants. The former had actually made her walk on foot in penance to Tyburn, the scene of the death of so many martyrs of the catholic cause, and they gave great offence by appearing publicly in their habits. The latter made her abandon the study of English, and furnished her with pretexts for quarrelling with the king. After a good deal of difficulty and opposition, Charles succeeded in clearing his palace and kingdom of these mischievous people. A new household was formed for the queen, who gradually got over her ill-humor, and she soon acquired a fatal influence over the mind of her husband.

The king now saw plainly that parliament would only grant supplies on the condition of the redress of grievances, and as he was resolved not to be dictated to by them, he proceeded to raise money without their aid. He continued to levy tonnage and poundage, though they had not been granted; the crown lands were made, by leases and other means, more productive; the fines on recusants were more strictly exacted; privy-seals were again issued. The sea-ports were required to supply and maintain for three months a certain number of armed vessels, and the lords-lieutenant of the counties had directions to muster and train the people to arms, as invasion was apprehended. An attempt was made to prevail on the people to pay the amount of the subsidies voted by the parliament; but in London, Middlesex, and Kent, which were first applied to, the people indignantly rejected the proposition. A new plan was then adopted; a loan to the amount of three subsidies (200,000*l.*) was demanded, each man to give according to the rate at which he was assessed in the last subsidy. The clergy were instructed "to stir up all sorts of people to express their zeal to God and their duty to the king," in this matter; and the commissioners of the loan were directed to deal with each person separately, to insist on the required sum, to examine him on

oath respecting his motives and advisers if he declined, and to furnish the privy council with the names of those who persisted in refusing.

This arbitrary mode of taxation was enforced by despotic measures of power. The inferior people, who refused to lend what was not likely ever to be repaid, were impressed and sent to serve in the army or navy; the gentry were called before the council, and several of them were committed to prison. Five of these, sir Thomas Darnel, John Corbet, Walter Earl, John Heveningham, and Everard Hampden, applied to the court of king's bench for their writ of *habeas corpus*; the writ was granted, but the warden of the Fleet made return that the warrant of the privy council assigned no particular cause for their imprisonment. The case therefore came to be argued (Nov. 7) before the court over which sir Nicholas Hyde now presided. Noy, Selden, and other eminent lawyers appeared for the prisoners. Heath, the attorney-general, supported the pretensions of the crown. The former argued from the article of Magna Charta that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned unless by lawful judgment of his peers, or the law of the land," and the repeated assertions of this principle, giving precedents of the admission to bail of persons committed by the council during the Tudor period. Heath replied on high prerogative principles, alluding to the king's absolute power, and arguing from the legal maxim, 'The king can do no wrong,' that a sufficient cause must have existed, though it was not set forth; the precedents cited on the other side, he contended, did not apply to the present case. The court decided (27th) in favor of the crown. "The consequence of this decision," an able writer observes, "was that every statute, from the time of Magna Charta, designed to protect the personal liberties of Englishmen, became a dead letter; since the insertion of four words in a warrant, (*per speciale mandatum regis*,) which might become matter of form, would control their remedial efficacy."

The protestant cause had sustained great reverses in Germany, and his allies there now required aid of the king of England. His evil genius Buckingham had also engaged him in a war with France. This worthless, insolent minion had, as we have seen, been sent over to conduct Henrietta Maria to England. He there presumed to make love to the young queen Anne of Austria; but found he had a rival in cardinal Richelieu himself; and when, after setting out with his fair charge, he privately returned to Paris, he got a hint that

if he persisted in his design he would be assassinated. "He swore in the instant that he would see and speak with that lady in spite of the strength and power of France," and he *did* see and speak with her in a brief interview; but he never could obtain permission to return to the French court. Revenge then actuated him: he sought to alienate the king from the queen, and behaved to her himself with the greatest rudeness and insolence. Something, for example, having occurred to prevent her calling on his mother at an appointed hour, he came in a high rage to her, and among other rude expressions told her "she should repent it." The queen replying with some quickness, he added that "there had been queens in England who had lost their heads." By provoking and insulting the French court in various ways he sought, but in vain, to draw it into a declaration of war. He then resolved to commence hostilities himself. Soubise, one of the principal Huguenot leaders, came over to England to concert measures; and a fleet and army were assembled at Portsmouth.

On the 27th of June, 1627, the duke made sail for Rochelle with one hundred ships, carrying about seven thousand soldiers. The gates of that town, however, were shut against him, the people alleging that they could not act without the consent of the other members of their union, (who were now at peace with the crown;) but they agreed to furnish supplies, if the English remained in the neighborhood. For this purpose it was necessary to take possession of the isle of Rhe, or that of Oleron; the latter near Rochelle, well supplied with wine, oil, etc., and feebly garrisoned; the other more distant, and defended by a citadel and a strong garrison. Buckingham proposed to attack the former; but while Soubise was gone to consult the people of the town, he landed (July 12) in the isle of Rhé; the garrison opposed him gallantly, but were forced to retire. Instead of attacking the fort at once, he passed five days in inaction; in the interval fresh troops came over to the isle, and the fort was strengthened. At length he advanced against it; but he committed one error after another, and at last (Oct. 29) raised the siege and commenced his retreat. The route partly lay along a narrow causeway or mound, with salt-pits on each side. The French seized the time for attack when a part of the troops were on the causeway, the cavalry were driven among the foot and trampled them down, and numbers were forced into the pits and there drowned. The loss of the English was about two thousand men. Buckingham

is said to have shown great personal courage on this occasion; but this is the praise of a mere soldier rather than of a general, and entitles him to little commendation.

The French protestants had been induced by the solicitations of the English court to take arms against their king. Rochelle was menaced by the royal arms, and the people implored Charles to aid them. This he engaged to do in the strongest terms, binding himself never to abandon them. A new expedition was planned; when the question came how the money was to be raised, some of the council proposed the legal mode of summoning a parliament. To this the king with much reluctance* assented, and writs were issued. Sundry illegal modes of raising money were, however, previously tried; but all proving of none effect, the king once more met the grand council of the nation, (Mar. 17, 1628.)

The primate, who had been suspended for refusing to license one of the political sermons in favor of the forced loan,† bishop Williams, whom Buckingham had caused to be sent to the Tower, and the earl of Bristol, who was charged with treason, were permitted to take their seats in the upper house. The gentlemen (seventy-eight in number) who were confined for refusing the forced loan, were set at liberty, and they were all returned for various places. "Never before," says Lingard, "had parliament assembled under auspices more favorable to the cause of freedom. The sense of the nation had been loudly proclaimed by the elections, which had generally fallen on persons distinguished by their recent opposition to the court; it was the interest of the lords to coöperate with men who sought the protection of private property and personal liberty; and the same necessity which had compelled the king to summon a parlia-

* Some time before, "at the council-table, some proposing a parliament, the king said *he did abominate the name*." — Mede, Letters, Sep' 30, 1626.

† One Sibthorpe preached a sermon enforcing passive obedience. If the commands of the prince, he said, were against the laws of God or nature, or impossible, the subject was not, as in all other cases, bound to active obedience, but he was to passive obedience, that is, "to undergo the punishment without either resistance, or railing, or reviling." The king commanded the primate to license this sermon himself, (not in the ordinary way, by one of his chaplains;) Abbot, on reading it, refused; he was then suspended, and Laud bishop of London licensed it forthwith. At this time also, Dr. Manwaring, one of the royal chaplains, preached two sermons at court, maintaining that the king is not bound to obey the laws; that he may lay on what taxes he pleases, and that all are bound to pay them under pain of eternal damnation.

ment placed him without resource at the mercy of his subjects."

But Charles would not or could not see this. He addressed them in high terms, telling them plainly that it was only as a means of obtaining money that he had called them together; and that if they did not do their duty in contributing, "he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose." "Take not this," he added, "as threatening, (I scorn to threaten any but my equals,) but as an admonition from him that both out of nature and duty hath most care of your preservations and prosperities."

The commons manifested no offence at this haughty language; they voted a supply of five subsidies, to be paid within a twelvemonth. But when the king thought to grasp the prize, he was met by demands, his assent to which was a necessary preliminary to the passing of a bill granting the supplies. Four resolutions had been passed unanimously, viz. 1. No freeman to be imprisoned without a lawful cause expressed. 2. The writ of *habeas corpus* to be granted in all cases. 3. If the return assigns no cause, he is to be delivered or bailed. 4. No tax or loan to be levied by the king without an act of parliament. At a conference with the peers the case was argued by Selden, Coke, and others on one side, and by the crown-lawyers on the other. The lords made some amendments, which were rejected by the commons. During two months Charles had recourse to every expedient to escape the necessity of parting with his arbitrary power. At length (May 28) his assent was solicited to the celebrated 'Petition of Right.' This stated, 1. That freemen had been required to lend money to the king, and on refusing had been molested with oaths, arrests, etc. 2. That persons thus arrested, and no cause assigned, had been remanded when brought up by writ of *habeas corpus*. 3. That soldiers had been billeted in private houses, to the great grievance of the inhabitants. 4. That soldiers and sailors were tried for their imputed offences by martial law, and not by the law of the land. It prayed that all such proceedings should cease, "as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject and the laws and statutes of the nation." Charles resolved to dissemble. In a few days (June 2) he came to give the royal assent to the bill formed from the petition; but, instead of the usual brief *Soit droit fait comme il est desire*, it was long and ambiguous. The commons

were filled with grief and despair; but their spirit soon revived, and they were on the point of voting Buckingham "the grievance of grievances." The danger of the favorite shook the resolution of the monarch, and he gave his assent to the bill in the usual manner, amidst loud acclamations of applause. The subsidy bills were speedily passed; but they were followed by a remonstrance imputing all the late national evils and losses to Buckingham, and praying for his removal from court; it was also asserted that tonnage and poundage depended on the consent of parliament. The king, having obtained the money he wanted, resolved on a prorogation; the clerk of the commons was just reading the bill of tonnage and poundage (26th) when they were summoned to meet the king. He told them that by assenting to the Petition of Right he had granted no new liberties, only confirmed the ancient ones; that tonnage and poundage was what he could not do without; "it was never intended," said he, "by you to ask, and never meant, I am sure, by me to grant." He gave the royal assent to the subsidy bills, and then prorogued the parliament.

It is with sincere pleasure that we quote the following observations of Lingard: "Thus ended," says he, "this eventful session, one of the most memorable in our history. The patriots may have been occasionally intemperate in their warmth and extravagant in their predictions, but their labors have entitled them to the gratitude of posterity. They extorted from the king the recognition of the rights which he had so wantonly violated, and fixed on a firm and permanent basis the liberties of the nation. It is indeed true that these liberties were subsequently invaded — that again and again they were trampled in the dust; but the Petition of Right survived to bear evidence against the encroachments of the prerogative. To *it* the people always appealed, to *it* the crown was ultimately compelled to submit."* It was in effect a second Magna Charta.†

The king immediately gave a proof of his insincerity. The Petition of Right had been printed for circulation at the desire of both houses; by his orders the impression was

* *O si sic omnia*. He immediately proceeds to remark on the religious intolerance of the patriots; but for this we cannot well blame him.

† As our limits do not allow of our narrating the parliamentary details, we here give the names of the leading patriots. They were sir John Eliot, sir Edward Coke, sir Robert Philips, and Selden, Glanvil, Noy, and Pym.

cancelled, and a new one issued with his *first* answer to it "By which expedient," says Hume, "he endeavored to persuade the people that he had nowise receded from his former claims and pretensions."

Rochelle was at this time hard pressed by the royal forces, commanded by Richelieu in person. A fleet and army were assembled at Portsmouth, of which Buckingham was again to take the command. But he was this time to negotiate, not to fight, as both Charles and Louis were now convinced that by their hostility they were only strengthening the house of Austria. One morning (Aug. 23) the duke had some high words in his chamber with Soubise and other French gentlemen; he was then proceeding to his carriage, when, as on crossing the hall he turned to listen to a whisper from colonel Friar, an unknown hand plunged a knife into his heart, and left it sticking there: he cried, "Villain!" plucked it out, staggered against a table, and died. The French gentlemen were suspected of the deed, and narrowly escaped instant death; the assassin had meantime reached the kitchen, and might have escaped, but on a sudden alarm he drew his sword, crying, "I am the man." He was seized; he said his name was John Felton, a protestant and a lieutenant in the army, from which he had retired, as junior officers had been put over his head, and his arrears of pay had been withheld. The remonstrance of the commons had convinced him that the duke was the cause of the national calamities, and that by killing him he should serve God, his king, and his country. He had no accomplices; he had travelled seventy miles to do the deed; so little personal enmity had he, that as he struck the blow, he prayed, "May God have mercy on thy soul!" Felton was transmitted to London, and underwent several examinations, but persisted in his story. The marquess of Dorset threatened him with the torture. "I am ready," said he; "yet I must tell you, by the way, that I will then accuse you, my lord of Dorset, and no one but yourself." The king wished to have him racked, but the judges declared torture to be contrary to the laws of England. Felton pleaded guilty, (Nov. 27,) owning the enormity of his offence, and praying that the hand which did the criminal deed might be struck off before he died. He was executed as a murderer.

The king was at his prayers in a private house near Portsmouth when the news of the murder of the duke was brought him. He testified no great emotion at the time, but he felt deeply. He took the family of his favorite under his protec-

tion, paid his debts to the amount of 61,000*l.*, caused him to be buried in Westminster-abbey, and styled him 'the martyr of his sovereign' — such was his infatuation! Buckingham was only thirty-six years of age; his death was perhaps fortunate for himself, for, as Lingard justly observes, "if he had escaped the knife of the assassin, he would probably have fallen by the axe of the executioner." A more worthless minion, one more destitute of every good and great quality, it would be difficult to find; and one blushes to think of England being governed, as in effect it was, for so many years by such an ignorant, insolent, and profligate upstart.

The expedition to Rochelle sailed under the earl of Lindsey; but its efforts were of no avail; the town surrendered at discretion, and the Huguenot power was completely broken.

About this time the king gained to his side a man in all respects infinitely the superior of Buckingham. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a man of large fortune and great influence in Yorkshire, had sat in every parliament since 1614. He had followed a neutral line of conduct, but his natural temper inclined him to the side of arbitrary power. In the present parliament, however, he had shown himself one of the most prominent champions of freedom; for Buckingham had out of jealousy deprived him of the office of *Custos Rotulorum* of his county, and while that wound was yet raw, a privy-seal had been sent him at the suggestion of his rival, sir John Savile. He refused compliance, was brought before the council, and committed to prison. In the ensuing parliament he took his place among the patriots, and displayed such ability and energy that the court saw their error, and resolved to gain him if possible. This was easy to effect; he became a baron, and then a viscount, and lord-president of the council of the north, and he never after wavered in his devotion to despotism.

The king at this time also gave great offence to the parliament by promoting some divines whom they had censured. Montague was made bishop of Chichester; Manwaring, Sibthorpe, Cousins, and other Arminians, or rather semi-papists, obtained good livings. In contempt also of the parliament, the duties of tonnage and poundage were levied, and the goods of Rolles a member of parliament, Chambers, and other merchants who refused to pay them, were seized.

On the 20th of January, 1629, parliament re-assembled. The fraud of the king in the printing the Petition of Right was made known; the case of Rolles was brought before the

house, and the sheriff of London and the officers of the customs had to appear at the bar. The king then summoned both houses to meet him at Whitehall, and there urged them to put an end to all disputes by passing the bill for tonnage and poundage, assuring them that he did not take these duties as a part of his prerogative, but by the gift of his people; and that if he had levied them hitherto, he did it out of necessity, and not by "any right which he assumed." The commons, however, took no heed of this and other attempts to obtain money without conditions. It was their fixed and just principle, that inquiry into and redress of grievances should precede supplies. They therefore directed their attention first to the all-important subject of religion. On the 27th sir John Eliot addressed the house in an able speech, on the subject of the innovations lately made in religion, and the result was a "vow," made on the journals, to admit no new sense of the articles of religion. After a few days the house adjourned to the 25th of February, on which day it was agreed to present charges to the king against bishop Laud. The king then sent his command for both houses to adjourn to the 2d of March.

On this memorable day Eliot entered the house, having a protestation prepared to propose to the members. It contained these articles: 1. Whoever shall innovate in religion by introducing popery, Arminianism, etc., is an enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whoever shall counsel to take or assist in taking tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament, is an enemy, etc. 3. Whoever shall pay the same is an enemy, etc. When he had introduced these by a speech directed chiefly against the lord treasurer Weston, he desired sir John Finch, the speaker, to read them, but he refused; the clerk did the same; Eliot read them out himself, and then required the speaker to put them to the vote. He replied "he was commanded otherwise by the king," and rose to quit the chair, but two members, Hollis and Valentine, held him down. A tumult arose; swords were near being drawn: Eliot gave the protestation to Hollis to put it to the house, and it was heard with acclamations. The king sent the serjeant to take away the mace, but he was detained, and the doors were locked; the usher of the black-rod then came; he could not gain admission: in a rage the king ordered the captain of the guard to go and force the doors, but the members having passed the protestation, and adjourned to the 10th, now issued forth in a body. Eliot, Hollis, Valentine, and others, were forthwith sum-

moned before the council, and on their refusing to answer out of parliament, for things said and done in it, were committed to the Tower; on the 10th the king went down to the house of lords and dissolved the parliament, on account, he said, of "the seditious carriage of some vipers, members of the lower house."

The imprisoned members applied for their *habeas corpus*, but the king, by removing them from the custody of the officers to whom the writs were directed, frustrated their efforts. They were offered their liberty if they would petition the king, and express contrition for having offended him. This course they at once rejected, as it would be an acknowledgment of the legality of the arbitrary acts which they opposed. Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were finally proceeded against in the king's bench, and sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure; and Eliot was fined 1000*l.*, Hollis 1000 marks, and Valentine 500*l.* The others were released after a confinement of eighteen months; Eliot ended his days in the Tower. When the decline of his health had made him yield to the entreaties of his friends, and petition for his liberty, the answer given was, "It is not humble enough." He sent a second petition by his young son, offering to return to his prison when he should have recovered his health. This also was ineffectual. When he died, his children petitioned to be allowed to take his body to Cornwall, to lay it in the tomb of his ancestors. "Let sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died," was the unfeeling reply of the monarch.

Thus terminated Charles's third parliament. As we shall now find him for some years dispensing with these assemblies, taking his subjects' money at his own arbitrary will, and running the full career of despotism, we will transcribe the following passage from his panegyrist, Lord Clarendon. "It is not to be denied," says he, "that there were in all those parliaments especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches of particular persons not fit for the dignity and honor of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But I do not know any formal act of either house (for neither the remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts on those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings."

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

1629—1640

For a period of twelve years we are now to witness the exercise of absolute monarchy in England; the king, like his brethren of France and Spain, taking his subjects' money at his will, giving no account of the expenditure, and arbitrarily punishing all who ventured to murmur or oppose the civil and religious despotism now established.

External tranquillity being requisite for his designs, Charles made peace with the courts of France and Spain. When the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden put himself at the head of the protestant cause in Germany, six thousand men were raised for his aid in Great Britain, in the name of the marquess of Hamilton, who commanded them, but at the expense of the king. This was the only money employed for foreign purposes; the produce of the taxes and impositions in general went to the support of the government, and to the maintenance of a most brilliant court.

After the death of Buckingham, the only man he seems ever to have loved, Charles had no favorite, and he became his own minister. The queen, a vain, selfish, self-willed woman, possessed an undue influence over his mind. He had drawn from the popular side not only Wentworth and Savile, but sir Dudley Digges, whom he made master of the rolls, and the two lawyers Noy and Littleton, who became his attorney and solicitor-general: sir Richard Weston, the lord treasurer, a suspected catholic, was one of the most unscrupulous instruments of the royal despotism.

In his project of abolishing the liberties of the people, Charles was aided by the hierarchy of the church, headed by William Laud, whom the favor of Buckingham had raised rapidly through various episcopal gradations to the see of London, and whom, on the death of Abbot, (1632,) the king advanced to the primacy. Laud was a man of a narrow mind, but of much reading; matters of little importance to enlarged intellects, were, therefore, of great moment to *him*; he had thus conceived a ridiculously exalted notion of the value of ceremonies in sustaining religion, and a preposterous opinion of the peculiar sanctity and sublimity of the

episcopal character; he also held the Arminian tenets. In all these matters his sincerity is not to be questioned, but he was actuated by a cruel, persecuting spirit, and he would allow none to maintain opinions contrary to his own.

It is, we think, a matter not to be disputed, that the fathers and founders of our church were not Arminians, and most surely the articles of our church evince that those who compiled them agreed with St. Austin on the abstruse points of predestination, original sin, and such like, however ambiguously they may have expressed themselves. Our early reformers also seem to have regarded episcopacy as a thing of human rather than divine institution; and they drew close the bonds of fellowship with the foreign churches, even those of France and Geneva, which had cast it off altogether. In the church of Rome they saw only Antichrist, the enemy of Christ, and not a part of his mystic body. But Laud, Montague, Heylin, and the other *high-church* divines, as they were now termed, recognized the church of Rome as a true church; they strongly asserted the divine origin of episcopacy, and the necessity of a regular transmission from the time of the apostles, and therefore looked on the other protestant churches as mere schismatics. In fact, the approximation now made to Rome was so great, that the pope actually sent to offer Laud a cardinal's hat—an offer that was not spurned at.* It was the court rather than the church of Rome that Laud disliked; he would willingly be himself the pope of England, and he could not brook submission to him of Rome.

The following are some of the changes made at this time. Strange ceremonies were employed in the consecration of churches, the communion table was removed from the centre of the churches to the east end, railed in and called an altar, and obeisance was made to it; the officiating minister was named a priest, and his habit became more gaudy; the use of pictures, images, crucifixes, and lights in the churches was contended for; prayers for the dead, confession and absolution were inculcated. The doctrine of the real presence, or something very nearly resembling it, seems to have been held by Laud and others.

The catholics were full of hopes at witnessing these favorable symptoms in the church of England, and the court of Rome was induced to send an envoy named Panzani to London. A negotiation for the union of the churches was com-

* "My answer was," said Laud, "that somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."

nenced with him by Cottington, Windebank and bishop Montague, but entirely unknown to Laud and the clergy in general. Like all projects of the kind, it was a mere abortion, for Rome will never recede from any one of her pretensions. The king, in return for the courtesies which the court of Rome lavished on him, stopped the prosecution of the recusants; it was agreed that diplomatic relations should in the name of the queen take place between the two courts, and Panzani was succeeded in his post at London by a Scotchman named Conn, whose place was afterwards taken by an agent of higher rank, the count Rosetti. The catholics behaved with great insolence; "they," says Clarendon, attempted "and sometimes obtained proselytes of weak, uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families," and they urged the court on in all its ruinous and oppressive measures. "To conclude," he adds, "they carried themselves so as if they had been suborned by the Scots to root out their own religion."

The punishments of those who impugned the innovations in the church were very severe, and the licensing of the press being in the hands of the dominant party, no works in opposition to them could be printed. It was not even permitted to assail the church of Rome; and will it be believed that Fox's Book of Martyrs, Jewell's works, and the celebrated Practice of Piety now failed to obtain a license to be printed?

The treatment of the father of the excellent archbishop Leighton at this time will serve to give an idea of the punishments inflicted on those who drew down on themselves the vengeance of the implacable Laud. Leighton, a Scots divine, had printed in Holland a book named 'Zion's Plea against Prelacy,' addressed to the members of the late parliament. In this he no doubt treated the bishops with great rudeness and violence, terming them "men of blood," and prelacy "antichristian," showing the "fearful sin of their pestering God's worship, and overlaying people's consciences with the inventions of men, yea, with the trumpery of Antichrist," and calling on the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy. Speaking of the queen he styled her a daughter of Heth, that is simply a papist in the language of the time. For this he was sentenced by the court of Star-chamber (1630) to be committed to the Fleet for life; to be fined 10,000*l.*; to be degraded of his ministry; to be pilloried, whipped, have an ear cropped off, a nostril slit, and his cheek branded with an SS, (*i. e.* Sower of Sedition,) at Westminster, and the same

to be repeated some days after at Cheapside.* When the cruel sentence was pronounced, Laud pulled off his cap and gave God thanks for it, and in his Diary he records minutely and without the slightest pity or remorse how it was carried into execution. Leighton lay in his dungeon till the year 1641, when he was released by the parliament.

William Prynne, a barrister, published at this time a ponderous quarto volume named '*Histrionmastix*,' full of zeal and learning against plays and players. Prynne had already incurred the enmity of Laud and the high-churchmen by some works against Arminianism and prelatic jurisdiction, and they were on the watch for him. It happened that about six weeks *after* the publication of Prynne's book the queen performed a part in a pastoral at Somerset-house; as in Prynne's book it was said "that women-actors among the Greeks and Romans were all notorious, impudent, prostituted strumpets," which in the table of contents was thus referred to, "Women-actors notorious whores." Laud showed this to the king, affirming that it was meant for the queen, (by the spirit of prophecy no doubt,) but the royal pair took no notice of it. Laud, resolved not to be balked, set his trusty chaplain Peter Heylin to hunt through all Prynne's works, and to collect the scandalous points out of them. These Laud carried himself to Noy on a Sunday morning, desiring him to prosecute Prynne in the Star-chamber. Noy did as directed, and Prynne was sentenced to be fined 1000*l.*; to be expelled Oxford and Lincoln's-inn; to be degraded from his profession in the law; to stand twice in the pillory, lose an ear each time, have his books burnt before him by the hangman, and be imprisoned for life. This sentence also was carried into effect.

At this time also Dr. Bastwick, a learned physician, having published a book called "*Elenchus Papismi et Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*," in answer to one Short, a papist, was brought before the high commission-court for it; for though, as he said, and as the title shows, it was directed only against the bishops of Rome, it probably contained hits at episcopacy in general. He too was sentenced to be fined 1000*l.*, excommunicated, forbidden to practise physic, and

* See Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 538, and Harris's Life of Charles I. 260. Whitelocke and Heylin say that Leighton counselled the parliament "to kill all the bishops by smiting them under the fifth rib." Neal and Pearce say that there are no such words in his book. Even if he had used them, they were a common figurative expression at that time.

imprisoned till he should recant. At the same time one Chowney, "a fierce papist," wrote a book in defence of the church of Rome, proving it to be a true church, and Laud approved of the book and accepted the dedication of it. Whitelocke says he was told that the bishops in their censure of Bastwick denied that they held their jurisdiction as bishops from the king, affirming that they had it from God only.

Another sufferer in these days was John Lilburne, afterwards so famous. He was then a mere youth, but being convicted of distributing pamphlets against the bishops he was whipped from the Fleet to Westminster, set in the pillory, and treated with great cruelty.

The modes in which Charles raised a revenue at this time were as follows: 1. He levied tonnage and poundage, increasing the duties in many cases. 2. He, for a certain fine, pardoned frauds in the sale of former crown-lands, and allowed defective titles to be remedied. 3. He obliged all who had not come to receive knighthood at his coronation to compound for their neglect. 4. He revived monopolies, giving them to companies of merchants who were to pay a large sum down, and a certain annual duty on the articles they sold or manufactured. 5. He extorted fines for disobedience to proclamations, even when they had been contrary to law, such as that of his father against building in and about London. 6. The forest-laws were revived, and the king's forestal rights asserted to the great havock of private property. The forests in Essex were so extended as to take in almost the whole county. Lord Southampton thus lost so much of his property as to be nearly ruined, and several others were heavily fined for encroachments. In a word, the king, looking upon all the rights and privileges of the people as having been so many usurpations on the absolute power of the crown, thought himself justified in the use of every act of power exercised by any of his predecessors.

Though much individual hardship was endured in consequence of these arbitrary modes of taxation, the country was on the whole in a flourishing condition. The advocates of Charles would fain ascribe the merit of this to the government, but a more natural and adequate cause is the energy of the English people, which even the worst government is unable totally to repress.

The year 1636 is rendered memorable by the stand made by the celebrated John Hampden and others against the arbitrary system of taxation now exercised by the crown

The impost which gave occasion to it was that of ship-money, a device of the apostate lawyer Noy, who, by a diligent search through the dusty records of the Tower, had discovered that in ancient times the seaports, the maritime counties, and even some places inland had been required to furnish shipping for the public service. What use Noy proposed to make of his discovery his death prevents us from ascertaining; but his seed had not fallen on a barren soil in the council, for, in 1634, a writ was issued to the magistrates of London and other ports requiring them to furnish ships of war of a certain tonnage, and fully equipped. The citizens of London pleaded their charter, but to no purpose; the writ was every where obeyed. There was a plausible pretext indeed for augmenting the navy at this time. The rovers of the piratic states of Africa dared to appear even in the British channel, and landed and carried away into slavery the people of the south coast of Ireland, and the French and Dutch fished with impunity in the British seas. But Charles had another reason for wishing to be master of a powerful navy. His anxiety for the recovery of the Palatinate, and probably his dislike of Calvinism and freedom, had caused him, in 1631, to sign a secret treaty with Spain for the conquest of Holland, his share of the spoil to be the isles of Zealand.* Yet so inconsistent and insincere was this ill-judging prince, that the very next year, (1632,) he entered into a negotiation with the malcontents of the Low Countries to aid them in casting off the yoke of Spain, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty for himself, or perhaps with a view to the interest of the elector palatine. But there was a Spanish party in his council, and lord Cottington informed the court of Madrid of the intrigue.† Charles then adhered to the former treaty, till, aware that the house of Austria was only illuding him, he was induced by the queen's party in the cabinet to form closer relations with the court of France; yet he still made overtures to that of Spain, and the consequence was that he drew on himself the secret enmity of both.

Charles had now a fleet of sixty sail, and the purpose for which the ship-money had been imposed was thus fully answered. But the precedents collected by Noy it was now thought might be made to extend much further, and give origin to a source of permanent revenue. The honor

* Clarendon Papers, i. 49; ii. Append. xxvi. Hallam, ii. 17

† Hardwick Papers, ii. 54. Hallam, ii. 18.

of this discovery is ascribed to the late speaker Finch, now chief justice of the common pleas. Writs for the levy of ship-money were accordingly directed to the sheriffs of *all* the counties, and when the people murmured, an opinion of the twelve judges in favor of its legality was obtained by the court and published. Some, however, ventured to appeal to the laws against it. The first was the stout-hearted citizen John Chambers, who brought an action against the lord mayor for imprisoning him on his refusal to pay it. Lord Say and Mr Hampden also appealed to justice, and the decision in the case of the latter seemed to set the matter to rest, and show that there was no redress to be looked for.

John Hampden was a gentleman of large fortune in Buckinghamshire, who had sat in all the parliaments since the year 1620: he was the friend of Eliot, and, like him, strenuous in maintaining the rights of the people. Being now assessed twenty shillings ship-money, he refused to pay it. The cause was brought before the twelve judges in the exchequer chamber, and was argued in behalf of Hampden by St. John and Holborne; on the part of the crown by Bankes the attorney and Littleton the solicitor-general. Hampden's counsel urged that the constitution had provided in various ways for the public safety, by the ordinary revenues and by parliamentary supplies. They showed from Magna Charta, the Confirmation of the Charters, the statute "*De Tallagio non Concedendo*," and other acts of the legislature, that the consent of parliament is necessary to legal taxation; they asserted that none of the precedents adduced on the other side applied to the case of an inland county, and concluded by appealing to the Petition of Right. The king's counsel on their side adduced the precedents collected by Noy, many of which certainly bore a strong analogy to the present case, but they were in early times, and could not claim authority like the aforesaid statutes. "But," said Bankes, "this power is innate in the person of an absolute king, and in the persons of the kings of England. It is not any ways derived from the people, but reserved unto the king when positive laws first began. For the king of England, he is an absolute monarch; nothing can be given to an absolute prince but what is inherent in his nature. He can do no wrong: he is the sole judge, and we ought not to question him." "This imposition without parliament," said judge Crawley, "appertains to the king originally, and to the successor

ipso facto, if he be a sovereign, in right of his sovereignty from the crown. You cannot have a king without these royal rights, no, not by act of parliament." Finch maintained that no act of parliament could bar the king of his right to defend his people, and that therefore acts "to bind the king not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and their money, too," are void.

Seven of the twelve judges gave judgment for the crown; the remaining five in favor of Hampden: Croke and Hutton, two of the most distinguished, denying in the strongest terms the alleged right of the crown, and the legality of the writ for ship-money.* The tax was now adjudged lawful, but the judgment, as Clarendon observes, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned (Mr. Hampden) than to the king's service." The high notions of the royal authority put forth by the crown lawyers alarmed all classes of people, for they saw no limitation to it but the royal will, and though Charles himself might be an Antonine, it would put it in the power of his successor to be a Tiberius. Ship-money henceforth was very reluctantly paid: it is said not to have averaged more than 20,000*l.* a-year, a sum, however, equal to three subsidies.

The indomitable Prynne had from his dungeon put forth a tract called 'News from Ipswich,' in which he assailed the prelates with great violence; Bastwick, too, had written diatribes against them, and a clergyman named Burton, who had been chaplain to Charles when prince, took the same ground. They were prosecuted in the star-chamber, and sentenced to pay each a fine of 5000*l.*, to stand in the pillory, have their ears cut off, and be imprisoned during life. They were sent to the castles of Carnarvon, Lancaster, and Launceston, and were afterwards removed to Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly.

Williams, bishop of Lincoln, though no model of moral perfection, was a man in ability greatly superior to Laud, with whose new-fangled theology he did not agree, and he had much more statesmanlike ideas on the mode of dealing with the puritans. Though it was chiefly through Williams that Laud had obtained his first bishopric, he had

* Croke intended at first to give judgment for the king, but his wife, "a good and pious woman," told him, says Whitelocke, "that she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family; and that she would be contented to suffer want or any misery with him rather than be an occasion for him to do or say any thing against his judgment and conscience."

no feeling of gratitude, and he was bent on his ruin. Williams was therefore accused in the star-chamber of divulging secrets of state; while this charge was pending he was charged with tampering with the king's witnesses, and was suspended from his office, fined 10,000*l.*, and sentenced to be imprisoned during pleasure in the Tower. Afterwards a letter from Osbaldiston, master of Westminster school, in which the words "little urchin" and "little great man" were thought to be meant for Laud, being found among his papers, he was sentenced to pay a further fine of 5000*l.* to the king, and 3000*l.* to the archbishop.

The state of civil and religious despotism to which they were now subjected made men seek for a place of retreat, and they cast their eyes on the distant shores of the New World. In 1629 a charter had been obtained for the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and about three hundred and fifty religious sectaries sailed thither. Numbers followed in the subsequent years, and the settlements were extended through the province, which was henceforth named New England. After the failure of the attempt to resist the levying of ship-money, persons of higher rank, the lords Say and Brook, sir Arthur Haselrig, Hampden, his kinsman Oliver Cromwell, and others, resolved to quit their now enslaved and degraded country. These last were actually on board the vessel which was to take them off, (1638,) when a proclamation, dictated by the bigotry of Laud, appeared, forbidding masters of ships to carry out any passenger who had not a license from the privy council, and a testimonial of conformity from the minister of his parish.

Such was the condition of things in England; the affairs of Scotland will now claim our attention.

In the year 1633 Charles visited his native kingdom for the first time since his accession. He was received with great affection and loyalty, and crowned with the usual splendor. But Laud, his evil genius, attended him, and the prejudices of the people were shocked by the appearance of an altar with wax tapers and a crucifix, before which the officiating prelates bowed as they passed; and when the archbishop of Glasgow declined wearing the gorgeous habits provided for him, Laud rudely forced him from the side of the king, and put Maxwell bishop of Ross in his place.

A parliament followed, which gave the king an occasion for displaying his arbitrary temper, and served to alienate

from him the affections of many of his nobles. He had, indeed, some years before inflicted a wound, which still rankled, by a measure for the redemption of the churchlands and tithes which the nobility and gentry had so ravenously seized at the time of the Reformation; for it must be confessed, that whatever value the Scottish people may set on religion, liberty, and other important matters, there is no point on which they are so tremblingly alive as in what concerns their property.

Charles left Scotland after sowing the seeds of future troubles, and the prosecution of lord Balmerino shortly after powerfully aided to alienate the nobility. This nobleman, who had been one of the opposition in parliament, happened to have in his possession a copy of an apology for their conduct, which he and his friends intended to present, but were withheld by the fear of exciting the royal displeasure. A transcript of this was surreptitiously obtained by one who was his private enemy, and communicated to the archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom it was conveyed to the king, with an assurance that it had been circulated for signature throughout Scotland, and that it was the nobles who upheld the clergy in their opposition to the surplice. Balmerino was therefore selected for an example, and he was indicted on the statute of *leasing-making*, or causing discord between the king and his people. A jury, with lord Traquair, one of the ministers, for foreman, was selected to try him; yet so flagrantly iniquitous was the proceeding, that even *that* jury found him guilty only by the majority of the foreman's casting vote. The people were furious at this decision, and it was resolved, in secret consultations, that if any thing happened to him, they would massacre those who had found him guilty. Traquair on learning this hastened up to London, and a pardon was granted to Balmerino. But the impression which his danger had made on the minds of the nobility and people was deep and permanent.

In religion matters were pushed on in order to bring Scotland to a uniformity with England. The bishops began to appropriate the civil dignities to themselves. Archbishop Spottiswood was made chancellor; Maxwell bishop of Ross aspired to the office of lord treasurer; and of the fourteen prelates, nine were members of the privy council. They had courts with powers similar to those of the court of high commission, and, acting under the influence of Laud, they proceeded to draw up canons and a liturgy for the church of Scotland. They commenced with the former, sanctioning

the latter before it was prepared. The whole structure of presbytery was dissolved by these canons. Each church was to have a font at the entrance and an altar in the chancel; and various other regulations were made which the people regarded as little better than popery. The liturgy which was compiled was formed on that of the church of England, but came nearer to the mass, of which a report soon spread that it was nothing more than a translation. From the pulpits the clergy declaimed against it; it was reprobated in conversation and in pamphlets. Spottiswood and the elder and more experienced prelates recommended great caution in introducing it; but on its transmission to London and approval by Laud, a royal proclamation was issued enjoining it to be used in every parish-church in the kingdom by a certain day.

On the appointed day, (July 23, 1637,) the dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate according to the liturgy in St. Giles, the bishop of Argyle in the Gray-friars' church; the judges, prelates, and members of the privy council were present in the former, which was thronged with people. The service began, when an old woman, filled with zeal, sprang up and flung the stool she sat on at the dean's head, crying, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" A tumult arose, the women rushed to seize the dean, and he escaped with difficulty; the bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the people; sticks and stones were flung at him, and but for the aid of the magistrates, he would have perished on the spot. In the other church the service was interrupted by tears, groans, and lamentations, but there was no violence. Throughout the rest of Scotland, the efforts of the prelates were unavailing, and the liturgy was used only at St. Andrew's and in three other cathedrals.

The clergy had been directed to purchase two copies of the liturgy for each parish, and the prelates now proceeded to enforce obedience to this mandate. A divine named Henderson and three others presented supplications to suspend the charge. These being backed by several of the nobility and gentry, and the general aversion from the liturgy becoming manifest, the council made a representation to the king, obscurely intimating a desire that the liturgy should be recalled. But prudent concession was a thing unknown to Charles; a stern reproof and an injunction of the immediate adoption of the ritual were the answer returned. The consequence was an immense accession to the number of the

supplications and an organization of the opponents of the liturgy throughout the kingdom.

In the month of October vast numbers of people flocked to Edinburgh to learn the king's reply to the supplications which had been transmitted to him. A proclamation ordered them to disperse; they in return drew up an accusation against the prelates on account of the canons and liturgy, which was rapidly subscribed by the nobility, gentry, clergy, and people all through Scotland. The following month they re-assembled in increased force, and having obtained permission of the council to choose representatives to carry on the accusation, they appointed several of the nobility, two gentlemen for each county, and one or more of the clergy and burgesses for each presbytery and borough. Thus were formed the celebrated *Tables*, or committees, which being subdivided and regulated, gave order and consistency to their union. Their demands now increased; they required the abrogation of the high commission, the canons and the liturgy. To this neither Laud nor the king could yield without the ruin of their favorite plans, and a proclamation was issued censuring the supplicants, and forbidding them to assemble under the penalties of treason.

This was a fatal measure to the crown; for the *Tables* forthwith resolved on a renewal of the national covenant, the bond of religious union first adopted by the Lords of the Congregation, and twice renewed in the reign of James. It took its name and character from the covenants of Israel with Jehovah recorded in the Scriptures, and it also partook much of the nature of the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance which had long prevailed in Scotland. It was now drawn up by Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and by Johnstone of Wariston, a distinguished advocate. It renounced popery and all its doctrines, practices, and claims in the strongest terms; and then declaring the liturgy and canons to be thus virtually renounced, concluded with an obligation to resist them, to defend each other, and to support the king in preserving religion, liberty, and law. The supplicants were invited by the *Tables* to repair to a solemn meeting at Edinburgh; a fast was appointed, and the preachers, as directed, recommended a renewal of the covenant. Accordingly on the 1st of March, 1638, in the Grayfriars' church, it was solemnly renewed with prayer and spiritual exhortations. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and thousands of all orders, sexes, and ages subscribed it; copies

were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and it was every where subscribed with shouts of joy, or with tears of contrition for their past defections. Within two months all Scotland (Aberdeen excepted) was banded to the covenant. Men saw in it the hand of Heaven; the austerity of devotion increased; a religious gloom soon pervaded all the relations of social life, and the fanatic spirit assumed new vigor.

An independent assembly and a free parliament were the demands of the covenanters. The court employed every art to illude them, being secretly resolved to have recourse to arms. With this view all their demands (after Charles had taken sufficient care to convince them of his insincerity) were suddenly conceded, and an assembly was held at Glasgow (Nov. 21) to regulate the church. The marquess of Hamilton, the king's representative, was instructed to excite jealousies among the members, and if he found it restive to dissolve it. Seeing he could not manage it, he therefore, under pretext of its being irregularly chosen, and consequently not competent to the trial of prelates, declared it dissolved, but the members refused to separate; their resolution was approved of by many of the privy council, and the accession to their side of the potent earl of Argyle gave them increased courage. The acts of the six preceding assemblies were forthwith annulled, the canons, liturgy, and high commission were condemned, and episcopacy was abolished. Eight of the bishops were excommunicated, four deposed, and two suspended. And thus was prostrated at one blow the fabric which it had occupied two reigns to erect.

It had been Hamilton's advice to the king from the beginning to have recourse to arms, and the necessary preparations had therefore been made. To procure money, loans were required from the nobility; under the influence of Laud, the church contributed largely; and the catholics, at the call of the queen, and well aware that it was their interest to support the crown, from which alone they could expect favor, gave their money for the support of the *Episcopal War*, as it was denominated. Arms and artillery were provided, the counties were required to send their trained bands or militia, and the peers to lead their retainers in arms to York; a negotiation (which, however, was frustrated) was also entered into with the regency of the Netherlands for the use of six thousand veterans. The covenanters, on their side, prepared for a defensive war. By means of the numerous Scottish pedlars who hawked their wares through England, they

opened a communication with the English puritans. Richelieu, willing to repay Charles in kind, secretly supplied them with money, and arms and ammunition were purchased on the continent. The covenant was sent to the Scots in the Swedish service for their subscription; and Alexander Lesley, an officer of great experience in the wars of Germany, was invited over to take the command of the army which was to be raised. Many other able officers also returned to the defence of their country; the pulpits inculcated the justice of defensive warfare, and resounded with the curse of Meroz on those who "came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Volunteers crowded to the standards and were disciplined by Lesley and his officers; the royal castles were all surprised, and the port of Leith was put into a state of defence. When the Gordons rose under their chief, the earl of Huntley, to maintain the royal cause in the north, the earl of Montrose marched against them, and compelled Huntley to come as a hostage to Edinburgh.

The king advanced at the head of twenty-three thousand men to Berwick. Lesley took his position at Dunselaw; while Munro, the second in command, was stationed at Kelso. The armies were about equal in number; the king was superior in cavalry, but in infantry the advantage was entirely on the side of the Scots, who, in addition to superior discipline and better officers, were animated by a spirit of fanatic devotion, while the English soldiers were utterly indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged. The Scottish camp continually resounded with psalmody and prayer; morning and evening the men were summoned to their devotions by beat of drum, and two sermons each day kept up their fervor.

Lord Holland, who commanded the English cavalry, advanced to Kelso, but at the sight of the Scottish forces his men turned and fled. The king, who had expected that the Scottish nation would have submitted at once on his appearance at the head of an army, saw his hopes all baffled, and now easily discerned that all who attended him were adverse to a war; Laud too, aware of the superior strength of the Scots, counselled peace, and the Scots themselves were very reluctant to carry matters to an extremity with their sovereign. Proposals for an accommodation were therefore readily listened to; Scottish commissioners came to the royal camp, (June 11,) the king treated with them in person, and it was arranged that a parliament and a general assembly should meet

in the month of August to regulate the affairs of church and state. The Scottish army was then disbanded, and the royal castles were restored.

The assembly and the parliament met at the appointed time; the former came to the same conclusions respecting episcopacy and the other matters as that of Glasgow had done; and Traquair, who presided over it, gave the royal assent to them. For this he had the king's permission; who, however, was resolved to revoke, when he should have the power, these, in his mind, unlawful concessions. The parliament not proving manageable was prorogued for six months.

Charles now summoned lord Wentworth over from Ireland, where he had for some years held the office of lord-deputy. He consulted with him, Laud, and Hamilton on the affairs of Scotland, and the result of their deliberations was a resolution to reduce the Scots by force of arms. Some other members of the council were then added to them, in order to deliberate on the mode of providing funds for the war; at their instances, Charles agreed to call a parliament: meantime writs were issued for the levy of ship-money, and the lords subscribed various sums, Wentworth giving the example by putting down his name for 20,000*l*. It was arranged that the parliament should not be called till the following April, in order to give Wentworth an opportunity of holding a parliament previously in Ireland, to which country he returned with the title of lord-lieutenant; he was also elevated in the English peerage by being created earl of Strafford.

The covenanters had sent the earls of Dumfermline and Loudon, and sir William Douglas and Mr. Barclay as their commissioners to London, to complain to the king of the prorogation of the parliament and other injuries; they were also, it would appear, instructed to deal with the discontented English.* Traquair, however, had got possession of the copy of a letter addressed to the king of France, (*au*

* "They had great resort to them," says Whitelocke, "and many secret councils held with them by the discontented English, chiefly by those who favored presbytery and were no friends to bishops, or had suffered in the late censures in the star-chamber, exchequer, high commission, and other judicatories. *They also who inclined to a republic* had much correspondence with them, and they courted all, fomented every discontent, and made large and religious promises of future happy times. The earls of Essex, Bedford, Holland, the lord Say Hampden, Pym, and divers other lords and gentlemen of great interest and quality were deep in with them."

Roi) and signed by Lesley, Mar, Rothes, *Montrose*, Montgomery, Loudon, and the secretary Forrester, justifying their cause and asking for aid. The commissioners, therefore were arrested, and Loudon was committed to the Tower. It is said that a warrant was issued for his execution without any trial; but the lieutenant, who was a Scotsman, took it to the marquess of Hamilton, who, though it was midnight, entered the apartment of the king and prevailed on him to recall it, or else Scotland, he said, would be lost forever. We trust that this story is not true; Charles, though a despot, was not a man of blood.

The earl of Strafford having held his parliament in Ireland, where his will was law, and obtained an unconditional grant of money, returned to England, and on the 13th of April, 1640, after an interval of twelve years, a parliament met at Westminster. Though the majority of the members had never sitten before, the composition of the house of commons was the same as ever, the puritan and patriotic party greatly preponderating in it. The king, on the opening of the session, having addressed them in a few brief terms, the lord-keeper related all the proceedings of Scotland, and telling them that "his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation, which would not be grateful to him," required them to grant a supply forthwith, after they should have time enough given them to represent any grievance and have a favorable answer. The commons, having then chosen serjeant Glanville speaker, prepared to proceed to business.* "Whilst men," says Clarendon, "gazed upon each other, looking who should begin, (much the greatest part having never before sat in parliament,) Mr. Pym, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice." In a speech of two hours' length, he enumerated and displayed all the grievances which afflicted the state, under the heads of breach of privilege of parliament, injury to the established religion,† and invasion of the sub-

* "The house met always at eight of the clock and rose at twelve, which were the old parliament hours: that the committees upon whom the greatest burden of business lay might have the afternoons for their preparation and despatch." Clarendon, i. 233.

† "The principles of popery," said he, "are such as are incompatible with any other religion. There may be a suspension of violence for some by certain respects; but the ultimate end even of that moderation is, that they may with more advantage extirpate that which is opposite

jects rights of liberty and property. Having then shown that these were as hurtful to the crown as to the people, he proposed that the lords should be invited to join in a petition to the king, and in searching out the causes and remedies of these evils. Other members followed in the same strain, but when one of them termed ship-money an *abomination*, he was called to the bar, and narrowly escaped being reprimanded. Clarendon mentions this, "that the temper and sobriety of that house may be taken notice of."

The court, being impatient for the money, prevailed on the peers to urge the commons to begin with the supply. This interference was voted to be a high breach of privilege. The king then sent to say that if they would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years, he would release all his title or pretence to ship-money in future. This matter was debated for two days, when, on the proposal of Mr. Hyde, that the question of supply simply should be first put, sir Henry Vane, the treasurer, said that he had authority to state that the king would only accept of it in the manner and proportion proposed in his message. He was followed by the solicitor-general, and it being near five o'clock, the house adjourned. Next day, (May 5,) the king dissolved the parliament. Three members were then committed, and a declaration was published, giving the reasons for the dissolution, charging the disaffected members "with attempting to direct the government, and to examine and censure its acts, as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament." Thus abruptly terminated the 'Short Parliament,' as it was named; contrary to the usual custom, the convocation continued to sit till the end of the month; it passed canons ordering the clergy to teach the people the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of resistance to their authority, imposing on them the *et cætera* oath,* as it was named, and regulating the position of the communion table, and so forth, and finally granting

to them. Laws will not restrain them; oaths will not. The pope can dispense with both these; and where there is occasion, his command will move them to the disturbance of the realm against their own private disposition, yea, against their own reason and judgment, to obey him. The king and the kingdom can have no security but in their weakness and disability to do hurt."

* The oath was to maintain the church as it was. One of the clauses was, "Nor give consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c."

the king a benevolence of four shillings in the pound for six years.

The dissolution was a matter of exultation to Pym and his friends, for they knew that the king must soon call another parliament. Oliver St. John said to Hyde, "that all was well, and that it would be worse before it could be better, and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done." Their communications with the Scottish agents now became more frequent, and their future tactics were arranged.

Preparations for invading Scotland were now made; the voluntary loan produced 300,000*l.*; the counties were required to supply each a certain proportion of men, provide them with coat and conduct-money, and furnish horses. It was proposed to invade Scotland with 20,000 men from England and 10,000 men from Ireland, while Hamilton should pour down with 10,000 more from the Highlands. The want of funds, however, and the activity of the covenanters, frustrated this plan. Charles gave the chief command of his army to the earl of Northumberland, but that nobleman falling sick he took it himself; Strafford was lieutenant-general; lord Conway, who was a military man, commanded the cavalry.

Conway marched with the first troops that were levied into Northumberland. The Scottish army of 26,000 men was encamped at Dunse, and on the 12th of August, at the desire, as they thought, of their English friends, they crossed the Tweed, and entered England. Conway prepared to dispute the passage of the Tyne at Newburn, but it was forced by the Scots, who speedily became masters of the two northern counties, which being the coal counties, enabled them to distress the city of London whenever they pleased. At the same time they forced the inhabitants to pay them 5600*l.* a-week, and they seized the property of the clergy and the catholics.

The king was now at York with an ill-affected army. He had summoned a great council of the peers to meet him there on the 24th of September, and he proposed to lay before it the petition which the Scots now sent him; he had also received a petition subscribed by twelve peers, and another signed by ten thousand citizens of London, praying him to call a parliament—a measure which his council also advised. Accordingly, when the great council met, he announced his intention of calling a parliament for the 3d of November, and sixteen peers then proceeded to

Rippon to negotiate with the Scots. The treaty was soon transferred to London, and it was arranged that, till it was concluded, the northern counties should pay the Scots 5600*l.* a-week, to be repaid out of the first supply granted by parliament.

The despotism of Charles had now reached its close. We have exposed it freely; we have shown that it went to depriving the nation of all that is most valuable to civilized man. The lives, the liberties, the properties of the people, were to be at the disposal of the monarch, who held himself accountable to Heaven alone for the exercise of the powers which he claimed. A galling ecclesiastical tyranny also pressed on the people, fettering conscience and controlling the free expression of thought. Is there any one so base, so unworthy of the name of freeman, as to regret that this state of things has not been perpetuated to our own times? And what certainty have we that such would not have been the case had Charles not been checked in his career, and that popery would not again have overspread the land, if he had transmitted the plenitude of despotism to his sons? We are now to witness the conduct of the men who broke that power, and to treat them with the same impartiality which we have employed in the case of the monarch.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

1640—1641.

ON the 3d of November, 1640, that parliament met, whose deeds, for good or for evil, have rendered it the most memorable assembly in the annals of the world. The greatest exertions had been made by both parties to procure returns favorable to their political views; but the efforts of Pym, Hampden, and the other leaders of the popular party, joined with the feelings of the electors themselves, who saw the necessity of a reform in the state, had obtained them a triumph in most places over their opponents. But to the honor of our forefathers, and the disgrace of our own self-styled age of intellect, it is to be recorded, that in no single

case did the popular choice fall, as *we* have seen it fall, on the mere demagogue, the political charlatan, the bankrupt in fame or fortune, who cajoled his constituents by affecting to have no will of his own, and to be in the legislature merely the mouthpiece of their notions and whims. The members of the Long Parliament, as this was subsequently styled, were in general men of high moral character, of cultivated minds, of independent fortunes, the landed property of the commons being said to be the treble of that of the peers. In a word, a more august assembly than that which now met at Westminster has never appeared on the scene of the world.

Yet partiality must not blind us; we must not give the reins to imagination, and view in the Pym, the Hampdens, and the St. Johns of those days men without blemish, raised above the common lot of humanity, and incapable of artifice or error. We shall find them employing the arts inseparable from political parties, and acting at times in violation of the principles of justice, and treading in the footprints of the despotism which they sought to restrain. We have not hidden the faults of the king; we will not pass over in silence those of the parliament.

The views of the popular leaders may be collected from the following anecdote. A few days before the parliament met, as Pym and Hyde were conversing on the state of affairs, the former said, "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties," and much more to the same effect. The parliament, Clarendon observes, "had a sad and a melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events." The king did not go in his usual state, taking his way thither by water. He was also disappointed in his expectation of having the recorder of London, sir Thomas Gardiner, chosen speaker, as he was not returned for any place. His choice then fell upon a lawyer named Lenthall, a man of good practice in the law, but of no parliamentary experience, and little calculated to maintain the dignity of his office.

The first week was employed in the formation of committees and the reception of petitions, many of which were

brought up by troops of horsemen from the country. On the 10th the earl of Strafford came up from the north, at the earnest desire of the king. He was aware of his danger, knowing himself to be the object of the hostility of the popular party, and of the Scots; but the king gave him his solemn assurance, "that the parliament should not touch one hair of his head." The next day Pym suddenly rose, and, stating that he had matter of high import to communicate, desired that the strangers' room should be cleared; the outer door of the house be locked, and the key laid on the clerk's table. When all this was done, he rose, and dilating on all the illegal acts that had been done, and magnifying the virtues of the king, added, "We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed," and who they were that had perverted the king's excellent judgment. He then proceeded to say, that "he believed there was one more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man who, in the memory of many present, had sat in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous asserter and champion for the liberties of the people, but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced." He then named Thomas earl of Strafford, and ran through the whole history of his administration in the North and in Ireland, "adding some lighter passages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion." Other speakers followed in the same strain. A message then came from the lords, desiring a conference, but a reply was made that they were engaged in weighty business; notice was at the same time sent to their friends in the peers to keep that house from rising. It was finally moved to impeach the earl of high-treason, no one dissenting, only lord Falkland (who was no friend to him) suggesting that it were better to digest the accusation previously in a committee. But Pym said that that would blast all their hopes, as the earl, when he got notice of it, would procure the parliament to be dissolved. It was resolved then to proceed at once; the doors were thrown open, and Pym issued forth at the head of three hundred members, and at

the bar of the house of lords impeached the earl of high treason, in the name of the commons of England.

Strafford hastened to the house, and "with a proud glooming countenance," was making toward his place at the board-head, but he was ordered to retire. He obeyed: after some delay he was recalled, and directed to kneel at the bar; he was then delivered over to the usher of the black-rod, to be kept in custody. He passed to his coach through a crowd of people, "all gazing," says Baillie, "no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered." None, however, insulted him.

The impeachment of Strafford was certainly a masterly manœuvre on the part of the popular leaders, and the unanimity of the vote proves the general feeling of his being a chief encourager of the royal excesses. But if it be true that *he* was prepared to impeach *them* for their dealings with the Scots, the purity of their patriotism on this occasion may be questioned. A further stroke of policy was the impeachment of sir George Radcliffe, whose evidence might be of advantage to the earl.

The objects aimed at were good, but the strait path of justice was not always followed by the patriots. A committee of elections unseated many members who did not suit their views. "It was often said by leading men amongst them," says Clarendon, "that they ought in those cases to be guided by the fitness and worthiness of the person, whatever the desire of those was in whom the right of election remained. And therefore one man hath been admitted upon the same rule by which another hath been rejected." One of their rules was that no one should sit "who had been a party or a favorer of any project, or who had been employed in any illegal commission." On this ground they unseated several; but the king afterwards charged them with not having applied their rule impartially, passing over their own friends, sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Whittaker, "who had been scandalously engaged in those pressures."

Under the newly-adopted term of *Delinquents*, all the lieutenants and deputies of counties who had exercised powers not strictly warranted by statute were brought into danger. The sheriffs and all concerned in raising ship-money were also voted delinquents. The farmers and officers of the customs were similarly treated. The judgment in the case of Hampden was reversed; those judges who had given it were

obliged to give large security to abide the judgment of the parliament. One of them, sir John Berkeley, was arrested as he sat on the bench, and carried to prison, "which struck," says Whitelocke, "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster-hall, and in all his profession," as no doubt it was meant that it should.

An impeachment against Laud was also carried up to the lords by Denzil Hollis, and that prelate was committed to the black-rod. The lord-keeper Finch and secretary Windebank, being menaced with impeachment, fled to the continent.

Bishop Williams, who had lain for three years in the Tower, was now released; so also was the unfortunate Leighton. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, were recalled from their island-prisons, and they entered London in a kind of triumph, being followed by five thousand persons, men and women, on horseback, wearing bay and rosemary in their hats. Those who had passed sentence on them were now adjudged to pay them heavy damages.

All the modes by which the king had been of late in the habit of raising money were now resolved to be illegal. To secure the benefits resulting from this resolution, a bill was brought in (Jan. 19, 1641) that a parliament should be called every third year, and if the crown and the proper authorities neglected to call it, the people should meet of themselves, and choose their representatives. To this bill the king gave his assent, (Feb. 15,) and the people testified their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

Petitions against episcopacy or its abuses poured in from all quarters. One signed by two thousand of the clergy prayed for the extinction of the order; another to the same effect, called the Root and Branch petition, came from fifteen thousand citizens of London. The Scottish commissioners, eager to set up their own idol, exerted themselves zealously. "Against the bishops," says Baillie, "we pray, preach, and print what we are able most freely. . . . There is a world of pamphlets here. . . . Their utter abolition, which is the only aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question. We must have it cut by the axe of prayer." / Fasts were also held, that "the Lord might join the breath of his nostrils with the endeavors of weak men to blow up a wickied and anti-scriptural church."

During all this time a committee of the commons were busily engaged in preparing heads of accusation against Strafford. To give him as little chance as possible, they

bound themselves to strict secrecy as to their proceedings by a kind of voluntary oath. The king, on his part, in his anxiety to save him, sought to conciliate his opponents, and the lords Bristol, Essex, Bedford, Hertford, Mandevile,* Savile, and Say, were sworn of the privy council. He was even induced to take a further step, and listen to a proposal to "prefer some of the grantees to offices at court, whereby Strafford's enemies should become his friends, and the king's desires be promoted." The proposed arrangement was, that the earl of Bedford should be treasurer, and his follower Pym (who sat for his borough of Tavistock) his chancellor of the exchequer, lord Say master of the court of wards, Denzil Hollis secretary of state, Oliver St. John solicitor-general. Hampden, it is said, was to be tutor to the prince, and others to be otherwise provided for. But from one cause or other these promotions did not take effect, and "the great men," adds Whitelocke, "baffled thereby, became the more incensed and violent against the earl, joining with the Scots commissioners, who were implacable against him." When to this remark of one who could not well be mistaken we add the following anecdote, it may be doubted if the men who sought Strafford's blood were such models of public virtue as their admirers make them. At the time of Strafford's apostasy he and Pym met at Greenwich; they conversed awhile on public affairs, and as they were concluding, the latter said, "You are going to leave us, but I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders." This threat was uttered before Strafford had committed any greater offence than that of abandoning those with whom he had lately acted, but to whose party he had never properly belonged.

Strafford, it is not to be denied, was a despot by nature, and therefore if the court had not won him, he would, by natural consequence, have become the most formidable of demagogues. Attached to the crown, the grand object of his life was to render it absolute. In his presidency of the North he was arbitrary and rigorous in the extreme, but he had only the king's service in view, and he was impartial in his despotism. When he was appointed to the government of Ireland (1632) he went over to that "conquered country," as he styled it, fully determined to make his master, as far as it was concerned, "the most absolute prince in Christendom." The effects produced by the force of his

* This was the eldest son of the earl of Manchester. He sat in the house of peers as viscount Kimbolton.

genius were surprising; while he ruled it with a rod of iron he made it flourishing and wealthy: the customs were quadrupled in the short space of four years, for he guarded the seas, and repressed all internal commotion. In the fifth year the revenue exceeded the expenditure by 60,000*l*. He introduced the linen-manufacture, but he suppressed that of wool, in order to keep Ireland dependent on England, and he formed magnificent projects of foreign trade, and sought for sources of internal industry. Confiding in the vigor of his mind, he feared not to convene parliaments, and when they met he swayed them at his will. He raised and maintained a numerous and well-appointed army. He never for a moment lost sight of his main object, that of rendering the sovereign absolute; in his soul he regarded absolute monarchy as the best form of government; to produce it he labored in concert with Laud, a man every way his inferior no doubt, but in this matter as sincere and as vehement as himself. Their favorite word was THOROUGH, and they frequently complained of the scruples and slowness of their royal master, who would not proceed as rapidly as they required.

All the preliminaries being arranged, the day fixed for the trial of this mighty man arrived. It was the 22d of March; the place was Westminster-hall. The earl of Arundel acted as lord-high-steward. The peers, in their robes, were seated on benches in the centre; on scaffolds at each side sat the commons, as a committee of their house; with them the Scottish commissioners and the deputies sent over by a portion of the Irish house of commons, to make charges against the lord-lieutenant. At the upper end was an elevated throne, and at each side of it a latticed box for the royal family; at the lower end of the throne was a gallery for ladies of quality. A bar stretched across the hall, leaving about one third of it for the use of the public.

The court sat every morning at nine o'clock. The earl entered, attired in black, wearing his George by a golden chain, and having made three bows to the high-steward, knelt at the bar; then bowing to the peers, he took his place at a small desk, the lieutenant of the Tower standing beside him, and his four secretaries at his back. He lay under every disadvantage; he was suffering from the stone and gout; according to the iniquitous practice which prevailed then and long after, he was not allowed the aid of counsel, except on points of law, and the witnesses against him were examined on oath, while *his* were not; he had but thirty minutes given him to prepare his reply to the charges urged against

him by the managers, and while he was thus engaged an eternal "hubbub" was kept up around him; the lords walking about and chatting, the commons more noisy still, and a continued clamor at the doors. The bishops too, probably fearing for themselves, had, on the suggestion of Williams, resigned their right of being present, and the king had weakly consented to allow the privy councillors to be examined on oath by the committee respecting advice given by the earl at the board. Against these, Strafford had, to sustain him, his own mighty powers, his conviction that the charges against him did not amount to treason, and the repeated assurance of the king that he should not suffer in life, honor, or fortune.

On the second day Pym rose, and "made," says Whitelocke, "an introduction very rhetorical and smart to the articles." These, which were twenty-eight in number, were urged during thirteen days by the lawyers Glyn, Maynard, Palmer, and Whitelocke. The general charge was "an endeavor to overthrow the fundamental government of the kingdom and introduce an arbitrary power." Of the particular charges three were contended to amount to the treason of levying war against the king. These were, 1. billeting soldiers on the peaceable people of Ireland till he had made them submit to his illegal demands: 2. raising an army in Ireland, and advising the king to employ it in bringing this kingdom into subjection: 3. imposing a tax on the people of Yorkshire for the maintenance of his trained bands. The remaining articles, consisting of charges of hasty and imperious expressions, of oppression of individuals, and of illegal proceedings, it was contended, though of no great importance separately, amounted to what they termed cumulative treason, as indicating his design of subverting the liberties of the country. Against all these charges Strafford defended himself with eloquence and effect, and the tide, it was soon perceptible, was turning in his favor; he won the hearts of all the ladies by his graceful and manly eloquence, and the number of his friends among the peers was visibly on the increase. Pym and his coadjutors now began to doubt if they should be able to convict him of treason. Their first step was (April 10) to desire to be allowed to produce an additional piece of evidence to one of the articles; Strafford claimed the same liberty. Glyn objected, crying that "the prisoner at the bar presumed to prescribe to the commons;" the lords, however, thought it but reasonable. The committee then rose up, and shouting, *Withdraw! withdraw!* "cocked their beavers,"

says Baillie, "in the king's sight," and retired in high indignation, without even appointing a day for the next meeting.

This was on Saturday, and on the Monday following Pym produced in the house of commons a copy of some notes taken by sir Henry Vane of the opinions delivered at the council-table on the day that the last parliament was dissolved, according to which Strafford had said, that the king, having tried the affection of his people in vain, was "absolved and loose from all rule of government, and might do what power would admit;" he added, "you have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce *this* kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months." The manner in which Pym obtained these notes was rather suspicious. The young sir Henry Vane being on the eve of marriage, his father, who was out of town, sent him up the keys of his study and boxes, that he might get out some title-deeds were required for making the marriage settlement. A red velvet cabinet having attracted his attention, he opened it and there found those notes; he hastened with them to Pym, who took a copy of them, and the original was then replaced in the cabinet. Questions founded on these notes had been put to sir Henry Vane by the committee of the commons on three occasions before the trial; the two first times he declared that he knew nothing of Strafford's project to employ the Irish army "to reduce *this* kingdom;" the third time he recollected the very words. On the trial he repeated his last evidence, but professed that he did not know whether by "this kingdom" was meant England or Scotland. All the other councillors who were examined declared that they did not recollect the words, and that there was no idea of employing the Irish army any where but in Scotland.

These notes then were the additional evidence which the managers wanted liberty to produce, and with the following view. The law (though it had often been transgressed) required two witnesses in case of treason, and there was only the single evidence of sir Henry Vane to this point; Pym therefore "conceived those circumstances of his and young sir Henry Vane's having seen those original results, and being ready to swear that the paper read by him was a true copy of the other, might reasonably amount to the validity of another witness"!!

Clarendon tells us that when Pym had made this disclosure to the house, young Vane got up and acknowledged the truth of all he had stated, adding other particulars. His father then "rose with a pretty confusion," and said that he now

saw whence the questions had been derived which had surprised him so much, but owned that the copy corresponded with the notes which he had since committed to the flames. He expressed such indignation against his son, that a motion was made, "that the father might be enjoined to be friends with his son." There was, however, for a long time a great coolness between them in public. Clarendon and others looked upon the whole as a well-acted scene, sir Henry Vane having himself, they believed, communicated the notes out of enmity to Strafford. The cause of this enmity is said to have been the latter's having taken his second title from Raby, a place belonging to the Vanes.

Pym, being unable to convert his copy of the notes into a second witness, now introduced a bill to attain the earl of Strafford for endeavoring to subvert the liberties of the country; for they had long since resolved to employ this odious, unconstitutional course, if the impeachment seemed likely to fail. At a conference therefore with the lords on the afternoon of this day, the copy of Vane's notes was produced, and the next day, (13th,) when the trial was resumed, they were read openly. Lord Clare, Strafford's brother-in-law, urged that "this kingdom" meant Scotland, and Strafford himself dwelt on this point and on the variations in Vane's testimony, adding, that the evidence of four councillors ought surely to outweigh that of one. The lord steward then told him if he had any thing more to say in his defence to proceed, as the house intended now to prepare to give judgment.

The earl then went over his former ground of defence, contending that nothing charged against him amounted to treason. In conclusion he said, "It is hard to be questioned on a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years without smoke to discover it till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? . . . If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split himself upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who oweth the anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every one passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where the tokens upon this crime, to declare it to be high-treason?" He then warned the peers for their own sakes not to "awaken these sleeping lions" of constructive treasons. "My lords," said he in conclusion, "I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me." Here he stopped, letting fall some tears; he then resumed, "What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion

should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, *te Deum laudamus!*" Pym and St. John spoke in reply. It is said that when the former uttered the following words, "If this law hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time had not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these," Strafford raised his head and looked at him fixedly; Pym became confused; his memory failed him. "To humble the man," says Baillie, "God let his memory fail him a little before the end." He looked at his papers, but they were of no avail. He then briefly said that the solicitor-general, St. John, would on a future day argue some law-points before them with learning and abilities much better for that service.*

Whitelocke, a generous enemy, says of Strafford's defence, "Certainly never man acted such a part on such a theatre with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures than this great and excellent person did; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

The commons meantime were proceeding with their bill of attainder. It was read the third time on the 21st, only fifty-nine members voting against it in a house of two hundred and sixty-three. The most strenuous opposer of the bill was lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, a member of the committee of impeachment. "I am still the same," said he, "in my opinions and affections as unto the earl of Straf-

* In this speech of Pym's was the following noble passage: "The law is the boundary, the measure between the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another; the prerogative a cover and a defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue; — if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

ford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects that can be charactered. I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch." For this speech Digby was immediately questioned in the house, and when he printed it the house ordered that it should be burnt by the hangman, "which," says May, "was the visible cause of his deserting the parliament, and proving so great an actor against it."

The bill was carried up to the lords the same day, and as an inducement to them to pass it, there was added a proviso that it should not be held a precedent for future times. On the 24th the tardy peers were called on to appoint a day for reading it, and on the 29th Strafford being placed at the bar, St John argued for two hours in proof of the legality of the attainder. Among other arguments he employed the following "He that would not have had others to have had a law, why should he have any law himself? It's true we give laws to hares and deers, because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin, for preservation of the warren." In other words, Strafford must be destroyed, with law or without law.

Two days after, (May 1,) the king summoned both houses, and told them that in conscience he could not condemn Strafford of treason, or assent to the bill of attainder, "but for misdemeanors, he is so clear in them that he thinks the earl hereafter not fit to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as a constable;" and he conjured the lords to find out some middle way. Charles, by this address, characteristic of his usual want of judgment, only hastened the fate of Strafford, for the commons, seeing their advantage, exclaimed loudly against the breach of privilege committed by the king's interfering with a bill in progress. Next day being Sunday, the pulpits which were occupied by the puritan clergy inculcated "the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents now to be acted;" and on the following morning there came a rabble of about six thousand persons, armed with swords, daggers, and clubs, crying for justice on the earl of Strafford, and complaining that "they were undone for the want of execution on his trading was so decayed thereby." They insulted

several of the lords, and they posted up the names of the fifty-nine members of the commons who had voted against the attainder, calling them "Straffordians, or Betrayers of their Country." When these members complained to the house of being thus proscribed, they could get no redress, it being, they were told, the act of a multitude. If it be asked, Where did the mob get their list? the reply will appear in the sequel.

While the mob were shouting outside, Pym took occasion to reveal to the house sundry matters which had come to his knowledge respecting intrigues and designs against the parliament; and on his motion a protestation (borrowed from the Covenant) to defend the protestant church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people, was taken by all the members. It was transmitted next day to the lords, where it was taken in like manner, the catholic peers of course declining it, and being thereby prevented from voting on Strafford's attainder. Orders were then given for the protestation to be taken all through England.

The important matter which Pym now communicated to the house was what is called the Army-plot. It is said that he had had a knowledge of it for some time, and had dropped hints of it in order to produce the effects he desired in the city. The matter is involved in great obscurity; the following is what appears to us the most probable account.

The parliament had been very regular in their payments of the money promised to their "dear brethren," as they termed the Scots. On one occasion the latter wrote up pretending an instant need of 25,000*l.*, and the commons, having only 15,000*l.* in hand, took, to make up the sum, 10,000*l.*, from a sum of 50,000*l.* which was to have gone to the English army. Some of the field-officers of this last, namely, lord Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, Wilmot, son of lord Wilmot, and colonels Ashburnham, Pollard, and others, were members of the house of commons, and Wilmot rose and said, "that if such papers of the Scots could procure moneys, he doubted not but the officers of the English would soon do the like." Petitioning being now so much in vogue, these officers formed themselves into a *junct*, and prepared a petition to the king and parliament, to be presented from the army, of which the prayer would be the preserving of the bishops' functions and votes, the non-disbanding of the Irish army until that of the Scots was also disbanded, and the settlement of the royal revenue. This was commu-

nicated by Percy to the king. Meantime there was a plot on foot among Henry Jermyn, master of the horse to the queen, sir John Suckling, George Goring, son of lord Goring, and others, the object of which was deeper; it being to bring up the army, and overawe the parliament. It would appear that not merely the queen, but even the king was acquainted with this design, for he commanded Percy and his friends to communicate with Jermyn and Goring. They had three meetings, and Goring, finding that the more violent courses which he urged were not relished, and seeing also that the command of the army, the object of his ambition, would not be bestowed on him, went and made a discovery to lord Newport, and then to the parliamentary leaders. Percy, Jermyn, and Suckling, finding the affair discovered, fled to France; the others stood their ground. Percy afterwards (June 14) wrote a letter to his brother, giving an account (apparently a true one) of the whole affair, and then Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, were committed to custody. Lord Digby, having asserted that Goring was a perjured man, was expelled the house, and Goring was voted to have done nothing contrary to justice and honor.

The king, in his extreme anxiety to save Strafford, may have lent an ear to the wild project of Goring; he also assented to another, of introducing one captain Billingsley, with two hundred men, into the Tower for that purpose, and gave his warrant for it. But Balfour, the lieutenant, a Scotsman, having discovered the object, refused to admit them. It is also said that Balfour was offered a sum of money to let the earl escape, and on his examination he swore that Strafford had offered him for that purpose 20,000*l.*, "besides a good marriage for his son."

On the 5th a bill was introduced into the commons which virtually dissolved the monarchy. There being a difficulty in raising money for the pay of the armies, a Lancashire knight engaged to procure 650,000*l.* if the king would pass a bill "Not to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve this parliament without consent of both houses, to endure till the grievances were redressed, and to give the parliament credit to take up moneys." The next day this bill was hurried through all its stages, and sent, with that of the attainder, up to the other house. The lords wished to limit it to two years, but the commons would not consent, and on the 8th it was passed. The lords at the same time passed the bill of attainder, the judges having previously declared that on two of the articles the earl was guilty of treason. This opinion would be of

more weight were it not that the judges had such recent experience of the power of the commons. Various causes concurring to make several of the peers absent themselves, there were but forty-five present when the bill was passed, and of these nineteen voted against it.

The two bills were sent to the king. In his distress of mind he called some of the prelates and privy-councillors to his aid. Some urged the authority of the judges; bishop Williams is said to have drawn a pernicious distinction between a king's private and public conscience, by which in his public capacity he might do an act which he secretly believed to be a crime. Bishop Juxon alone, we are told, honestly advised him to follow his conscience. A letter also came from the earl himself, urging him to pass the bill. "Sir," said he in it, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done." A truly noble mind would have perished sooner than sacrifice such a voluntary victim; Charles, to his ultimate ruin and eternal disgrace, signed a commission to three lords to pass both the bills.

It is probable that Strafford did not look for this result, for when secretary Carleton came from the king to inform him of what he had done, and his motives for it, he could not at first believe it. When satisfied of the truth, he stood up, lifted his eyes to heaven, and laying his hand on his heart, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

Denzil Hollis, who was Strafford's brother-in-law, told Burnet that the king sent for him, and asked if he knew of any course to save his life. Hollis hinted at a reprieve, which would give himself time to use his influence with his friends in the commons. The king would appear to have assented to this course, but, with his usual inconstancy, he adopted another. The day after his assent to the bill (11th) he sent a letter by the young prince of Wales, written by himself, to the lords, urging them to join him in prevailing with the commons to consent to his imprisonment for life; "but," he subjoined, "if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *Fiat justitia*." In a postscript he adds, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." This postscript is said to have sealed the earl's doom. The next morning (12th) was appointed for his execution. The scaffold was erected on Tower-hill; the earl, when ready, left his chamber; Laud, as he had requested, was at his window to give him his blessing as he passed; the feeble old

man raised his hands, but was unable to speak, and fell back into the arms of his attendants. The earl moved on; the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the mob should tear him to pieces; he replied that it was equal to him whether he died by the axe or by *their* fury. The multitudes extended far as the eye could reach; the earl took off his hat several times, and saluted them; not a word of insult was heard. "His step and air," says Rushworth, "were those of a general marching at the head of an army to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man to undergo the sentence of death." From the scaffold he addressed the people, assuring them that he had always had the welfare of his country at heart; it augured ill for their happiness, he told them, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood; he assured them he had never been against parliaments, regarding them as "the best means under God to make the king and his people happy." He turned to take leave of his friends, and seeing his brother weeping, he gently reproached him. "Think," said he, "that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage-bed. That block shall be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labors." He then began to undress, saying, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." He knelt and prayed, archbishop Usher and another clergyman kneeling with him. He laid down his head to try the block: then telling the executioner that he would stretch forth his hands as a sign when he was to strike, he laid it finally down, and giving the signal, it was severed at a single blow; and thus in the forty-ninth year of his age perished Thomas earl of Strafford, "who for natural parts and abilities," says Whitelocke, "and for improvement of knowledge, by experience in the greatest affairs, for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind, hath left few behind him that may be ranked equal with him."

We have been thus minute in our account of the trial and death of this distinguished man, because we think it affords an index to the motives and conduct of the popular leaders. These are judged by men even at the present day more by feeling and prejudice than by reason; and while the admirers of republicanism see in Pym and his coadjutors a species of demigods, men raised far above all selfish objects and private feelings, the advocates of the crown regard them as mere factious demagogues, only anxious to destroy the monarchy. Here too, as elsewhere, the truth lies in the middle. Pym and his friends were politicians and statesmen; and it is not

among such that any one versed in history and human nature will look for perfect virtue. They had noble objects in view, no doubt; it was a glorious task to lay a curb on despotism, and secure to the nation civil and religious liberty. But in the attainment of these objects they were not sufficiently nice as to means, and while hastening after justice they at times trampled it under their feet. In the prosecution of Strafford it is easy to discern a personal vindictiveness, only to be satiated by his blood, and which no security against his return to power would have disarmed. It was this that led them, when distrusting their power of convicting him legally of treason, to bring in their fatal bill of attainder. As for the conduct of the king on this occasion, we have no excuse to offer for it; if faithless to his country, Strafford had been but too faithful to *him*; and surely, as a stand was to be made somewhere, it might better have been made in the defence of the life of a man whom he believed to be innocent, than in the support of a particular form of church government. But Charles never loved the earl, and the queen is thought to have urged him to sacrifice him.

This important trial also reveals to us the skill of the popular leaders in raising and sustaining what is now termed a 'pressure from without.' The following were the usual modes employed:—1. The *press*, whence issued swarms of pamphlets answering to the 'leading articles' of the newspapers in our days, which, as Baxter tells us, "were greedily bought up throughout the land, which greatly increased the people's apprehension of their danger." 2. The *pulpit*. This had from the time of the Reformation been too often diverted from its legitimate use to serve political purposes. The patriots and puritans had of late years often and justly complained of its being employed to inculcate the doctrine of passive obedience; but in the day of their own power they recognized its efficacy, and employed it unsparingly. The clergy attended the houses, and received their instructions, and the congregations learned from the pulpit what they should perform in support of their leaders in the house. 3. *Petitions*, which gave an opportunity for large bodies of people to approach the houses, often armed, and thus daunt the opponents of the popular leaders. If we may believe Clarendon, a scandalous artifice was sometimes employed. A moderate petition was read at a public meeting, to which few could refuse to subscribe; but after the signatures were obtained, a petition of a very different character was placed at the head of it, and thus people often found themselves

supplicants for what they had no mind to. 4. *Rumors.* At various times since the meeting of parliament it had been reported that the papists were assembling in arms underground in Surrey, and openly in Lancashire; that there was a plot for blowing up the Thames, and thus drowning the city, on the discovery of which there was a public thanksgiving; that there was another for blowing up the house of commons with gunpowder; sir John Earle actually smelled the powder; the report spread to the city; the drums beat, and the train-bands and crowds of the people hastened to Westminster to protect the members. A tailor sitting under a hedge heard two soldiers talking of how some of their comrades were to get so much apiece for killing several of the lords and commons; the citizens started one night from their warm beds and flew to arms at midnight, on a report that the king was coming down with horse and foot. We are told that in the space of two or three months these reports amounted to not less than thirty-nine. 5. *Spies.* Pym is said to have carried on an intrigue with lady Carlisle,* through whom he learned all that was passing in the royal apartments; and Clarendon tells us that "all tavern and ordinary discourses" were carried to him. 6. Lastly, *organized* bodies of the London apprentices and others. These are said to have been under the direction of some of the clergy; and we are told that one of them, named Burgess, would point to these companies, saying, "These be my band-dogs; I can set them on and take them off again as I please."

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

1641—1642.

AFTER the fall of Strafford, the king seems to have abandoned all thoughts of resistance for the present. The plan of giving office to some of the leading patriots had been

* Merely a political one, we believe. This lady, who was sister to the earl of Northumberland, is said to have been the mistress first of Strafford, and then of Pym. We have, however, seen nothing to justify this imputation on her character.

resumed; but unhappily for him, the earl of Bedford, an honorable and moderate man, who would have engaged to save Strafford, died at that very conjuncture. It was, however, partially carried into effect, lord Say being made master of the court of wards, Essex lord chamberlain, Hertford governor to the prince, and Leicester lord lieutenant of Ireland. Bishop Juxon resigned his office of lord-treasurer, to which the influence of Laud had advanced him, but in which his conduct had been irreproachable, and the treasury was put into commission.

The act securing them from a dissolution having set the parliament somewhat at their ease, they felt the less necessity for keeping the Scottish army in the kingdom, and they now began to think seriously of disbanding both armies. In the month of February they had voted a sum of 300,000*l.* "toward a supply of the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland." There were, moreover, 120,000*l.* of arrears due to the Scots. The mode of payment was arranged, and in addition to six subsidies, it was proposed to raise a supply by means of a graduated poll-tax, a duke being rated at 100*l.*, men of 100*l.* a year at 5*l.* The English army was to be paid off in like manner, and the earl of Holland was made general in order to disband it.

While Holland remained in London, the command of the army lay with sir Jacob Ashly. The king, ever anxious to regain his power, listened to another project for marching the army up to overawe the parliament. It was proposed to proceed in the usual way by petition, and one was drawn up to be presented to the king and parliament in the name of the officers and soldiers; in which, after enumerating and praising all the late measures of reform, they complain that there are certain "stirring and practical" persons whom nothing short of the subversion of the government would satisfy, and who overawed the parliament by means of mobs; "for the suppressing of which," it proceeds, "in all humility we offer ourselves to wait upon you, if you please, hoping we shall appear as considerable in the way of defence to our gracious sovereign, the parliament, our religion, and the established laws of the kingdom, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them." etc.

This petition was read and approved of by the king, in token of which he wrote his C. R. at the bottom of it. It was then sent down to the army by captain Legg, with directions not to show it to any one but sir Jacob Ashly. The chief agent employed by the king in this affair was one

Daniel O'Neal, an Irish catholic, who had served abroad, and was now serjeant-major (that is, adjutant) in the regiment of sir John Conyers, and who was also engaged to treat with the Scottish army for their neutrality. The whole plan, however, proved abortive, and it soon came to the knowledge of the parliament, and augmented their distrust of the king.

On the 22d of June the commons presented to the king an act granting him tonnage and poundage, also one for the poll money; these were accompanied by two others for suppressing the courts of star-chamber and high-commission. The king came down on the 2d of July, and passed the money-bills, but demurred to the others; learning, however, how much dissatisfaction this had caused, he came again on the 5th and passed the other two bills; thus in his usual unhappy manner losing the credit he might have gained by a cheerful compliance with what he could not avoid.

The king's attachment to his sister and her family is an amiable trait in his character; and his anxiety for the restitution of the palatinate had led him into negotiations and civilities with the pope and the catholic princes, which had caused alarm to his more zealous protestant subjects. He now, with the hearty concurrence of the parliament, prepared a manifesto on that subject, which sir Thomas Roe was directed to present to the emperor at the approaching diet at Ratisbon. Another act which had given much satisfaction to the people, as a proof of his protestant feeling, was the marriage between his daughter Mary (now, however, only in her tenth year) and the prince of Orange, which had been solemnized at Whitehall on the 2d of May. In fact, had Charles been really willing to be a constitutional instead of a despotic monarch, the path was now plain before him which led to the hearts of his people.

The historian May observes, that at this time the parliament had lost much of its popularity. This he ascribes partly to their *lifting-at* the bishops, which turned the universities and most of the clergy against them; partly to their not checking the rabble, who frequently disturbed the church-service, and tore the books and surplices, they being, he says, "either too much busied in a variety of affairs, or, perchance, too much fearing the loss of a considerable party whom they might have need of against a real and potent enemy;" partly to the reports of the preachings of tradesmen and other illiterate persons of the lowest rank. Others, again, were disappointed that political miracles were not

performed, and a lenated by the heavy taxes that were imposed. He agrees in opinion with those who thought that the parliament greatly injured their cause by mixing religion so much up with it.

It is necessary that the reader should be here informed of the proceedings of the parliament hitherto on the subject of religion. On the presentation of the 'Root and Branch' petition, it was carried by a small majority to refer it to the committee of religion. Sir Edward Dering, an honest, dull man, then brought in a bill for the abolition of episcopacy; and though we are assured that very few of the members desired any such thing, the second reading was carried by 139 to 108. Hyde, however, the chairman of the committee, gave it so much interruption that no progress was made in it; and petitions numerously signed were presented from various counties wishing episcopacy and the liturgy to be reformed but retained. In July the house voted in favor of a scheme of archbishop Usher's for making every county a diocese, with a presbytery of twelve divines presided over by a bishop, who should with them have authority "to ordain, suspend, deprive, degrade and excommunicate." On this occasion also, some members maintained that it was unlawful for bishops to sit in parliament. As the lords were disinclined to any measure of this nature, and the bishops stood their ground firmly, articles of impeachment, on account of the late canons, were exhibited against one half of the bench, (Aug. 4.) The prelates, however, did not shrink; they only required time and counsel to prepare their answer, which was granted. The commons had already (July 5) voted Wren, bishop of Ely, "unworthy and unfit to hold or exercise any office or dignity in the church or commonwealth," and he had been committed to the Tower. They moreover made an order, which sir Robert Harlowe was empowered to execute, "to take away all scandalous pictures, crosses, and figures, within churches and without," and the "zealous knight took down the cross in Cheapside, Charing-cross, and others the like monuments, impartially."

The Irish army had been disbanded, and on the 6th of August the English and Scottish armies were disbanded also; "and the Scots with store of English money and spoils," says Whitelocke, "and the best entertainment, left their warm and plentiful quarters." On the 10th the king set out for Scotland, and he travelled with such speed that he reached Edinburgh in four days. He was followed thither by a committee of the commons, composed of lords

Howard of Escrick, Mr. Fiennes, Mr. Hampden, and sir William Armyne, "to preserve the good intercourse and understanding which was begun between the two nations," and to watch the proceedings of the king. Before he departed he had signed a bill making the earl of Essex general of his forces on this side of the Trent. Parliament continued to sit till the 9th of September, when it adjourned to the 20th of October, having appointed a committee of fifty to sit during the recess.

The hopes of regaining his power had urged Charles to visit Scotland, where there was a man able and willing to execute the most daring projects, and who was now devoted to him. This was the earl of Montrose, who, in his disgust at the king's neglect of him at the time of his coronation, had joined the covenanters, but offended with *them* for preferring Argyle to him in civil, and Lesley in military affairs, had become secretly devoted to the king, to whom he made important communications. Being detected in a plot, he was now a prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh. By means of William Murray of the bedchamber, he corresponded with the king, into whose mind he infused suspicions (whether well- or ill grounded is hard to say) of Argyle and even of Hamilton. According to Clarendon, who had the account from the king himself, "he informed him of many particulars from the beginning of the rebellion, and that the marquis was no less faulty and false towards his majesty than Argyle, and offered to make proof of all in the parliament, but rather desired to kill them both, which he frankly undertook to do; but the king, abhorring that expedient, for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the parliament."

It would seem that on account of the great power and influence of these noblemen, the king consented to the employment of stratagem for their arrest. The plan is said to have been, that Argyle, Hamilton, and his brother lord Lanark, should be sent for to the royal drawing-room on Sunday, October the 2d, where they should be arrested as traitors, and be handed over to lord Crawford, who was to be near with a party of soldiers; they were then to be placed in a close carriage, and hurried on board a frigate which lay in Leith roads, where they were to be kept till their trial. It is added, that if they attempted resistance they were to be put to death. The accused, however, got information the evening before, and absented themselves from court. Next morning they wrote to the king and

parliament, giving their reasons, and then went out of town, and finally retired to Glasgow. As the letters of the Hamiltons were "not without some reflections on his majesty," Charles insisted on their submitting to a public trial. It was finally thought best for all parties that the trial should be before a private committee, of which the members should be sworn to secrecy.

This event is named the 'Incident.' Like so many other events in Scottish history, owing to that extreme fondness for secrecy and stratagem, said to be characteristic of the nation, it is enveloped in an obscurity which will never, perhaps, be totally dissipated. The plot for the arrest, however, seems to be proved, but what the exact object of the king was it is difficult to say. It may have been part of a plan to master the Scottish parliament; or Charles may have thus hoped to come at the proofs which he knew existed of the invitation given to the Scots to enter England by the popular leaders at Westminster, on which he might found a charge of treason against them. When the account of the Incident was transmitted to London by the committee, the parliament felt or affected great consternation, and they applied to the earl of Essex for a guard to protect them.

In the midst of these alarms tidings reached the king and parliament of the breaking out of a most sanguinary rebellion in Ireland. The causes which produced this horrible explosion had long been in secret operation: we will here briefly enumerate them.

The mildest term that can be applied to the native Irish at the time of which we write is that of barbarians; they were in fact in many parts of the country but little removed from the savage state. There is not in existence a people more capable of acts of ferocious cruelty, or more fanatically attached to the system of superstition which forms their religion; and their devotion to their clergy is blind and implicit. Their hatred then was, and still unhappily is, intense toward the English nation, name, and religion. The genius of popery is destructive and intolerant, and nothing but its feebleness will ever keep it at rest. To these causes, namely, the barbarism of the people, their hatred of the English, and the spirit of their religion, is to be added the loss of their lands. The territory of an Irish sept or clan was somewhat of the nature of an Indian hunting-ground; no one had any particular possession in it, every death in the sept causing a new arrangement. Tillage, therefore, could only be in scanty patches, and the native

Irish actually moved about with their herds like the Eastern Turkmans. Still this rude kind of possession was property, and it galled them to lose it. In their eyes the portions which had been regranted them on English tenures were not of equal value, and they little prized the civilization which had been thus introduced. This was the case in three of the provinces; there had been no English plantations as yet in Connaught, where there had been no insurrections, and where in the last two reigns the Irish proprietors had surrendered their estates to the crown, to receive them back by a legal tenure. These grants (though the fees were paid) had not been enrolled in chancery, and Charles, on ascending the throne, was urged to take advantage of the neglect, and declare the whole province forfeited. He was prepared to do so, but he afterwards agreed to take 120,000*l.*, payable in three years, for some *graces*, as they were named, which he was to bestow, the chief object of which was to secure both Irish and English in their lands against the crown. A parliament was to be held to confirm the *graces*: the deputy issued the writs, but as it was done in an irregular manner, they were declared void in England. The three years thus passed away, the money was all paid, and the *graces* had not been confirmed, and the king threatened to straiten them if the contribution were not continued. Strafford now came over and ruled with despotic sway; the *graces* were rudely denied, and juries were forced to find the king's title to the lands all through Connaught. The affairs in Scotland and England prevented any thing being done in the way of plantation, and in the committee which went over to accuse Strafford, both parties united in the effort to induce the king to perform his promises. He did consent (May 1641,) but the Irish parliament having been prorogued, they had not been legally confirmed when the rebellion broke out.

The plan of insurrection is said to have originated with Roger Moore, one of that sept whose territory had been formed into the King's and Queen's Counties in the reign of Mary. He had served abroad in the Spanish armies, and it appeared to him that what had succeeded in Scotland might also be achieved in Ireland, and that by a simultaneous rising of the catholics of both races, by seizing the forts, and by expelling the English and Scottish colonists, they might recover their lands, and reestablish their religion. It does not appear to have been any part of his plan that they should cast off their allegiance to the king.

Moore went secretly to lord MacGuire, sir Phelim O'Neal and other chieftains in the North, and he also communicated with the lords of the Pale.* As some of these last were of the committee in London, it is highly probable that the queen may have known of and favored a design for setting up the religion to which she was devoted in Ireland; and it is possible enough that Charles himself, over whom her influence was now unbounded, may have listened to a project which held forth to him a prospect of recovering his darling despotism. It is utterly incredible, however, that he should have given his assent to a plan for expelling the English; but he might have preferred seeing the government in the hands of the catholics rather than in those of a party which he knew to be devoted to the parliament. Charles had such a fondness for intrigue, and was in the habit of listening to so many different opinions, and adopting such a variety of expedients for attaining his objects, that one can very rarely venture to deny with confidence any charge made against him.

The plan, though communicated to a great number of persons, had been profoundly concealed. A principal object was to get possession of the castle of Dublin, in which were the arms of the late army and large stores of ammunition. For this purpose it was arranged that Roger Moore, lord MacGuire, Hugh MacMahon, Hugh Byrne, and other gentlemen, with twenty men from each county, should come up to the capital, and that the attempt should be made on the 23d of October. It was only on the night of the preceding day that the lords justices got information of what was intended, and, that by the merest chance. There was a man of Irish origin, but who had lived chiefly among the English, and was of the protestant religion; his name was Owen O'Conolly, and, for what reason is not known, MacMahon wished to engage him in the plot. He, therefore, wrote to him to come to his house in the county of Monaghan without delay. On Conolly's arriving there he found that MacMahon was gone up to Dublin, whither he followed him, and arrived at six o'clock in the evening of Friday the 22d. MacMahon took him to lord MacGuire's and informed him of the whole plan for a simultaneous rising at ten o'clock the next morning, to destroy the English all through the kingdom. Conolly told him it could not succeed, and urged

* The Pale was the district round Dublin; its lords, Gormanstown, Fingal, and others, were all of the English blood.

him to discover the plot, and thus save his estate; but he refused, and swore that Conolly should not leave his lodging (whither they had returned) that night. After drinking with him for some time, Conolly pretended a necessity to go down to the yard, and, leaving his sword behind him, went out, attended by MacMahon's man; he then jumped over the wall, and made all haste to the house of sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices. It was only nine o'clock when he came with the information of the conspiracy. As Conolly was somewhat flustered by what he had drunk, he delivered his account in so confused a manner that Parsons gave but little credit to it. He, therefore, desired him to go back to MacMahon, and learn what more he could, and he himself, having given directions for securing the castle gates, went to his colleague sir John Borlase, and they sent for such of the council as were in town. Conolly, who had been seized by the watch, and would have been carried to prison had not one of Parsons's servants fortunately come up at the time, was brought in, and being now somewhat sobered, gave a full account of all he had discovered. Before day came, MacMahon was arrested: he did not attempt to deny the plot; he told them that "what was to be done in other parts of the country was so far advanced at that time as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it," and that he was sure to be revenged if he suffered any evil. The lord MacGuire and some others were also arrested, but Moore, Byrne, and the rest got timely information, and so escaped.

MacMahon's assertions were soon verified. Lord Blaney arrived at midnight (24th) with tidings of his own house and family at Castle-Blaney in the county of Monaghan and two other strong houses in the same county, having been surprised that morning by the rebels, and in three hours after news came of the Irish in the Newry having broken open the king's store there and seized the ammunition. That same day (Sunday) lord Gormanstown and the other catholics lords of the Pale came making great professions of loyalty, and craving to be supplied with arms. The next day (25th) the justices wrote an account to the earl of Leicester of what had taken place. Owen O'Conolly was the bearer of the letter, and he was properly recommended to the royal bounty.

We shall now proceed to relate the progress of the rebellion. The main object of the rebels, as we have seen, was to root the English out of the country. It is said

that they had debated whether they should do this after the fashion set by the court of Spain in the case of the Moriscoes, and merely expel them, or whether they should fall on and slaughter them. It is probable that Roger Moore and the more enlightened and humane were for the former course, while sir Phelim O'Neal and the priests, especially the friars, were for slaughter and massacre. Nothing, however, would seem to have been decided on, and all were left to act as they judged best. On the 22d (Friday) the priests in several places in Ulster, it is said, dismissed the people with directions to go and take possession of their lands; and next morning they assembled in great numbers, armed with staves, scythes, and pitchforks, and began to drive away the cattle of the English settlers, and then to break into their houses and seize their goods; some houses were burnt, and some of the English murdered on this first day of the outbreak. They soon proceeded to greater extremities; they stripped them, men, women, and children, naked, and turned them out of their houses. The Irish were forbidden to give them any food or relief as they passed along; the rags which they had to cover them were torn off by the women and children that met them.

The expulsion of the English was greatly facilitated by the manner in which they lived intermixed among the Irish, with whom also they had in some cases intermarried. Many of them had Irish tenants and servants; many were themselves tenants to the Irish gentry, who preferred them, as able to pay better rents than their own people. Hence they did not draw themselves together in bodies, and stand on their defence, as the Scots did, but each remained in his own house, relying on his Irish friends, neighbors, landlords, tenants, or servants, to secure him. But they only experienced cruelty and treachery, those on whom they depended being too well instructed by their priests in the sinfulness of showing mercy to heretics.

Though Ulster was the earliest and principal theatre of these barbarities, they were not confined to it, and similar ones were enacted in the other three provinces, and even in the counties adjoining the capital. The county of Kilkenny and the Queen's County seem to have been most abundant in deeds of cruelty in Leinster. The whole number of those that perished has been variously estimated. The number said to have been returned by the priests in Ulster, from their several parishes, down to April, 1642, was 105,000, and archdeacon Maxwell in his deposition (August 22, 1642)

stated that there were "above 154,000 now wanting within the very precinct of Ulster." The general impression in England was, that in one way or another 200,000 protestants perished in this rebellion.*

The king, on receiving intelligence of the insurrection in Ireland, referred the whole matter to the parliament of England, who had already voted a supply of 50,000*l.* for that purpose, and taken other needful measures. The earl of Ormond was appointed lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland; but these were too few to check the progress of the Ulster rebels, who soon advanced and laid siege to Drogheda. When the Irish parliament met, the catholic members were very gentle in their condemnation of the rebellion,† and in little more than a month from the time of the first outbreak, the lord Gormanstown and the other catholics of the Pale were in arms on the side of the rebels.

Charles now prepared to leave Scotland. To conciliate the nobles he lavished the church-lands and places and honours on them. Argyle was made a marquess, Loudon an earl and chancellor, Lesley and Munro earls of Leven and Calender; Johnston of Warriston was raised to the bench; the livings of Henderson and others were increased. In return, the safety of Montrose and his friends was assured, and ten thousand men were promised for the recovery of the Palatinate. Old Lesley, we are told by Clarendon, assured the king, "that he could not only never more serve against him, but that whenever his majesty would require his service he should have it without ever asking what the cause was." Others, he adds, whispered him, "that as soon as the troubles of the late storm could be perfectly calmed they would reverse and repeal whatsoever was now unreasonably extorted from him." Charles therefore quitted his native kingdom with good hopes that he had at least neutralized it in the struggle which he was preparing to make for the recovery of his despotic power in England. Toward the end of November he returned to London, where, as we have seen, there

* Clarendon (ii. 20) says 40,000 or 50,000 were massacred at first; sir William Petty reduces the number to 37,000; Warner to 4000; Curry and Dr. Lingard make it almost nothing. In the preceding details we have followed the narrative of sir John Temple, who was master of the rolls in Ireland at the time. [There can be little doubt that Temple's account is exaggerated; especially as it so far exceeds all the other estimates. — J. T. S.]

† They objected to the term *rebels*, styling them merely *discontented gentlemen*. At length they consented to the words *traitorous and rebellious actions* of some persons.

had been some reaction in the popular feeling in his favor, and Gournay, the lord-mayor of the year, was a royalist. A magnificent civic banquet was given to the monarch at Guildhall, (Nov. 25,) and the streets rang with acclamations of loyalty as he passed to and from it. The king and his friends were unduly elated by these marks of popular favor, and their conduct stimulated the leaders of the commons to put forth their celebrated Remonstrance.

This Remonstrance was a recapitulation of all the illegal acts which had taken place since the king's accession, aying the blame, however, not on the king himself, but on ill ministers, who are called in it "a *malignant party*." It was vigorously opposed in the commons. The debate lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until past midnight, (Nov. 22;) several members left the house on account of age or infirmity, and yet it was carried only by a majority of eleven, which sir Benjamin Rudyard aptly compared to "the verdict of a starved jury." Hampden's motion for having it printed was rejected as being contrary to usage. As Hyde, the chief opponent of this measure, declared that he would protest against it, and Palmer and others cried out that they did protest, it was resolved by Pym and his friends to make an example, and Palmer, who was obnoxious to them on account of his courtesy toward Strafford, was selected and committed to the Tower, the more violent men being for his expulsion. After a few days' confinement, however, he was allowed to resume his seat in the house.

The opposition which the Remonstrance experienced had not been looked for by its advocates. At the conclusion of the debate Oliver Cromwell (who, however, was then of little note) whispered lord Falkland, and with an asseveration said, "that if the remonstrance had been rejected he would have sold all he had the next morning and never have seen England more, and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution." Having now, however, carried their point, the leaders resolved to use their advantage, and on the 1st of December the Remonstrance, and with it a petition complaining of a "*malignant party*," to whom they attributed all the evils, such as the Irish rebellion, which had occurred, and praying for their removal, etc., was presented to the king at Hampton-court; and a few days after both were printed and circulated, contrary to usage. The king, who now began to act by good advice, put forth a reply which left the parliament no advantage over him. A few days after, on receiving an address from the court of alder-

men, praying him to reside at Whitehall, he returned to the capital.

The intelligence of the strength and atrocities of the rebels which daily arrived from Ireland made the king urgent with the parliament to proceed in the affairs of that country. A proposal of the Scots to send ten thousand men to Ulster to be paid by the English, was agreed to, and a bill for impressing an equal number in England passed the commons; but as in the preamble it was asserted that the king had no right to press the subject except in case of foreign invasion, the lords demurred to the novel doctrine, and the attorney-general craved to be heard on the king's part against it. The commons then ordered their committee "to meet no more about that business;" the levies were stopped; it was declared "that the loss of Ireland must be imputed to the lords." The king then, with his usual imprudence, acting, Clarendon says, under the secret advice of St. John, came to the house of lords and proposed "that the bill should pass with a *salvo jure* both for the king and people." This interference in a pending bill, however, both houses joined in declaring to be a breach of privilege, as it really was, and the king made an ample apology. His offer to raise ten thousand volunteers for the service of Ireland was at once rejected. The unfortunate Irish protestants were thus sacrificed to the struggles of parties in England; "the parliament," says Horace Walpole, "connived at the Irish rebellion, in order to charge king Charles with fomenting it." Still we must not unconditionally impute to the parliament mere factious motives; they vehemently, and not without reason, suspected the king of having originally sanctioned the rising of the Irish, and they well knew that if once he had an army at his devotion, he would revoke all his concessions, and pour out his vengeance on the heads of those who had wrung them from him. It was the same feeling which caused a bill to be brought in for vesting the power over the militia in the hands of commissioners. Their apprehensions were also increased by the king's displacing Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, "which was looked upon as a bridle upon the city," and giving that office to colonel Lunsford, "upon whom he might rely." On the complaint of the commons of Lunsford's being a man of desperate character, who had heretofore made his escape from prison, and then fled the kingdom, the king made him resign, and gave the place to sir John Byron; but even he did not please, and he was soon after replaced by sir John Conyers.



King Charles and a Hawking Party.



Berwick-upon-Tweed.

To weaken the king's party in the lords the former bill for taking away the bishops' votes was brought in again. When it was objected that a bill could not be introduced a second time in the same session, Pym replied, that "their orders were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, not to be altered." It was therefore received, and soon after passed, and sent up to the lords. At this time lord Falkland, who now saw through the designs of the popular party, opposed it, and on Hampden's saying "he was sorry to see a noble lord had changed his opinion since the time the last bill to this purpose had passed the house," he replied, "that he had been persuaded at that time by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue, and therefore he had changed his opinions in many particulars, as well as to things as to persons."

The old tactics of rumors and petitions were also recurred to. It was at this time that Beale the tailor overheard the project for assassinating the lords and commons. A petition was published in the name of "the apprentices, and those whose apprenticeships were lately expired," stating that "they found the beginning of great mischiefs coming upon them, to nip them in the bud when they were first entering into the world; the cause of which they could attribute to no others but the papists and the prelates, and that malignant party that adhered to them," etc. The publication of this petition had its natural result, the resort of multitudes to Westminster, shouting, "No bishops! no bishops!" The train-bands, whom the king had appointed to guard the houses of parliament, having repelled the rabble from the house of peers by threatening to fire on them, the commons sent to the lords, desiring them to be discharged, declaring that it should be lawful for every member to bring his own servant armed to attend at the door. The rabble, thus encouraged, came in greater numbers about the house of peers, crying, "No bishops! no popish lords!" and calling those who opposed the commons "rotten-hearted lords." When the lords sent to the commons, complaining of the insults which they received, some members said, "We must not discourage our friends, this being a time we must make use of all our friends;" and Pym said, "God forbid the house of commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way." A writ was then issued by direction of the lords, to the sheriff and justices, requiring them to appoint strong watches to prevent this conflux of people to Westminster. This the commons voted to

be a breach of privilege, and they sent one of the justices who acted on it to the Tower. During the Christmas holidays the crowds became still greater, and the cries of "No bishops! no popish lords!" still louder. They were even heard to say before Whitehall, "that they would have no more porter's lodge, but would speak with the king when they pleased." Some read aloud the names of "disaffected members of the house of commons," and of "false, rotten-hearted" lords. They threatened to pull down the houses of the bishops, and assaulted several of them in their coaches; they laid hold on the archbishop of York, and would, it is said, have murdered him if he had not been rescued.

This prelate was the celebrated Williams, whom the king had lately elevated to an archiepiscopal see. The day he was assaulted he sent for the bishops, to the number of twelve or thirteen, who were in town, and proposed, as it was no longer safe for them to go to the house of peers, that they should present a protestation against the force that was used upon them, and against all the acts to be done during their enforced absence from the house. They consented, and signed the protestation, which Williams carried himself to the king, requesting him to transmit it to the peers. His request was complied with. The lords then desired a conference with the commons, the result of which was the impeachment and committal to the Tower of the prelates, whose conduct, though highly imprudent, was certainly not illegal.

There were many members of the house of commons who, though zealous for the reformation of abuses, disliked the measures of Pym and his party. Such were the upright lord Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde. The king was advised to call these men to his councils, and he offered the place of secretary to the first, which with some difficulty he was induced to accept; the second was made chancellor of the exchequer. Hyde declined any office for the present, saying that he should be able to do better service by remaining as he was. Lord Digby was already greatly in the confidence of the king, to whose cause his levity and indiscretion often proved of serious injury.

On New year's day (1642) a scuffle took place at Westminster, in which some blood was drawn. A number of officers of the late army and of those soldiers of fortune who were then so numerous, had offered their services to the king as a guard; the same was done by the students of

the inns of court. Their offer was rather imprudently accepted, and various rencounters took place between them and the mobs that resorted to Westminster. It was on this occasion that the terms Roundhead and Cavalier came into use, the former being given in reproach to the close-cropped apprentices and others of the mobs, who returned it by terming their opponents Cavaliers, as military hectors were usually called.

The 3d of January, 1642, was rendered ever memorable by an act of fatal imprudence on the part of the king. Without consulting any of his ministers, (unless it were Digby,) he ordered Herbert, the attorney-general, to proceed to the house of peers, and exhibit charges of high-treason against the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Haselrig, Pym, Hampden, and Strode. At the same time a serjeant-at-arms appeared at the bar of the commons, and demanded that the five accused members should be surrendered to him. Other servants of the king had already gone to these members' lodgings, and sealed up their trunks and studies. The house sent a message to the king, "that the members should be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge should be preferred against them," and then adjourned.

Next day, when the house met, they sent to inform the lord mayor and common council that their privileges were like to be broken, and the city put into danger, and advised them to look to their security. They then adjourned till one o'clock. When they met again, secret information being come (from lady Carlisle it is said) of what was to happen, the house gave the five members leave to absent themselves, and they accordingly withdrew. Presently the king arrived with all his guard and pensioners, and two or three hundred gentlemen and soldiers, mostly armed. These he ordered to remain in the hall, and on their lives not to come into the house. He entered with his nephew, the Palsgraf, took off his hat and advanced to the speaker's chair, who quitted it at his approach. The king stepped up to it, and having looked round for a time, told the house he would respect their privileges, but that treason had no privilege, and he was come for those five members. He called Pym and Hollis by name; no answer being returned, he asked the speaker where they were. Lenthall fell on his knees, and said, "he was a servant to the house, and had neither eyes nor tongue to see or speak any thing but what they commanded him." The king replied, that "he thought his own eyes were as good as his;" and then said, "his birds were flown, but he did expect the

house would send them to him; and if they did not, he would seek them himself, for their treason was foul, and such a one as they would all thank him to discover." He then assured them the accused should have a fair trial, and retired pulling off his hat till he reached the door. As he retired, the words "Privilege! privilege!" uttered by many voices, reached his ears.

What the particular charges to be made against these members were is uncertain. Some think it was the proofs the king had gotten in Scotland of their inviting the Scots in 1640, that he now intended to produce; but since that time an act of oblivion had been passed. Perhaps it was some portion of their late proceedings for which he thought himself now sufficiently strong to punish them. The proceeding was certainly a *coup d'état* for the recovery of his lost power. Clarendon says he was put on it by Digby; the queen, who had been menaced with an impeachment, certainly urged him on. It is said that when, on cooler thoughts, he resolved not to put his project of going to the house into execution, she cried to him, "Go, coward; go, pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see me more;" and that when the hour for the deed was past, she said to lady Carlisle, "Rejoice, for I hope that the king is now master in his states, and that such and such are in custody."

The five members had retired to a house in Colman-street in the city, which was their stronghold. Rumor was set at work; people ran to and fro during the night, crying, "The cavaliers are coming to fire the city!" others added, that "the king himself was at the head of them." The whole city spent the night under arms; next morning, the king, having sent to the lord-mayor to call a common council, came at ten o'clock to the Guildhall, attended only by three or four lords. He addressed the people, expressing his sorrow that they should have apprehended danger from him, adding, that to show his confidence in *them*, he was come without a guard, and that he presumed they would not shelter those whom he intended to proceed against legally for high treason. He then told one of the sheriffs that he would dine with him. As he went through the city, shouts of "Privilege of parliament!" were raised, and one person flung into his coach a pamphlet, entitled, "To your tents, O Israel!" the words with which the ten tribes abandoned Rehoboam, the son of Solomon.

While the king was in the city the house of commons met, and having declared his late conduct to be the highest breach of privilege and themselves not to be safe, adjourned for a few

days, appointing a committee to sit at Merchant-Tailors' hall in the city, "and all who came to have voices." The lords also adjourned.

Next day (6th) the king issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the five members; the committee met in the city, where another committee of the common council also sat in order to communicate with them. Their chief occupation was for the present to collect all the particulars of the late breach of their privileges. The five members were afterwards brought to the committee with much state, and a declaration was set forth in which the conduct of the king respecting them was asserted to be a high breach of privilege, and his proclamation "false, scandalous, and illegal." It further contained a narrative of the transactions on the 4th, full of gross exaggeration and even palpable falsehood, and this mere declaration of the committee was printed and circulated — a thing without precedent.

A petition from the city was presented to the king on the subjects of the Irish rebellion, the papists, the changes at the Tower, the "late invasion of the house of commons," etc. Tumultuous crowds repaired to Westminster, "and it was a dismal thing," says Whitelocke, "to all sober men, especially members of parliament, to see and hear them." Finally intelligence came of the great preparations in the city to bring the accused members in triumph to the parliament on the 11th, the day to which the houses stood adjourned. The king, deeply mortified at his own imprudence, and anxious to escape the insults and the danger which he apprehended, took the further unwise resolution (as many thought it) of quitting Whitehall, and on the 10th he retired with his queen and children to Hampton-court.

Next day in the afternoon the river was covered with boats, and between two lines of lighters and long-boats carrying ordnance and prepared for action, the five members, attended by the sheriffs and a part of the train-bands, proceeded to Westminster. Another body of the train-bands advanced along the Strand. Their commander was one Skippon, who, having risen from the ranks in the Dutch service, had been made captain of the artillery-ground to drill the citizens, and he now bore the novel title of "serjeant-major-general of the militia of the city of London." They were followed by vast numbers of the populace, shouting against bishops and popish lords, and for privilege of parliament, and asking contemptuously, as they passed Whitehall, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers?"

The members took their seats; Pym rose and expatiated on the great kindness and affection which they had experienced in the city; the sheriffs then were called in and thanked by the speaker; the masters and officers of ships were also thanked; Skippon was appointed to attend each day with such a guard as he thought proper for the two houses. Next came four thousand men of Bucks, all on horseback, with the Protestation in their hats, with a proffer of their services to the parliament, and a petition to the king, complaining of the accusation of the knight of their shire, Mr. Hampden.*

"From this day," says Clarendon, "we may reasonably date the levying of war in England, whatsoever hath been since done being but the superstructures upon those foundations which were then laid." Both parties had in fact resolved on an appeal to the sword; but, to do them justice, neither had any anticipation of the protracted contest and the bloodshed and calamities that were to ensue; each thought that the mere display of force would suffice to intimidate the other. Of the king's intentions we think there can be no doubt; and the late attempt on them had convinced the popular leaders that their only safety lay in depriving the sovereign of his power.†

The officers and others who had formed a kind of guard for the king followed him out of town. They lodged at Kingston-on-Thames that night, and next day (12th) lord Digby came thither in his coach-and-six from Hampton-court, with a message from the king accepting the proffer of their services. The design in this is manifest; but how the commons could with any sense of truth or justice designate the conduct of Digby a levying of war against the king and kingdom is somewhat strange. Digby, conscious of his own designs and aware of their vengeance, fled to Holland. On the king's refusal to remove Byron from the command of the Tower, the houses directed Skippon to place a guard round it, that neither provisions should go in nor ammunition go out; they directed sir John Hotham to go to Hull, where the arms and ammunition of the late army had been laid up, and keep it with the aid of the train-bands of the adjoining parts; and they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to let no one in or out of that town but by *their* orders. We must here again observe, that the secret designs

* "Whereof," says Whitelocke, "probably he was not altogether ignorant beforehand."

† "Mr. Hampden," says Clarendon, "was much altered after this accusation, his nature and courage seeming much fiercer than before

of the king, with all of which Pym and his friends were made acquainted by lady Carlisle and others, offered some justification of these stretches of power in the parliament. They knew, for example, that he had sent the earl of Newcastle, a man who was zealously devoted to him, to Hull, near which his estates and influence lay, with "a private commission to be governor thereof," says Clarendon, "as soon as it should be fit to publish such a command, and in the meantime by his own interest to draw in such of the country as were necessary to guard the magazine."

The grand object of the parliament was to obtain the entire control over the military force of the kingdom. For this end St. John's bill for settling the militia, with the important addition of "the putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons into the hands of such persons as they could *confide in*," was read. Clarendon on this remarks, that "when it had been with much ado accepted and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance; but now there were very few who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the peace and safety of the kingdom. So great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them, so that with little opposition it passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords." The peers, however, hesitated to pass a measure so adverse to the crown. All efforts were therefore made to intimidate them. Thus, when on one occasion the popular party in the lords had recourse to their usual tactics of crying, "Adjourn! adjourn!" when they found matters likely to go against them, the duke of Richmond, a courtier, said, "if they would adjourn, he wished it might be for six months." For this the commons voted to "accuse him to the lords to be one of the malignant party," and to desire them to join in a petition to the king to remove him from any office about his person. Petitions also came pouring in from the counties round London, praying for all that the commons wanted. The common council of the city, when applied to for a loan for the war in Ireland, could see no security for trade or any thing else unless the lieutenant of the Tower were removed, and it and the other forts "put into such hands in whom the parliament might confide." Soon after came "The humble petition of many thousands of poor people in and about the city of London." These suitors could see no means of averting the ruin about to engulf them, but the removal of "the bishops and the popish lords and others of that malignant faction," which if not done, "they shall be forced to lay hold on the next remedy which is at hand to effect it;

want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty." They modestly pray that "those noble worthies of the house of peers who concur with you in your happy votes, may be earnestly desired to join with this honorable house, and to sit and vote as one entire body." Most gracious words were given to these amenders of the state, and Hollis, acting on the last hint, when he was sent to request the lords to join in a petition to the king about the militia, desired that "those lords who were willing to concur, would find some means to make themselves known, that it might be known who were against them, and they might make it known to those that sent them." The very porters of London, filled with patriot zeal, came, to the number of fifteen thousand, with a petition to the commons, complaining of the "prevalence of that adverse, malignant, blood-sucking, rebellious party," the cause of all the evils. Trade, they said, was dead for want of fortification of the Cinque-ports, whence they themselves "did want employment in such a measure as did make their lives very uncomfortable." In conclusion, they desired "that justice might be done upon offenders according as the atrocity of their crimes had deserved, for if those things were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and to make good that saying, that necessity hath no law." The zeal of the good dames of the city was not less fervid; headed by Mrs. Anne Stagge, "a gentlewoman and brewer's wife," thousands of them came with a petition to the commons against prelates, papists, and so forth. The petition being read, Pym was sent out to answer them. He thanked them for their petition; which "came in a seasonable time," assured them their desires should be attended to, and entreated them "to repair to their houses, and turn their petition into prayers at home" for the commons.

"Such low arts of popularity were affected, and by such illiberal cant were the unhappy people incited to civil discord and convulsions!" is the reflection of Hume on this occasion. We do not go the same lengths as this writer, but we certainly do discern arts little worthy of men of that elevation to which their idolaters raise our Pym and Hampdens. In us, however, who only view in them statesmen of a higher order, they excite no surprise. They are the arts common to statesmen of all ages, as essential to them as cunning to the fox and ferocity to the tiger. We have only to look at the events of our own days for evidence.

Under the influence of this external pressure, the lords passed the bills for impressment and for taking away the bishops' votes, to both of which the king was induced, chiefly

by the queen, to give his assent. To the ordinance in which the two houses joined respecting the militia, he deferred giving an answer till he should be at Dover, whither he was about to attend the queen, who, under the pretext of conveying his baby-wife to the prince of Orange, was going to Holland, taking with her the crown-jewels, in order to purchase arms and ammunition for the impending contest. Charles feared that if he were to give a positive refusal at the time, the queen's departure might be prevented.

The queen being safely off, Charles came to Greenwich, whither the prince of Wales was brought to meet him. He then gave his answer respecting the militia, offering to appoint the lords-lieutenant of counties nominated by parliament, provided that the powers to be given them should be first by law vested in himself. The houses voted the advisers of this reply to be enemies to the state. The king then went to Theobald's, whither he was followed by a committee with a petition, stating that if he did not assent to what they had proposed, they would be obliged for the safety of himself and his kingdoms to dispose of the militia themselves in the manner propounded to him. They also prayed that he and the prince would continue to reside in or about London. Charles gave an instant reply, declining to assent to their demands, but assuring them on his honor "that he had no thought but of peace and justice to his people." The parliament, on receiving this answer, resolved that the kingdom should be put in a posture of defence, and a declaration, "containing the causes of their just fears and jealousies," be sent to the king. This declaration found him at Newmarket; his answer to it was of the same tenor with his former one. When the earl of Pembroke asked him, "whether the militia might not be granted as was desired by the parliament for a time?" he replied, "By God, not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." The committee returned to London; the king pursued his journey to York, where he arrived the latter end of March.

As we are now on the eve of the civil war, we will state the previous conduct of both parties. The king had assented to all that was demanded of him, except parting with the militia, and even in this he had given way in a great measure. But at the same time he had given abundant proof that by force or stratagem he would endeavor to recover all he had resigned, and that the only security of the parliament lay in

his weakness; but that he had not the power now, unless aided by the ill conduct of his opponents, to make a successful attempt, late events had shown. Despotism was what *he* aimed at, that is plain; but did the Pym and Hampdens aim at nothing beyond the maintenance of constitutional liberty? This will best appear by an examination of their acts during the last year.

"After every allowance has been made," says Hallam,* "he must bring very heated passions to the records of those times, who does not perceive in the conduct of the house of commons a series of glaring violations, not only of positive and constitutional, but of those higher principles which are paramount to all immediate policy." He then collects the following instances. The ordinance for disarming recusants, and that authorizing the earl of Leicester to raise men for the defence of Ireland, — encroachments on the prerogative; Pym's menace to the peers, that if they did not pass the bills sent to them by the commons, these last, "with such of the lords as are more sensible of the safety of the kingdom," shall represent the same to the king,† and their accusation of the duke of Richmond, above related, — encroachments on the house of peers; their enormous extension of privilege, any one who said a word against them being dragged off to prison,‡ as also were those charged with introducing ceremonies in the church, (a thing surely not belonging to them,) "the outrageous attempts to intimidate the minority of their own body by committing them to the Tower for such language used in debate as would not have excited any observation in ordinary times."§ Then again, as the same writer

* Constitutional History, ii. 192.

† This resolution, the germ of that of the house of lords being useless, was moved by Pym on Dec. 3, 1641, "before the argument from necessity could be pretended." On Mr. Godolphin's objecting that, if *they* went to the king with the lesser part of the lords, the greater part of these might go to him with the lesser part of them, he was ordered to withdraw, and his offence was to be taken into consideration the following Tuesday. — Hallam.

‡ One Sandford, a royalist tailor, being charged with saying, "that the earl of Essex was a traitor; that all the parliament were traitors; that the earl of Warwick was a traitor, and he wished his heart in his boots; and that he cursed the parliament, and wished Mr. Pym (calling him King Pym) and sir John Hotham both hanged;" — for this the lords (the puppets of the commons) sentenced him to be kept at work in Bridewell *for his life*, besides some minor inflictions. Pym was called by the royalists King Pym, on account of his portly person and his absolute power over his party.

§ See the case of Mr. Palmer, (above, p. 103.) In the debate on the late declaration, in which they most falsely charged the king with a

observes, "their despotic violation of the rights of the people, in imprisoning those who presented or prepared respectful petitions in behalf of the established constitution, while they encouraged those of a tumultuous multitude at their bar in favor of innovation, their usurpation at once of the judicial and legislative powers in all that related to the church, particularly by their committee for scandalous ministers, under which denomination, adding reproach to injury, they subjected all who did not reach the puritan standard of perfect on to contumely and vexation, and ultimately to expulsion from their lawful property." He then notices the impeachment of the twelve bishops, whose protest, though, "not perhaps entirely well expressed, is abundantly justifiable in its argument by the plainest principles of law." In fine, he says, that "these great abuses of power becoming daily more frequent as they became less excusable, would make a sober man hesitate to support them in a civil war, wherein their success must not only consummate the destruction of the crown, the church, and the peerage, but expose all who had dissented from their proceedings, as it ultimately happened, to an oppression, less severe perhaps, but far more sweeping than that which had rendered the star-chamber odious.

The further reflections of this judicious writer, almost the only one who evinces impartiality on this subject, and does not act the part of advocate to one side or the other, are most deserving of consideration. He thinks, as we do, that the parliament, relying on the justice of their cause and the favor of the people, should have accepted the offer of the king respecting the militia. We will add, that we cannot divest our mind of a suspicion that it was the secret design of Pym, Hampden, and some others to convert the monarchy into a republic, of which they hoped to be themselves the chiefs; for *they* were no religious zealots; their views were chiefly political.

To understand the question of the militia, it is necessary to recollect, that at this time there was no standing army in England. After the feudal army had gone out of use, the kings used to raise troops for their foreign wars by contracts with influential noblemen, and by giving very large pay. At the same time the old Saxon *Fyrd* continued under another

design to change his religion, sir Ralph Hopton, for saying, "that they seemed to ground an opinion of the king's apostasy upon a less evidence than would serve to hang a fellow for stealing a horse," was committed to the Tower. Clarendon, ii. 282. See also the case of Trelawny, in the following page.

form, and the men in each shire were required to keep arms and be ready to suppress insurrection and repel invasion. It was expressly provided by a statute of Edward I. that the militia should not be required to leave their own county except in these cases; but during the period of the Tudor despotism, this was little heeded; and a statute of Philip and Mary empowered the crown to levy men for service in war, and men were in consequence frequently pressed to serve in Ireland and elsewhere. When it was necessary to call out the forces of the counties, commissions of array were issued to particular persons for this purpose; but the sheriff was the person who usually disposed of the military force of his county. In Mary's reign a new officer named the lord-lieutenant was appointed, usually a peer or influential commoner in the county, whose office was altogether military. It was his office to muster and train, when necessary, the able-bodied men of the county, and he was the commander of the militia, or train-bands, as they were named. Each county had its magazine of arms and ammunition, to be issued to the train-bands when called into service.

As the institution of lords-lieutenant was a Tudor measure, it is quite certain that they had been always named by the crown; yet it was the right of appointing to this office that the commons now demanded; and sooner than yield to the king on this point, they plunged the nation into a civil war. "No one," says Hallam again, "can pretend that this was not an encroachment on his prerogative. It can only find a justification in the precarious condition, as the commons asserted it to be, of those liberties they had so recently obtained, in their just persuasion of the king's insincerity, and in the demonstrations he had already made of an intention to win back his authority at the sword's point. But it is equitable on the other hand to observe, that the commons had by no means greater reason to distrust the faith of Charles than he had to anticipate fresh assaults from them on the power he had inherited, on the form of religion which alone he thought lawful, on the counsellors who had served him most faithfully, and on the nearest of his domestic ties. If the right of self-defence could be urged by parliament for this demand of the militia, must we not admit that a similar plea was equally valid for the king's refusal? However arbitrary and violent the previous government of Charles may have been, however disputable his sincerity at present, it is vain to deny that he had made the most valuable concessions,

and such as had cost him very dear. It was not unreasonable for the king to pause at the critical moment which was to make all future denial nugatory, and inquire whether the prevailing majority designed to leave him what they had not taken away."

CHAPTER VII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

1642—1644.

THE nobility and gentry of York and the adjoining counties now resorted to the king with ardent expressions of sympathy and attachment. He had in fact succeeded in putting the parliament in the wrong, and men were become indignant at beholding the continued efforts (the secret motives of which they were ignorant of) for stripping the sovereign of all his powers and prerogatives. Many of the peers now came to him from London, and in the paper war of declarations and so forth carried on between him and the parliament, his manifestoes, prepared by Hyde, were as superior to theirs in argument as in eloquence. His tone now became more elevated; there was an end of concession, he insisted on his rights, and, in the opinion of many, he required nothing to which his claims were not as well founded as any private man's right to his lands and tenements.

The pernicious influence of the queen, though absent, still operated. In his uxoriousness, Charles thought himself bound, regardless of consequences, to fulfil any unwary promise which she had drawn from him, and he now, in compliance with her will, and in opposition to the opinion of his best advisers, required the earls of Essex and Holland to resign the staff and key of their offices. By this he only gratified spleen, and he lost the advantage of the restraint which honor would have imposed on the subsequent conduct of these noblemen.

The earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, being delicate in health, the commons required that he should appoint the earl of Warwick to command for a year in his stead; the king, when this arrangement was notified to him, wrote expressing his desire that sir John Pennington should be

appointed. The parliament persisted, and Warwick took the command of the fleet without the king's consent. A petition was then forwarded that the magazine might be removed from Hull to London. This was of course refused, for to obtain possession of it was a principal cause of the king's coming to the north. He sent (Apr. 8) a message to the houses, declaring his intention to go in person to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, for which purpose he would raise a guard of two thousand foot and two hundred horse in the counties about West Chester, to be armed from the magazine at Hull. The reply of the parliament to this message was a positive refusal of their consent, and orders were sent to Hotham to transmit the magazine to London. The king, who regarded the magazine as his private property, resolved to go forthwith and take possession of it. He, therefore, (22d.) sent the young duke of York with some attendants to Hull, where they were received with all due respect by Hotham, and the next morning he rode thither himself with two or three hundred of his servants and gentlemen of the county; and when he came near the town, he sent word to the governor that he was coming to dine with him. Hotham, an irresolute man, was in great perplexity, but the magistrates and officers persuaded him not to admit the king. Charles therefore found the bridges up, the gates shut, and the walls manned. Hotham appeared on the walls, and with many professions of duty declined to admit him for fear of offending the parliament. The king, finding all his efforts vain, proclaimed Hotham a traitor, and retired deeply mortified to Beverley. The duke of York and his retinue were dismissed in safety. In reply to the complaints of the king, the parliament justified the conduct of Hotham, and the ordnance and ammunition in Hull were shortly afterwards removed to London.

The parliament now issued orders to the lords-lieutenant to put their ordinance respecting the militia into execution; the king on the other hand forbade obedience to it, and issued commissions of array. While both sides were raising and disciplining men, the appeal to the people by means of declarations and manifestoes was kept up, and messages and answers were going and coming between York and London. On the 2d of June the parliament sent their *ultimatum* in a petition containing nineteen articles, which, as Hallam well observes, "went to abrogate in spirit the whole existing constitution," for they required that the king should consent to all the changes in church and state which they had pro-

posed; that all offices of every kind should be given to none but those of whom they approved, *i. e.*, whom they should appoint; that the laws against recusants should be put in force, and their children be taken from them to be educated by protestants, etc. etc. If he consented to these demands, they promised to secure him an abundant revenue. The king made an indignant reply, "protesting that if he were both vanquished and a prisoner, in worse condition than any the most unfortunate of his predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never stoop so low as to grant those demands, and to make himself of a king of England a duke of Venice."

The majority of the peers and a great number of the commons were now with the king at York, for which nine of the former were impeached by the commons. The lord-keeper Littleton had likewise been induced to send the great seal to the king, and he also repaired himself to York. In the presence of the peers, (June 13,) the king then made a solemn declaration of his intention to maintain the laws and the protestant religion, and they in return subscribed a promise to defend the crown and the protestant religion, the liberties of the people and the just privileges of the king and parliament. Charles, moreover, made before them (15th) a solemn protestation that he had no intention of levying war against the parliament, and they subscribed a declaration of their belief in his assertions. Among the subscribers was the upright Falkland; we may, therefore, be certain that there was no fraud designed. As the parliament had made an order for bringing in money or plate for maintaining horsemen and arms, the king wrote to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London not to raise any forces for the parliament, and he invited men to bring him horses, arms, and money on the security of the royal parks and forests, with eight per cent. interest.

The king went to Nottingham and Lincolnshire, where his speeches and declarations had a good effect, and a vessel sent by the queen with arms and ammunition (of which he hitherto had none) being arrived, he advanced with three thousand foot and one thousand horse to lay siege to Hull; but the earl of Warwick having secured the fleet, whose coöperation he had looked for, and the raw train-bands not standing their ground when the besieged made a sally, he found it expedient to retire. The parliament on their side were far advanced in their preparations; they had appointed (July 4) a 'Committee of Safety' of fifteen persons as ar

executive; it was voted that an army (of twenty regiments of foot and seventy-five troops of horse) should be raised. Money was easily obtained by loans, and "by the endeavors of sundry ministers and others, a great quantity of money, plate, and ammunition was brought in, even by some poor women to their wedding rings and bodkins." *

The balance of power seemed greatly on the side of the parliament. They were in possession of all the magazines and forts except Newcastle-on-Tyne; the people of London and all the great towns were mostly in their favor, as were the southern and eastern counties; those of the north and west and of Wales inclined more to the royal cause. The great body of the nobility and gentry were on the side of the king; and the catholics, as was natural, were unanimous in his favor. But every county and every town and village, almost every family, was divided in sentiment, some being from principle or prejudice in favor of the ancient order of things, others desirous of change and ardent for revolution.

The parliament gave the command of their army to the earl of Essex. This nobleman, whom we have seen in his early youth disgraced by the infamy of his countess, had long served in the Low Countries, and acquired in that school a knowledge of military discipline and tactics.† He may have retained a painful recollection of the treatment which he had experienced from the father of the king, but he was a man of unblemished honor, and a foe neither to the monarchy nor the church. The earl of Bedford, also a man of moderate character, was appointed his lieutenant-general. The soldiers of fortune who had been in the late Scottish army were invited and received commands. Such members of either houses as had influence enough to raise regiments of foot or troops of horse, held the command of them as colonels and captains. As there had been as yet no certain uniform in the English army, the leaders gave their own colors to their men. That of the general was "orange-

* Whitelocke. "The seamstress brought in her silver thimble, the chamber-maid her bodkin, the cook her silver spoon; and some sort of females were free in their contributions so far as to part with their rings and ear-rings, as if some golden calf were to be set up and idolized." Howel, *Philangles*, p. 128.

"Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,
To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols;
Their husbands, cullies, and sweethearts
To take the saints' and churches' parts." — HUDIBRAS

The favorite name for Essex among the soldiers was Old Robin

tawny," and scarfs of this hue designated the parliamentary soldiers. We also meet with the green-coats of Hampden, the red-coats of Hollis, the blue-coats of lord Say, and the purple of lord Brook. Sir Arthur Haselrig's "lobsters," or cuirassiers, were also famous. The royal troops were raised in a similar manner, but as they consisted chiefly of the nobility, gentry, and their dependants, they were in general of a superior order to those of the parliament, who had enlisted all sorts of rabble.* The troop raised by Oliver Cromwell formed a noble exception. "Cromwell," says Whitelocke, "had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately."

In the contest to be carried on between the two parties, we shall meet with little of scientific warfare; none of the skilful manœuvres to bring on or avoid engagements employed by a Condé or Turenne; no encampments; the troops on each side quartered in towns and villages; continual beating up of quarters; battles fought wherever the hostile troops came in sight; every strong house a garrison; incessant besieging of towns, castles, and private houses. Finally, we shall discern a spirit of humanity and an absence of atrocities on most occasions, such as have never occurred in any other civil war.

As is usual in civil commotions, each party gave specious names to its own side, and opprobrious to the contrary. The royalists called their opponents Rebels and Rogues, and were in return styled Malignants. By the term Honest Men each party meant its own adherents.

The commencement of hostilities was as follows. Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, had been in high favor with

* "At my first going out into this engagement," said Cromwell, "I saw their men were beaten on every hand. I did indeed. . . . 'Your troops,' said I to Hampden, 'are most of them old, decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, 'their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honor, and courage, and resolution in them. . . . ? You must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say, I know you will not, of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one," etc. etc.

the parliament since the affair of the army-plot. He had secretly, however, made his peace with the king, for whom he had engaged to hold that town; yet so well did he act his part, that the parliament appointed him lieutenant-general of their horse. He made various prettexts for still remaining at Portsmouth; at length, on receiving peremptory orders to join, he declared that he held that place from the king, and durst not quit it without his leave. Forthwith a part of the army under sir William Waller appeared before the town, (Aug. 2.) The king, on receiving intelligence, proclaimed Essex and his officers traitors, and called on all his good subjects to meet him in arms at Nottingham on the 25th of the month. This proclamation the parliament declared to be a scandalous and libellous paper, and all who advised or abetted it traitors.

On the evening of the 25th of August, a stormy day, the king, who was at Nottingham with a small train of horse, rode out from the castle at their head. The royal standard, which was borne by sir Edward Verney, was then set up amid the sound of drums and trumpets; but the whole scene was melancholy, and it was regarded as an ill omen that the standard was blown down during the night. From Nottingham the king moved westwards, collecting men and receiving voluntary contributions, and at Shrewsbury his army amounted to eighteen thousand men. Two disastrous events had meantime occurred. Goring had been obliged to surrender Portsmouth, and the marquess of Hertford, to whom the command of the western counties was committed, had been driven out of them by the earl of Bedford. Among the misfortunes attending the king may also be reckoned the arrival of his nephews, the princes Rupert and Maurice, two rude, impetuous, unprincipled soldiers of fortune, to whom, as the sacred blood flowed in their veins, he gave high and independent commands, in preference to those gallant men who were hazarding their fortunes and their lives in his cause.

Essex had been for some time with his forces at Northampton, whence he moved toward Worcester, near which place a body of five hundred horse was fallen on and routed by prince Rupert. On the 10th of October the king left Shrewsbury, and proceeded by Bridgenorth and Birmingham to Kenilworth, whence, after making a halt of some days, he advanced toward the capital; and on Saturday (Oct. 22) he came to a village named Edgewcot, within four miles of Banbury. Essex, who was following him, arrived about the

same time at the village of Keinton, within seven or eight miles of Edgecot. It had been the design of the king to halt for a day, and to take Banbury; but, on learning the vicinity of Essex, it was resolved to turn back and give him battle, and early in the morning of Sunday (23d) the cavalry of the royal army proceeded to take its position on the summit of Edgehill, which overlooks the valley named the Vale of the Red Horse, in which Keinton lies at about two miles distance.

Essex, who had intended to halt that day and wait for his artillery and the rest of his forces, seeing that he must give battle, drew out his army in the vale. On the right wing he placed the greater part of his horse under sir William Balfour, the lieutenant-general of the earl of Bedford; another body under sir James Ramsey, the commissary-general, was on the left; the foot led by himself in person occupied the centre. It was not till after noon that the royal army began to descend the hill, for some of the regiments had to march from a distance of seven or eight miles. The cavalry on the right was commanded by prince Rupert, that on the left by Wilmot the commissary-general; the foot were led by the earl of Lindsey the general; the royal standard was borne by sir Edward Verney. The superiority of numbers was rather on the side of the king. The day was clear and fine; between two and three o'clock the battle, the first in which Englishmen were opposed to each other since the war of the Roses, commenced by the discharge of cannon on both sides; the infantry then engaged with great resolution: Rupert, with the impetuosity which characterized him, charged the horse opposed to him and drove them off the field; he pursued them beyond Keinton, but instead of returning to support the royal infantry, he fell to plundering the baggage which was in that village. Meanwhile, though Wilmot was also successful on the left, the infantry was hard pressed, and a charge made by Balfour on their flank threw them into utter confusion; the earl of Lindsey was wounded and made a prisoner, and with him his son lord Willoughby of Eresby; sir Edward Verney was slain and the standard taken,* and the king himself and his two sons ran the risk of being captured. When Rupert at length returned, the troops were so broken and scattered that they could not be brought again into action, and night now came

* It was recovered, however, by Capt. Smith, who was knighted for the exploit.

to terminate the conflict. The royal army retired over the hill, that of the parliament remained the whole night on the ground, where next morning they were joined by Hampden's and other regiments to the number of four thousand men, but instead of following the king they fell back to Warwick. The number of the slain was about five thousand men, the loss being probably nearly equal on both sides.* The brave earl of Lindsey died of his wounds; lord Aubigny, brother of the duke of Richmond, was killed, on the side of the king, on that of the parliament, lord St. John, and colonels Essex and Ramsey. Each side claimed the victory; the advantage was, however, clearly on that of the king, for he obliged Banbury to surrender, and marched unmolested to Oxford, whence parties of his horse advanced toward the capital.

The parliament in some consternation recalled Essex with his army to their defence, and they at the same time sent a petition to the king, who was now (Nov. 11) at Colnbrook for an accommodation. To this he gave a favorable reply but urged by his evil genius, prince Rupert, instead of remaining where he was, or retiring, as had been best, to Reading, he advanced to Brentford, in which one of Essex's regiments lay. After a stout defence they were overcome, several were drowned in attempting to swim across the Thames, and many were made prisoners. Next day Essex drew out his whole force, which aided by the city train-bands amounted to twenty-four thousand men, on Turnham-green. The king, greatly inferior in numbers, on learning that three thousand men who had been posted at Kingston were marching round by London to join the main army, led his troops over the bridge at that town, whence he proceeded to Reading, and having garrisoned that place and Wallingford, took up his quarters for the winter in Oxford. Though in the affair of Brentford there was nothing contrary to the known rules of war, no cessation of arms having been agreed on the parliament in their usual manner made it an occasion of reproach for perfidy and ill-faith against the king, whose cause was certainly rather injured than advanced by it.

Still the desire of the people was for peace; they had already had a foretaste of the evils of war in the insolence and violence of the soldiery on both sides and in the heavy im

* The duke of York says (Life of James, i. 17,) that "according to the best information, there were not above 1500 bodies of both parties remaining on the field of battle."

positions laid on them; an ordinance of the parliament at this very time requiring every man to give a twentieth of his property to the public service. A deputation from the city therefore proceeded (Jan. 10, 1643) to Oxford, and presented a petition to the king, and shortly after (31st) four lords and eight commoners came to the same place with fourteen propositions from the parliament. These, however, were quite as unreasonable as the nineteen at York. The king made six proposals in return, which were nearly as unreasonable. The violent men in the commons were for returning no reply; but the more moderate party prevailing, the earl of Northumberland, with sir John Holland, sir William Armyn, and Whitelocke and Pierpoint, came to Oxford (Mar. 20) and remained there in treaty till the 15th of April, when they were recalled by the parliament, on the king's refusal to disband his troops unless they engaged to restore the members of both houses and adjourn to some place twenty miles from London. As Whitelocke observes, it was quite improbable that they would "leave the city of London, their best friends and strength, and put a discontent upon them."

The candid Whitelocke remarks on this occasion the considerable mental power displayed by the king, whose unhappiness he says was "that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own." One material point he says they had nearly brought to a conclusion, but as it was past midnight the king deferred putting his answer into writing till morning. Next day his answer was the very contrary of what he had promised to give. Some of those, they heard, who wished the war to continue, had prevailed on him to change his mind. Clarendon's account, however, is less favorable to the king, who, he says, had made a promise to the queen, never to make peace but through her mediation.

That royal lady was now again in England. She had landed (Feb. 16) at Burlington in Yorkshire, having escaped Batten, the parliamentary admiral. This officer coming into the road discharged several rounds of shot at the house in which the queen was lodged, and she was obliged to rise from her bed and seek shelter behind a bank in the open fields. The earl of Newcastle then came and escorted her to York, where she remained for four months. Pym and his party (May 23) forthwith impeached her for high treason — an unmanly act, but one well calculated to answer *their* purposes.

While the king and parliament were in treaty, there had been no cessation of arms, and the balance of success had been

clearly on the royal side. In the west, the Cornishmen, led by sir Ralph Hopton, sir Bevil Grenvil and others, defeated Ruthin the governor of Plymouth at Bradock-down near Liskeard, and then took the town of Saltash, and advanced to Tavistock, where a treaty of peace was concluded between the counties of Devon and Cornwall. In Yorkshire a similar truce was concluded between the two parties, the same was done in Cheshire. But these pacific measures did not suit the designs of the grandes in parliament. They reprobated such engagements, and in the plenitude of their power absolved their partisans from keeping them. A further mode of strengthening the parliamentary cause was the association of several adjoining counties under the command of some leader appointed by the commander-in-chief.

On the 15th of April the earl of Essex sat down before Reading with an army of fifteen thousand men. The governor, sir Arthur Aston, a catholic and an able officer, having been wounded, the command fell to colonel Fielding. The king advanced to within a few miles of the town, but he found it advisable to allow a surrender to be made if good conditions were obtained, and on the 27th Fielding gave up the town, the garrison of between three and four thousand men being allowed to march out with the honors of war, taking with them all their arms and ammunition. But he basely consented to give up the deserters. On this account chiefly he was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be beheaded; the penalty, however, was remitted by the king. Essex remained at Reading, though urged by Hampden to advance against Oxford, for his soldiers were suffering from disease, and many of them deserted.

In the latter end of the month of May, the parliament got information of a plot against their authority in the city of London. The principal person engaged in it was Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, a man of good family and fortune, a member of the house of commons, and one of the late commissioners to Oxford. The object of it seems to have been to put in execution a commission of array given by the king for the city, and thus to give strength and union to the friends of peace and the royalists, and force the parliament to come to terms with the king. Many members of both houses, it is said, were acquainted with it, but a servant, who overheard some of the discourse about it, having given information to Pym, Waller and some others were arrested, tried, and found guilty of treason by a court-martial. Two eminent citizens namely, Tomkins (Waller's brother-in-law

and Chaloner, were hanged near their own houses. Waller, who acted like Lucan in a similar case, accusing his most intimate friends and making all the discoveries that were desired, also affecting the greatest remorse for his crime and seeking religious consolation from the leading divines, was after a year's confinement permitted to retire to the continent. He was obliged to pay a fine of 10,000*l*. A somewhat similar plot had been discovered at Bristol a little before, and Robert Yeomans (a late sheriff) and George Bouchier were hanged for their share in it. No men indeed were less disposed to endure opposition to their sovereign power than the professed champions of liberty. Waller's plot was made the pretext of imposing a new oath and covenant, never to lay down their arms "so long as the papists in open war against the parliament should be protected from the justice thereof." An ordinance was made that every man should take this engagement in his parish church.

To return to military affairs. Early in May, the queen came and joined the king with a force of upwards of three thousand men, and the Cornishmen having given their opponents a defeat at Stratton, (16th,) the marquess of Hertford and prince Maurice were sent thither by the king to follow up the success. Devon was speedily reduced, and the royalists advanced into Somerset. The parliament sent their active general Waller to the west, and an indecisive action took place at Lansdown near Bath, (July 5,) in which the gallant sir Bevil Greenvil was slain. The king sent Wilmot with a body of one thousand five hundred horse to the support of the Cornishmen, who were now closely besieged in the town of Devizes. Waller advanced with his troops to prevent their junction; the two forces encountered on Roundway-down near Devizes, (13th,) and the parliamentarians were routed with great slaughter. Waller fled to Bristol, whence he hastened up to London to justify himself. The parliament, in imitation of Rome, went forth to meet him, and the speaker returned him thanks for his services. Essex and he threw the blame on each other; Waller, however, never recovered the ground he had lost.

The very day of the defeat of Waller, the queen joined the king at Edgehill with a large reinforcement of troops, ammunition, and artillery. The royal cause was now rather prosperous in the north; for though sir Thomas Fairfax had defeated the royal troops at Wakefield, (May 20,) where colonel Goring, who had returned, was made a prisoner, and a plan of the Hothams to give up Hull to the king was dis-

covered, and they sent prisoners to London, the defeat of Fairfax by Newcastle on Atherton-moor (June 30) had sunk the cause of the parliament.

After a long stay at Reading, Essex advanced to Thame, within ten miles of Oxford. Here colonel Hurry, one of those Scottish soldiers of fortune who had joined the parliament, not being thought so much of as in his own opinion he deserved, went over to the king. As he knew exactly how Essex's army was disposed, he proposed to prince Rupert to beat up their quarters; the prince assented, and leaving Oxford in the evening, (June 18,) they advanced to Wycombe, where a regiment of horse and another of foot lay, and falling on them in the night killed or made prisoners of the whole, whence they went on to another village named Chinner, where they had the same success. They then prepared to return to Oxford with their prisoners and booty; but the alarm had been given; and as they were about to enter a lane from the plain called Chalgrave-field, they were overtaken by a body of horse collected at random. They turned, and after a sharp rencounter, drove them off with the loss of colonel Gunter and some of their other officers, and then proceeded uninterrupted to Oxford, where Hurry was knighted by the king.

One of the prisoners taken on this occasion said, that "he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, with his head hanging down and resting his hands on the neck of his horse." This proved to be the fact; Hampden, who had put himself at the head of a troop of horse, was struck by a brace of balls in the shoulder. He rode to Thame and had his wounds dressed, but they proved mortal, and after suffering for six days, he expired on the 25th of June. His private virtues and his eminent talents are generally acknowledged. He exhibited the greatest courtesy and temper in debate; his manner was modest and diffident as it were, and he gradually, as if seeking information, infused his opinions into others. While his valor in the field was undoubted, his moral courage in the council and senate was no less eminent; and as he was one of the root-and-branch party, he would allow no obstacles to impede his design of abolishing the church and the monarchy. That however, he was actuated by pure motives is a point about which we think there can be little dispute. The one party naturally exulted at his death; the other as naturally regarded it as a great calamity.

Essex retired with his army, broken and dispirited, to Kingston, and Rupert soon after marched into the west, where being joined by the Cornishmen, he laid siege to Bristol, of which Nathaniel Fiennes, son of lord Say, was governor, with a garrison of two thousand five hundred foot and two regiments of horse. As the fortifications were weak, Rupert resolved to try a storm, (July 25.) The defence of the garrison was gallant, but the assailants, though with great loss, gained the suburbs. While they hesitated what further to do, the city beat a parley. A surrender was agreed on, the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and the inhabitants to be secured in their persons and properties. These conditions, however, were badly kept, both soldiers and people being plundered by the victors, in retaliation, Clarendon pretends, for similar breach of treaty at Reading: "I wish," he adds, "I could excuse those swervings from justice and right which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion that they with whom they were made were rebels and could not be too ill used."* The king himself came soon after and joined the army, and prince Maurice was sent into Devon, where he reduced most of the towns.

"The parliament," says May, their historian, "was now in a low ebb; they had no forces at all to keep the field, their main armies being quite ruined, and no hope, in appearance, left, but to preserve awhile those forts and towns which they then possessed, nor could they long hope to preserve them, unless the fortune of the field should change." Under these circumstances, they resolved to invite the Scots to their aid, and (July 20) the earl of Rutland, sir Henry Vane, and three others, attended by the divines Marshall and Nye, set out for Edinburgh as commissioners. Measures were adopted to raise men to repair Essex's army, and as the city of London lay open and exposed, an intrenchment of twelve miles in circuit was commenced and speedily completed, "gentlemen of the best quality," says Whitelocke, "knights, and ladies, resorting to the works daily, carrying spades, mattocks, and other suitable implements; so that it became a pleasant spectacle at London, to see them going out in such order and numbers, with drums beating before them; which put life

* Fiennes was brought to a court-martial for the surrender of Bristol. Prynne and Clement Walker, two bitter, unrelenting persecutors managed the case against him, and he was sentenced to death, (Dec 28.) Essex, however, pardoned him, and he was allowed to retire to the continent.

into the drooping people, being taken for a happy omen that, in so low a condition, they yet seemed not to despair." The peace-party, however, was now strong in the houses, and on Saturday (Aug. 5) a proposal of the lords for a treaty with the king was carried in the commons. But next day the pulpits were all set at work, and Pennington the lord-mayor held a court of common council, where a petition against the measure was prepared. On Monday such a multitude came down with the petition, that the lords voted it a breach of privilege and adjourned, and the commons, under this pressure from without, rejected the propositions by a small majority.

Had the king marched to London with all his forces, it is possible that the war might have been ended, and yet no despotism established; but his advisers feared the spirit of the city-militia, and it was resolved to lay siege to Gloucester, the only place of importance between Bristol and Lancashire held by the parliament. Its governor, colonel Massey, a soldier of fortune, had intimated (Clarendon says) that if the king came in person he would not hold it out; and accordingly (Aug. 10) the royal standard waved "on a fair hill in the clear view of the city;" and the king sent in a message, offering pardon without any exception. He gave them two hours to reply, and "within less than that time," proceeds the historian, "together with the trumpeter, returned two citizens from the town with lean, pale, sharp, and bad visages, and in such garb and carriage that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad, (serious.) The men, without any circumstances of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloucester to the king." The answer imported they held it for the king, and would only obey his commands, signified by both houses of parliament. Massey's defence was brave and skilful, but at last he was reduced to extremity: the parliament on learning his condition sent Essex with a well-appointed army of fourteen thousand to his relief. Essex conducted his march with great prudence, repelling all the assaults of the royal cavalry. At his approach the besieging army withdrew, and he entered the town, (Sept. 8,) where he remained for two days.

As the royalists were greatly superior in cavalry, Essex wished to avoid an action on his return. He halted for five days at Tewkesbury, intending, as it were, to proceed northwards, but in the night he made a forced march to Cirencester, where he surprised a convoy; and having thus got clear

of the open country, he moved leisurely toward London. His army had nearly got over Auburn Chase on its way to Newbury, when his rear was suddenly assailed by prince Rupert at the head of five or six thousand horse. Both sides fought gallantly, but this interruption obliged Essex to halt for the night at Hungerford; and when he thought to get in to Newbury next day, he found that the king had arrived there two hours before.

An action was now unavoidable. Essex halted for the night, and at six o'clock the following morning (Sept. 20) both armies engaged, and the conflict continued till it was terminated by night. The steadiness and intrepidity of the London train-bands excited the admiration of both friends and foes. According to the parliamentary writers, the king lost two thousand men, while on their own side there fell no more than five hundred; but this statement is hardly credible. The earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon were slain, but the greatest loss to the royal party was the lord Falkland. This nobleman, in whose praises all are agreed, had been as earnest for the reformation of public abuses as any man; but when at last he began to discern the ulterior views of the leading reformers, he resolved to throw his influence on the side of the crown, now the weaker party. He did expect that a decided victory of the royal forces would have brought the adverse party to reason; but finding his hopes baffled, he lost all his cheerfulness, and often, after sitting long silent among his friends, he would utter, *Peace, peace*, in a sad tone, and declare that the thoughts of the war "took his sleep from him and would shortly break his heart." On the morning of the battle he called for a clean shirt, saying that if he was slain they should not find his body in foul linen, for he had a strong persuasion that he should not outlive the day. He placed himself in the first rank of lord Byron's horse, and he was shot in the lower part of the belly and died of the wound. He was only thirty-four years of age.

The day after the battle, Essex, as the royal army did not appear, directed his march, after burying the dead, to Reading. Rupert followed with his cavalry, and caused some confusion in the rear. Having halted a couple of days at Reading, Essex pursued his march to London, where he was received with the greatest honor. The king garrisoned Reading once more; he also placed a garrison in Donnington castle near Newbury, once the residence of Geoffrey Chaucer. He then retired to Oxford for the winter.

During the siege of Gloucester, two events occurred, of which the one showed the king's folly, the other his obstinate adherence to despotism.

In the course of the summer several more members of both houses had repaired to Oxford. There were others who had hitherto gone all lengths with the violent party, but who had no mind to destroy the constitution; of these the chief were the earls of Northumberland, Holland,* Bedford, and Clare. Essex also agreed with them in sentiment, but his high sense of honor made him decline to comply with Holland's proposal of employing the army to make both parties submit to reasonable terms of peace. Northumberland retired to his house at Petworth in Sussex; Holland opened a correspondence through Jermyn with the queen, and soon after he, and Bedford, and Clare went into the king's quarters, (Aug. 20;) Clare, who was least obnoxious, going on to Oxford, while the other two stopped at Wallingford.

Those who ascribe wisdom or even common sense to the king and his advisers, will suppose that these lords were received with all favor and courtesy. But quite the contrary. The king, who was at Gloucester, sent word to his council to debate about their reception; and Hyde and Savile, taking a rational view of the case, thought that they should be received graciously, as an encouragement to others to follow their example: but the more violent insisted they should be obliged to express on oath their abhorrence of the rebellious arms and counsels; while a third party were for having them treated with simple indifference. The king came to Oxford on account of it, and the last course was fixed on. Bedford and Holland were therefore permitted to come to court, but they found themselves generally shunned. They followed the king to Gloucester, and fought bravely on his side at Newbury; but all availed not to efface the memory of their imputed guilt; and after a stay of three months they stole back to Westminster, where they met with a cool reception, being committed for a short time to custody. Thus were lost all hopes of drawing away a portion of the supporters of the parliament. The truth is, there was a party at Oxford as adverse to accommodation as the war-party at Westminster; men who looked for titles, places, pensions, and perhaps confisca-

* Holland was brother to lord Warwick. He had been a creature of Buckingham's, and was always about the court, and had received much favor from the king and queen.

tions, should the royal cause triumph, — a thing at this time by no means unlikely, — and who wished to have as few sharers as possible in the spoil.

If the king was imprudent in this matter, he was perhaps worse in the other — a *cessation* with the Irish rebels.

We have seen above reasons for suspecting him to have authorized the rising of the Irish catholics. These men had now settled down into a kind of independent state; Kilkenny was their seat of government, where a general assembly was held, and a supreme council appointed to act as an executive. Ambassadors were to be sent to the pope and to the great catholic princes. The English and Scottish forces had, however, meantime been reinforced, and they had frequently beaten the rebels in the field, and recovered several towns and forts. Charles had, under various pretexts, detained the earl of Leicester in England, that the earl (now marquess) of Ormond, who was a zealous royalist, might have the authority in Ireland. The parliament, always jealous of the king's proceedings in that country, had sent over two of their members to watch matters there; but Ormond after some time sent them back, and he removed Parsons, and even committed him, sir John Temple, and two other officers of state, to prison. The parliament, now with the tide of war rather running against them, viewed Ireland as of minor importance, and the catholics had a fair prospect of becoming complete masters of the island; but they were composed of two parties, differing in origin though agreeing in religion, and those of the English blood did not wish to cast off their allegiance. Moreover, they knew the power of England, and saw clearly that if the parliament should conquer the king, a fearful vengeance would be taken for the atrocities that had been committed. The proposals of Ormond for a cessation of arms during a twelvemonth, though opposed by the mere Irish, were therefore readily listened to, and on the 15th of September, (just four days before the battle of Newbury,) the cessation was signed, the Irish agreeing to give the king 30,000*l.*, half in money, half in cattle. In the following November Charles appointed Ormond lord-lieutenant, and directed him to send over the regiments that were serving in Ireland. The intelligence of the cessation did injury to the cause of the king in England, for many deserted his party on account of it. In the king's defence it may be said, that he only followed the example of the parliament, who had sent to invite the Scots. But there was a wide

difference between the Scots and the sanguinary bands whom Charles was willing to bring over from Ireland to aid in restoring his despotism.

Meantime Vane and his associates had negotiated a treaty with the Scots, who agreed to aid on condition of a 'Solemn League and Covenant' being taken by the parliament and people of England. On the 29th of November the treaty was finally concluded, the Scots engaging to furnish an army of twenty-one thousand men, to be paid by the English parliament.*

One of the measures of the parliament this year had been to form a new Great Seal. When this was proposed the lords refused their assent, but, as usual, they could only interpose a delay. The seal was made, and commissioners were appointed to hold it, (Oct. 11;) and in one day not less than five hundred writs were sealed. It bore on one side the arms of England and Ireland, on the other, "the picture of the house of commons, the members sitting"—a clear indication of where the real power of the state was supposed to lie.

On the 8th of December died, at Derby-house, which the parliament had assigned him for a residence, the celebrated John Pym. His disease was an imposthume in the mesentery. He was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, the body being carried by ten of the principal members of the house of commons, and followed by the remaining members of both houses, and by the assembly of divines. The parliament voted a sum of 10,000*l.*, for the payment of his debts, and settled a pension on his son.

The character of this eminent man has been presented under various lights by the writers of the different parties. It must be allowed that no man was ever better qualified to be a parliamentary leader than he was. To an extensive knowledge of the laws and constitution, he joined a manly and impressive elocution; his delivery was grave and dignified; his person tall and portly. He was also a statesman; he knew how to select his measures, and was never at a

* In this alliance, the Scots, as usual, would dictate respecting the church, and nothing would satisfy them short of the absolute uniformity of the English church with their own kirk. The article, however, was worded to this effect—that the church of England should "be reformed according to the word of God, and after the example of the best reformed churches," by which they of course thought nothing but the kirk could be meant. They were afterwards taught that the words would bear a different sense.

loss for expedients to carry them into effect. Clarendon says that he was "the most popular man that ever lived," and that no man better understood "the temper and affections of the kingdom." He was no fanatic in religion; he does not appear to have had any ill-feeling toward the episcopal church. What his original views were in politics it is difficult to ascertain; we find him of late the determined enemy of accommodation with the king, (in whom he had evidently lost all confidence,) and it is probable that he aimed at the establishment of a republic. Like all politicians, he had, occasionally, recourse to arts not strictly justifiable for the accomplishment of his objects.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the year 1643. The next year opens with an attempt of the king to turn to his side the magic of the name of parliament. It was the advice of Hyde, that "since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to parliaments," he should summon all those who had left that at Westminster to repair to Oxford. Charles, beside his inherent antipathy to parliaments, feared that if he convened the legislature they would endeavor to effect a peace—a thing to which he had no mind. It was therefore with extreme reluctance that he gave his consent. This assembly met on the 29th of January, 1644; the house of lords was more than the double, that of commons nearly the half, of those at Westminster; but as many were absent on military commands, the number which met were forty-three peers and one hundred and eighteen commoners. Their first thoughts were of peace, and they all subscribed that very day a letter to lord Essex, inviting him to coöperate with them in effecting a termination of the present evils. Essex, in reply, sent the covenant and two declarations of the parliaments of England and Scotland. As Essex's pretext for not communicating the letter to the houses was its not containing an acknowledgment of them, the king was induced (Mar. 3) to send a message "to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster." This, however, they treated as an insult, as it put those at Oxford on an equal footing with them. The hopes of peace now vanished, and the war was renewed.

The expedients practised on both sides to raise the necessary supplies were as follows: The parliament got loans, voluntary or forced, from the merchants of the city; they required all those who had not subscribed of their own accord to pay the twentieth part of their estates; they sequestered the estates of all delinquents; they laid a weekly assessment

of 10,000*l.* on the city of London, and 24,000*l.* on the rest of the kingdom where their power prevailed: in imitation of the Dutch, they introduced (for the first time) into the kingdom the tax ever since so well known under the name of *excise*, on wine, beer, soap, and a variety of foreign and domestic articles—even butchers' meat. They had, beside these, sundry other expedients for raising money. The king, on his side, obtained loans from his adherents; he issued privy seals; he set up an excise also, and laid a weekly imposition on the inhabitants of the country about his garrisons. The armies on both sides plundered; but the king's troops, led by such men as Rupert, Maurice, Goring, Wilmot, and Richard Greenvil, committed by far the greatest excesses.

The hopes of the king from the cessation in Ireland were disappointed. In the last November, a body of the troops which he had proposed to draw to his aid from that country landed at Mostyn in Flintshire, where being joined to lord Byron, who commanded at Chester, they gained sundry advantages over the adherents of the parliament. Early in January (1644) they laid siege to the town of Nantwich, which was gallantly defended, and sir Thomas Fairfax, who was then at Manchester, having joined his forces with those of sir William Brereton, advanced to the relief of the town. The Anglo-Irish army, though said to be inferior in number, drew out (Jan. 25) to give them battle; but after an obstinate conflict of two hours, being assailed by the garrison in their rear, they broke and fled, leaving five hundred slain and fifteen hundred prisoners; among these last were several of their officers, one of whom was colonel Monk, afterwards so famous.

In the west, the royal forces under Hopton had advanced as far as Arundel. Waller, who had about ten thousand men, was at Farnham, whence marching by night he surprised and cut to pieces a royal regiment at Alton, and then reduced Arundel, (Jan. 6.) The king having sent his general, the earl of Brentford, to reinforce Hopton, the two armies, about equal in number, engaged at Alresford, (Mar. 29;) the royalists were defeated with the loss of five hundred men, and Waller then took and plundered Winchester.

Newark-on-Trent, one of the strongest holds of the royalists, had been for some time besieged by the parliamentary forces. Prince Rupert, who was in Cheshire, having drawn together a good body of horse, prepared to relieve it. He marched with his usual rapidity, and came so unexpectedly on the besiegers, (Mar. 22) that after a brief resistance they

were glad to be allowed to depart, leaving their arms, ordnance, and ammunition.

The Scots were now in England. On the 19th of January, the earl of Leven had crossed the Tweed and advanced to attack the town of Newcastle; but the earl of Newcastle had thrown himself into it the day before, and Leven, ordering six regiments to block it up, proceeded southwards, followed by the royal army of fourteen thousand men. Leven took his post at Sunderland, where he remained for five weeks. Meantime lord Fairfax, being joined by his son sir Thomas, engaged (Apr. 11) at Selby colonel Bellasis, who commanded the royalists in Yorkshire, and routed him; Newcastle, who was at Durham, immediately fell back to York, where he was besieged by the Scots and the troops of Fairfax, to whose aid, some time after, (June 3,) came the troops of the eastern counties (fourteen thousand in number) under lord Kimbolton, now earl of Manchester, and his lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell.

Essex and Waller were at this time both gradually approaching Oxford with the intention of confining the king's forces to that city. But one night (June 3) the king, to deceive Waller, having sent a body of foot out at the south gate as if for Abingdon, left the town by the north gate with two thousand five hundred foot and all his horse, and proceeded to Worcester, and thence to Bewdley. Waller, thinking it was his object to effect a junction with prince Rupert, who was now at Liverpool, threw himself between him and Shrewsbury. Essex, as their plan had been defeated, marched away to the west; the king then made a rapid return to Oxford, and taking thence his artillery and the rest of his forces, advanced to give battle to Waller. The two armies came in sight near Banbury, the river Charwell dividing them. In the manœuvres to bring on an action, Waller perceiving (29th) the rear of the king's army to be separated from the main body, passed over Cropredy bridge with a body of his troops to get between them, and at the same time sent a party of horse to cross a ford, about a mile lower down. He was, however, routed and driven back over the bridge with some loss by the earl of Cleveland, who commanded the king's rear-guard, and his army having gradually dwindled down to four thousand men, he was recalled by the parliament. There was a party among the officers of the royal army headed by Wilmot, who for various reasons were anxious for peace, and they now renewed a project which they had de-

vised before the king last left Oxford, which was for the royal forces to advance to St. Albans, and for the king to send thence a gracious message to the two houses and the city. But Charles had the utmost aversion to any measure of the kind, and he determined to follow Essex to the west, where the queen was residing at Exeter, having just been delivered of a daughter in that town.

York meantime was hard pressed; Newcastle had sent to the king to say, that if not relieved he must surrender, and Charles had written (June 14) to Rupert, directing him to lay every other project aside and think only on the relief of York. The active prince made no delay, and on the last day of June he appeared within view of that city, at the head of twenty thousand men. Next day the allied army drew up to receive him on Marston-moor, about five miles from the town; Rupert, however, entered the city. Newcastle wished him to be content with having raised the siege, intimating that there were differences between the English and Scottish commanders, which might ripen into discord. Rupert, however, beside his own inclination to it, had positive orders from the king to fight. Accordingly next day (July 2) the royal army was led out to where the enemy stood on the moor. The numbers were about equal, twenty-five thousand on each side; the right wing of the royalists was commanded by Newcastle, the left by Rupert, the centre by Goring, Lucas, and Porter; on the other side, sir Thomas Fairfax commanded on the right, Manchester and Cromwell on the left, the centre was under lord Fairfax and the earl of Leven.

At five in the evening both sides stood ready to engage, but the action did not commence till seven. The prince with his usual impetuosity charged the enemy's right wing and drove them off the field; the royal centre was equally successful, and Leven and his Scots fled to a considerable distance; but sir Thomas Fairfax was victorious on the left, and Cromwell having rallied his own regiment, he and Fairfax fell on the troops of Rupert and Goring, and night closed on a decisive victory on the side of the parliamentarians. The number of the slain was said to be upwards of four thousand, of whom the far greater portion were royalists; fifteen hundred were made prisoners; all the ordnance, ammunition, and baggage were taken. Next day Rupert retired to the western counties, and Newcastle in disgust or despair departed with the lords Widdrington and Falconberg, and retired to the continent, where he remained for sixteen years. York

surrendered; the victorious armies separated; the Scots moved toward their own country, and closed the campaign by the storm of Newcastle.

The royal cause was now hopeless in the north, but for tune proved more propitious in the west. Prince Maurice having retired on the approach of Essex, Weymouth surrendered to him; but as he was in pursuit of the prince, he got tidings of the defeat of Waller and the approach of the king. His first thought was to give the royal army battle at once, but lord Roberts, who had large estates in Cornwall, prevailed on him to enter that county, where he assured him of every advantage. Essex, therefore, crossed the Tamar about the middle of July, and marched by Liskeard and Bodmin to Lestwithiel, followed by the royal army. Charles, thinking this a good time for negotiation, wrote (Aug. 6) with his own hand a letter to Essex, proposing that the two armies should join and oblige the enemies of peace to submit to terms. Another letter came to Essex (9th) from the principal officers in the royal army to the same effect. His reply was, that he was trusted to fight, not to treat, and that the best advice he could give the king was to go to his parliament. Charles then directed all his forces to draw closer, and thus surround Essex's army and cut off their supplies. By the end of the month, therefore, Essex found his condition desperate; his cavalry under sir William Balfour having taken advantage of the darkness of the night (30th) to pass between two of the divisions of the royal army and get off, he himself and some of his chief officers went in a boat to Plymouth, leaving the infantry and some horse under Skippon. This brave officer proposed to them to follow the example of the cavalry and force their way; but the attempt appeared too hazardous, and (Sept. 2) a surrender was proposed and accepted. The arms, ordnance, and ammunition were given up, and the men were conveyed to Poole and Wareham.

Essex proceeded to Portsmouth, where his army was re-assembled; Waller and Manchester were directed to join, and the combined army was ordered to give battle to the king on his return from Cornwall. On a Sunday (Oct. 27) they attacked him at Newbury; the action commenced at three and lasted till ten at night. Essex was absent from indisposition. Though the king's forces were inferior in number, the result was dubious, and he marched that night by moonlight in view of the enemy to Wallingford. A few days after, (Nov. 9,) being joined by Rupert, he returned for his artillery and ammunition, which he had left at Donnington

castle, and carried them away without opposition. The parliamentarians kept within their lines, and refused battle when offered. This event terminated the campaign.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

1645—1647.

THE late successes of the king were attributed to the want of harmony among the parliament generals. Waller had been from the first a rival of Essex; and Manchester, and Cromwell, his second in command, had opposite views and feelings. The religious differences of presbyterian and independent had now extended to the army also; Cromwell was the head of the latter party, Manchester and Waller belonged to the former, while Essex preferred the episcopalian church. Further, both he and Manchester wished to preserve the constitution in the state, while Cromwell desired a republic. It was therefore suspected, and not without reason, that neither of these noblemen was inclined to weaken the king too much.

The affair of Donnington castle brought the parties who had been for some time menacing each other to issue. Cromwell, when called on in the house of commons to state what he knew of it, accused Manchester of an averseness to ending the war by the sword, and of thinking that the king was now low enough for a peace to be made. Next day Manchester took notice of this in the lords, and at his desire, a day being fixed for the purpose, he gave *his* account of the Donnington affair, laying the chief blame on Cromwell. He also stated some speeches of his, proving him to be hostile to the peerage, and to the amity between England and Scotland; such as his saying that it would never be well with England till the earl of Manchester were plain Mr. Montague, that the Scots had crossed the Tweed only to establish presbytery, and that in that cause he would as soon fight against them as the king; and added, that it was his design to form an army of sectaries who might dictate to both king and parliament.

The commons appointed a committee to inquire if this accusation of one of their members in the other house were not a breach of privilege. Meantime some of the presbyterian party and the Scottish commissioners met at Essex-house, and sending for the two lawyers Whitelocke and Maynard, took their opinion on the subject of accusing Cromwell as an incendiary between the two nations. The lawyers, however, being of opinion that the evidence was not sufficient, the plan was abandoned.

On the 9th of December the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider the condition of the kingdom with regard to the war. After a long silence Cromwell rose and recommended that instead of an inquiry they should devise some general remedy of the evils. The next speaker said that the fault lay in the commands being divided. A third proposed that no member of either house should hold any civil or military command during the war. This was supported by Vane and opposed by Whitelocke, Hollis, and others. An ordinance to this effect, however, passed the commons, (21st,) a vain attempt having been made to have the earl of Essex excepted. In the lords it met with much opposition; for, as they justly objected, it would exclude their entire order from all offices of trust and honor. They accordingly rejected it, (Jan. 13, 1645.)

Another project which was going on at the same time, was the 'new model' of the army. On the 21st the names of the principal officers of it were put to the vote in the commons. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named commander-in-chief, Skippon major-general; twenty-four colonels were appointed, but nothing was said as to the post of lieutenant-general. The cause of this silence will soon appear. The lords passed the ordinance for the new model, (Feb. 15;) and an ordinance, similar to the one they had rejected, but only requiring members to lay down the offices which they held, and being silent as to their re-appointment, was sent up to them. This 'self-denying ordinance' was passed (Apr. 3,) Essex, and Manchester, and Denbigh having laid down their commands the day before.

At this time the trial of archbishop Laud, which had been going on for nearly a year, was brought to its close. In twenty-four articles of impeachment the commons accused him of attempting to subvert the rights of parliament and laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary power, and also "to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition

and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the church of Rome' The trial commenced on the 12th of March, 1644: the managers on the part of the commons were serjeant Wild, and Messrs. Maynard, Brown, Nicholas, and Hill. The primate's inveterate foe, Prynne, was their solicitor, and he certainly showed none of the magnanimity of a generous enemy. He seized all the papers of the accused, even his diary and his written defence; he hunted out witnesses in all quarters, and if Laud was not misinformed, he drilled them in the parts which they were to enact.

The archbishop, though refused the aid of counsel, defended himself with spirit and ability. He either justified what he was charged with doing, or impeached the character of the witnesses, or in case of there being but one to any fact, denied the legality of his evidence, the law, in cases of treason, requiring two witnesses. When charged with any of the acts of the council, the star-chamber, or the high commission, his defence was that he was only one of many, and that the act of the majority was ascribed to the whole. Prynne himself allows that "he made as full, as gallant and pithy a defence, and spoke as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent." During twenty-one days in the space of six months the trial proceeded with the advantage evidently on the side of the prisoner, and when (Oct. 11) Mr. Hearne his counsel was allowed to speak to the question of whether the matters charged against him amounted to treason according to the known laws of the land, the lords were staggered and the reply of the managers failed to satisfy them. The party in the commons, however, who sought the primate's blood, were resolved not to be balked; the old tactics were repeated, a petition of the citizens numerously signed was presented (28th) by a great number of people praying for speedy justice against delinquents, and particularly against the archbishop. Forthwith a bill of attainder was introduced; when it had been twice read, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the house of commons to hear the evidence, and nine days were given him to prepare his defence. The very day of his defence (Nov. 11) the bill was passed with but one dissentient voice. The lords pronounced him guilty of certain acts, but left it to the judges to determine their quality. Their reply was, that by the statute-law they did not amount to treason, but that the house alone was judge of the law of parliament. On Christmas-day, which was now a day of "fasting and public humiliation," the pulpits were set at work, and next morning

a committee was appointed to confer with the lords; and on the 4th of January the archbishop was pronounced guilty of treason by a majority consisting it is said of only six members. The only favor the prelate could obtain was to have his sentence changed from hanging to beheading. On the 30th the primate, now in the 72d year of his age, appeared on the scaffold on Tower-hill with a serene and cheerful air. Taking Heb. xii. 2 for his text, he made a speech in form of a sermon to the people, explaining and justifying his conduct. It was noted, that the sun, which had hitherto been hidden, shone out and irradiated his calm and serene countenance as he spoke, and that it disappeared for the rest of the day, when his head had been stricken off. Laud died with all the constancy of a martyr.

The primate was a narrow-minded, superstitious, hot, and intemperate man — a pygmy Gregory VII. Of his sincerity we think there can be little doubt, but his measures were childish and mischievous, and he may justly be regarded as one of the principal causes of the evils with which the kingdom was then afflicted. Still his execution was a piece of gratuitous malignity, for he now was utterly powerless, and he had not offended against the known laws of the land. It is gratifying to add, that no respectable advocate of the Long Parliament attempts to justify this piece of wanton barbarity.*

Exactly a week before they shed the blood of the primate, (Jan. 3,) the parliament had by an ordinance abolished the liturgy of the church and set in its place a "Directory for Public Worship," drawn up by the Assembly of Divines and approved of by the general assembly of Scotland. Of the Assembly of Divines we will now give some account.

By an ordinance of the 12th of June, 1643, when they were looking for aid from the Scots, the parliament nominated one hundred and twenty-one divines, who with ten peers and twenty commoners, and three of the Scottish commissioners, were to examine the liturgy, discipline, and government of the church of England, and give their opinions thereon to one or both houses. The object of the parliament is there declared to be the abolition of the present mode of church-government and to form one of "nearer

* About this time also the parliament executed the two Hothams (Jan. 1 and 2,) sir Alexander Carew, (Dec. 23,) who had engaged to surrender Plymouth to the king, and the Irish rebels Macmahon, (Nov 22,) and Macguire, (Feb. 20).

agreement with the church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad," that is to establish presbytery. Among those nominated were some prelates and other episcopalians, but they never gave attendance. There were about half a dozen members of the party named Independents in the assembly, and among the lay-assessors a few Erastians. These terms require to be explained.

The presbyterian system, which is that of the church of Scotland, is based on the principle of a parity in rank among its ministers and a participation of the laity in the government of the church. It rejects all peculiar habits for the clergy and has no liturgy. It gives the power of the keys, that is of excommunication, censure, etc., to its synods and assemblies, and it has always aimed at a clerical despotism similar to that of Rome. At this time the presbyterians were the determined enemies of toleration. *They* could not be wrong, and it were sinful to rend the seamless coat of Jesus by permitting error to prevail. They formed the great majority in the parliament, the assembly, and the city.

The Independents were few in number in the assembly, but they excelled in energy and skill in debate. They held that every congregation of Christians should be *independent* of all others, but with an entire power over its own members. They were therefore the strenuous advocates of toleration, and all the minor sects, such as the Anabaptists, the Antinomians, etc., gladly sheltered themselves under their shadow. Their leading divines were Nye, Goodwin, and Burgess. The lords Say and Wharton, and sir Henry Vane and Oliver Cromwell, were of their party in the parliament.

While the church of Rome claimed the universal power of the keys, the church of England and the Presbyterians demanded it over the whole national church, and the Independents required it for every particular congregation, a small party named Erastians from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century, denied this power altogether. They held that the pastoral office was only persuasive, that all the ordinances of religion were to be free and open to all; the minister might dissuade the openly vicious from coming to the Lord's-supper, for example, and warn them of their danger, but he might not refuse it. To the state alone they said belonged the punishment of all offences. The advocates of this system in the assembly were Lightfoot, Selden, and Whitelocke; and St. John and other eminent men upheld it in the parliament.

The Scots, after their usual manner, took advantage of

their present position to dictate, and they would fain have forced on the English nation their own system of presbytery, pure and unaltered; but the spirit of the English revolted at this, and some modifications were made. The Liturgy was ordered to be laid aside, and a Directory for Public Worship, as we have seen, was substituted for it. It being found, however, that many parishes persisted in using the Book of Common Prayer, an ordinance was passed (Aug. 23, 1645) imposing a fine of 5*l.* for the first offence, 10*l.* for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third, on any one who in a church, chapel, or even private family, should use the prayer-book, and all prayer-books remaining in churches and chapels were ordered to be given up to the committees of counties. Such were the tolerant principles of those abhorers of the despotism of Laud!

The parliament also appointed a committee for scandalous ministers, with subordinate committees in the several counties. These were empowered to inquire into the lives and doctrine of the clergy, and to eject from their livings such as were proved guilty of immorality, of false doctrine, *i. e.* Arminianism and such like, or what perhaps was a greater offence in the eyes of their judges, malignancy or attachment to the cause of the king; those who should refuse to take the covenant were also to be deprived. The number of the ejected clergy was nearly two thousand; the greater part, however, we are assured were put out for immorality, in whose places were substituted men recommended by the parishes and approved of by the assembly of divines. A fifth of the income was appropriated to the support of the families of the ejected ministers. The University of Cambridge was also visited by the earl of Manchester, and more than one half of the heads and fellows of colleges were expelled for malignancy, and others put in their places.

Meanwhile negotiations for peace had been going on. The king having sent two messages proposing a treaty, the parliament appointed commissioners to repair to Oxford, (Nov. 20,) but only as bearers of propositions. After a stay of a few days they returned (29th) with the king's reply. This was a demand of a safe-conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton to come with his answer to their propositions. After some debate this was agreed to; the two noblemen came, and after the usual delays it was arranged that commissioners from both sides should meet at Uxbridge, and during a space of twenty days discuss the

principal subjects of dispute, namely, religion, the militia and Ireland, each to be debated for three days in rotation.

On the 30th of January the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge. The royalists were sixteen in number, those of the parliament twelve, together with four Scottish commissioners; both parties were attended by their divines. After the preliminaries had been arranged, they commenced with the subject of religion. The parliament insisted on the unqualified abolition of episcopacy and the establishment of presbytery; the king would not abandon the former, which he regarded as of divine institution, but he was willing to limit it, to reform abuses in it, and to grant indulgence to tender consciences in matters of ceremonies. This subject having been debated for three days to no purpose, they next passed to the militia. The parliament demanded that it should be entirely vested in them and in persons in whom they could confide. They relaxed so far as to demand it only for seven years, after which it should be settled by bill or agreement between the king and parliament. The king was willing to surrender it for three years, provided it then returned fully to the crown. With respect to Ireland, the parliament required the cessation to be declared null and void, and the conduct of the war and government of that country to be committed to them; the royal commissioners justified the king in making the cessation, and asserted that he was in honor bound to maintain it. These matters were debated over and over till the 22d of February, when the parliament having refused to prolong the treaty, the commissioners returned to Westminster and Oxford, and preparations were made for another appeal to the sword.

This treaty, the inutility of which must have been apparent, had been entered into solely in compliance with the wishes of those on both sides who were weary of the evils of war and sincerely desirous of peace. Among these the king himself cannot be included, for he was determined to concede none of the points at issue, and his usual duplicity was displayed even in the commencement; for when he had been induced to style in his answer the two houses the parliament of England, he writes to the queen, "If there had been but two beside myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament," and he adds that it is so registered in the council book. He was besides negotiating for foreign aid, and treating for a peace and an

army with the Irish rebels; and he was so much elated by exaggerated accounts of the successes of Montrose in Scotland, that he was in full expectation of being shortly able to resume the plenitude of his despotism.

Their adoption of the covenant and presbytery to gratify their selfish and self-sufficient allies, made accommodation more difficult on the side of the parliament, as they could not now recede, and every person of candor must, we think, allow that they could not with safety resign the power of the sword to their unforgiving sovereign. "He who was reasonable among them, (the commissioners,)" says Clarendon, "thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security, and believed it could proceed from nothing else but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion"—an inference, the truth of which he does not deny. In effect, when the situations and tempers of the parties are considered, it is manifest that there was no room for accommodation, that one or other must be subdued, and despotism of one kind or other be the result.

In the summer of the preceding year, the earls of Montrose and Antrim had both come to Oxford with tenders of their services to the crown. They were both inveterate enemies of Argyle, who had now the chief power in Scotland, and Montrose asserted that if Antrim could raise fifteen hundred or two thousand men in Ireland and land them in the Highlands, he himself would be able to join them with so many of the Highland clansmen, loyal to the king, and enemies of Argyle, as would make such a diversion, as would, if not recover the kingdom, at least oblige the Scottish army in England to return to its defence. The king listened to the proposal, and gave them the necessary commissions. Antrim forthwith passed over to Ireland, and raising about eighteen hundred men among his clan there, sent them over under his brother sir Alister M'Donnel, named Colkitto. Montrose having left Oxford with a good company, suddenly disappeared, and with only two attendants eluded the vigilance of both nations till he reached the foot of the Grampians, where he remained concealed till he heard of the landing of the Irish. He directed them to join him in Athol, where at their head he unfurled the royal standard, and summoned the clans to arms. They responded to his call; he poured down on the Lowlands; at Tippermuir (Sept. 1) he defeated the lord Elcho, and then entered and plundered the town of Perth. He then moved northwards; the bridge of Dee was defended by lord Burley, but his men fled at the first shock.

and the ferocious followers of Montrose entered Aberdeen pell-mell with them. The town was given up to pillage and massacre for four days. The Irish displayed a thriftiness in their barbarity such as one might rather have looked for in the Scots, for they stripped their victims naked before they murdered them, lest their clothes should be spoiled.

The approach of Argyle with a superior force obliged Montrose to quit Aberdeen on the fifth day. He moved toward the Spey, and finding its opposite bank guarded, he buried his ordnance in a morass, and went up the stream till he reached the forests of Strathspey and the mountains of Badenoch. He then descended into Athol and Angus, still followed by Argyle, and suddenly crossing the Grampians, again moved northwards in hopes of rousing the Gordons to arms. At Fyvie castle he was nearly surrounded, but after sustaining the repeated attacks of a superior force, he retired by night, and effected his retreat to Badenoch. Argyle, wearied out, as it was now far in the winter, returned to his castle of Inverary, where he deemed himself in perfect security. But the energetic and vindictive Montrose, amidst the snows of December, (13th,) penetrated by passes only trodden by the herdsmen in summer into Argyleshire. The savage Irish, and no less savage clansmen, let all their fury loose on the devoted district; the inhabitants were massacred, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the houses and corn burnt. Argyle himself only escaped by putting to sea in an open boat. After seven weeks spent in the work of devastation, Montrose moved toward Inverness. Argyle, who had rallied the scattered Campbells, was now with three thousand men at Inverlochry, at the western extremity of the chain of Highland lakes. By a secret and circuitous route, Montrose returned and fell on his vanguard by night. The moon giving her light, the troops skirmished till day. In the morning (Feb. 2) the fight began: Argyle, in whose character there was little of chivalry, viewed from a boat in the lake the noble but unavailing struggles of his gallant Campbells, and the slaughter of one half their number. Montrose, elate with his victory, wrote to the king, promising soon to come to his aid with a gallant army; and this letter arriving during the treaty of Uxbridge, aided to prevent the sanguine monarch from complying with terms on which peace might have been effected. Montrose returned to the north; the Grants and Gordons joined him; he spread his ravages as before; Dundee was stormed and partly burnt, (Apr. 4.) But the approach of a superior force under Baillie and that devastation of

fortune Hurry, now again against the king, obliged him to return to the mountains with some loss. Baillie then entered Athol, while Hurry moved northwards after Montrose, to whom he gave battle at Aldean, near Nairn, and was defeated with the loss of two thousand men. Baillie himself was soon after overthrown at Alford on the Don.

The English parliament had now completed their New Model. It consisted of six thousand horse divided into ten regiments, one thousand dragoons, and fourteen thousand foot in twelve regiments of ten companies each. These regiments were composed of men from the old armies, chiefly those of a religious cast and inclined to the party of the independents. A more rigorous discipline was introduced than had hitherto prevailed, and thus was formed that noble army, which, actuated by a higher principle than the mere love of pay and plunder, never encountered a defeat, and has left its memory a subject of admiration to posterity.

The king had given the nominal command of his forces to the prince of Wales, but the real power to prince Rupert as his lieutenant. He had also sent the prince to Bristol, ostensibly to command in the west, but really because, as he himself used to express it, "he and his son were too great a prize to be ventured in one bottom." Goring, Wilmot, and Greenvil had all separate commands in the west, and the license in which these profligate commanders indulged their men, and the atrocities committed by them, gave origin to a defensive association among the country-people in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and a similar association appeared in Gloucester and Worcester. The object of these people, who were named, from their principal weapon, Clubmen, was to preserve their property from the hands of both parties; and as the royalists were the greater plunderers, their hostility was chiefly directed against them. Many of the loyal gentry, however, countenanced them, in hopes of being able hereafter to render them serviceable to the royal cause.

About a third of the kingdom still obeyed the king; his army was more numerous than the New Model, but it was scattered and divided; its officers were at discord, and the men demoralized. He was, however, the first to take the field, and leaving Oxford (May 7) at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than a half were cavalry, he proceeded to raise the siege of Chester. The enemy retired at the rumor of his approach. He then advanced against the town of Leicester, which was taken by storm

(31st,) and plundered. Fairfax, who had been on his way to the relief of Taunton, which was hard pressed by the royalists under Greenvil, was ordered to return; and being baffled in his expectations of gaining Oxford by means of a party within the walls, he proceeded in pursuit of the king. Near the village of Naseby, between Daventry and Harborough, his van overtook the rear of the royalists, (June 13,) and next morning (14th) the two armies stood prepared for action, the advantage in numbers being on the side of Fairfax. Sir Jacob (now lord) Astley commanded the royalist infantry in the centre, prince Rupert the horse on the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale that on the left wing. In the other army Fairfax himself led the centre, Cromwell* the right, and Ireton the left wing. Rupert, with his usual impetuosity, bore down all before him; Ireton was wounded, and for some time a prisoner; but Rupert never knew when to stop, and instead of returning to support his friends, he wasted his time in summoning the enemy's artillery. Cromwell, who had been equally successful on his side, knew better how to use his victory; leaving four squadrons to watch the fugitives, he fell on the rear of the royal centre, who had hitherto maintained the fight with advantage against those opposed to them. Dismayed at finding themselves assailed in front and rear, they threw down their arms and sued for quarter. One regiment, however, though twice charged, remained unbroken. Fairfax then making Doyley, the captain of his guard, attack it in front, while himself took it in the rear, it at length was broken; Fairfax with his own hand killed the ensign, and seized the colors. When the soldier to whose charge he committed them boasted of the deed as his own, Fairfax said, "Let him retain that honor; I have to-day acquired enough beside." The king showed equal heroism; when he saw his infantry broken, he cried to his guard, and to such of the horse as had gathered about him, "One charge more and we recover the day!" but they had no heart to renew the combat, and he was obliged to quit the field. The victory of the parliament-army was complete. They took four thousand five hundred prisoners, and all the artillery and ammunition. It is remarkable, that in this decisive defeat the slain on the side of the royalists did not exceed three or four hundred men.

Among the spoils at Naseby was the king's cabinet, con-

* Accident or design had continued to exempt Cromwell from the operation of the self-denying ordinance introduced by himself.

taining his correspondence with the queen, and other important documents. A selection of these was made by the parliament, and published with remarks, under the title of 'The King's Cabinet Unclosed.' Charles himself acknowledged that the collection was genuine, but complained that some papers were kept back which would have explained dubious passages. The royalists censured this act as base and barbarous; but it was hardly to be expected that men would forego so fair an occasion of vindicating themselves in the eyes of the world as these letters presented.

They proved, in fact, but too well the king's insincerity in the late treaty. Thus he writes to the queen, (Jan. 2,) "As to my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction: this in general. If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did noways acknowledge them to be a parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation." Again he says, (Jan. 9,) "The settlement of religion and the militia are the first to be treated on; and be confident, that I will neither quit episcopacy nor that sword which God hath given into my hands." On the 15th of February he writes, "Thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembers;" and, "Be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends,* and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament." After the breaking off of the treaty, he writes, (Mar. 13,) somewhat elated at getting rid of his Oxford parliament: "And now," says he, "if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, it will be merely my own fault." He then notices his fears that he should have been pressed "to make

* The queen had written, (Dec. 16,) "that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need;" and, "for if you do agree upon strictness against the catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succors from Ireland or any other catholic princes, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served yourself;" and, (Jan. 17,) "above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholics."

some overtures to renew the treaty," but now, if renewed, it shall be to his honor and advantage; "I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here,) as of the chief causers." These were Wilmot, Sussex, and Percy, whom he had sent away to the queen in France, which he thought "would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies;" that is, their desire for peace.

A frequent topic in these letters is a treaty with the duke of Lorraine for his army of ten thousand men, to aid the royal cause in England. Charles also writes to the queen (Mar. 5,) "I give thee power to promise in my name, to whom thou thinkest most fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman catholics in England as soon as God shall enable me to do it, so as by their means or in their favors I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favor, and enable me to do it." Sir Kenelm Digby was at this time going to Rome to solicit aid from the pope, and the king had written to Ormond, (Feb. 27,) commanding him "to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost; so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority there be preserved;" he had even sent Glamorgan on his secret mission to Ireland. In short Charles's maxim for regaining his despotism seems to have been the usual one of *Flectere si nequeo superos Achivonta movebo*.

We now return to our narrative. After the fatal rout at Naseby, the king directed his steps to Leicester, whence he retired to Hereford. He then enjoyed for some days the festivities of Ragland castle, the seat of the venerable marquess of Worcester, and thence proceeded to Cardiff. In a letter which he wrote from this place to prince Rupert, who now commanded at Bristol, and who joined in the common desire for peace, we may discern the still unbending character of this "incomparable king," as Clarendon styles him. "Speaking either," says he, "as to mere soldiers or statesmen, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Christians, I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown." His only hopes for himself were to end his days with honor and a good conscience; his friends, if they staid with him, must expect to die or to live miserably; yet he will not "go less" than what he offered at Uxbridge, though he confesses it would be as great a miracle if they consented to it, as if in a month hence he should be as he was just before the battle of Naseby.

Each day brought tidings of losses. Leicester had surrendered when Fairfax appeared. He then marched to the relief of Taunton, whence Goring retired at his approach; but Fairfax brought him to action at Lamport in Somerset (July 16) and defeated him. Bridgewater, deemed impregnable, surrendered, (23d.) Bath and Sherborne submitted. In the north, Scarborough, Pomfret, and Carlisle, had yielded; and the Scots, who had been engaged in the siege of this last, came and sat down before Hereford. The king, quitting Wales, hastened to Newark, and finding that the Scottish horse were in pursuit of him, he burst into and ravaged the eastern counties, and at length (Aug. 28) reached Oxford in safety. Here he was cheered with intelligence of another victory gained by Montrose. This indefatigable chief, having again issued from the mountains with a force of six thousand men, spread devastation over the country to the Forth. Baillie was advantageously posted at Kilsith, near Stirling, and he wished to act on the defensive, but, like Pompeius at Pharsalia, he was overruled by the committee of estates, and obliged to move from his strong position and prepare for battle. Ere his men were drawn up (Aug. 15) his horse were driven back on the foot, and the Irish and clansmen rushed on with wild yells and savage gestures. His troops broke and fled; they were pursued for a space of fourteen miles, and five thousand men, it is said, were slain. All Scotland was now open to Montrose. Glasgow and other towns submitted; the citizens of Edinburgh sent him their royalist prisoners; the marquess of Douglas and other nobles joined him, and a parliament was summoned to meet at Glasgow.

At this news, the Scottish horse, under David Lesley, who were now (Aug. 26) at Nottingham, hastened back to their own country; and the king, leaving Oxford with five thousand men, came and raised the siege of Hereford. He was then proceeding to the relief of Bristol; but at Ragland castle he learned, to his utter dismay, that it had surrendered. Prince Rupert, who, with a good garrison, had engaged to maintain it for four months, had given it up as soon as Fairfax forced his lines, (Sept. 10.) The king in his anger revoked the commission he should never have given him, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. He then led his forces to the relief of Chester, which colonel Jones was besieging. He was followed by the parliamentary general Pointz, who fell on his rear while he was attacking Jones, (23d;) and the king was obliged to retire in disorder with the loss of six

hundred slain and one thousand prisoners. He hastened to Bridgenorth and thence to Newark, (Oct. 4.) Here he remained for the remainder of the month, when, finding that his enemies were increasing around it, and that the Scots were returning, he stole away in the night, (Nov. 3,) with a party of five hundred horse, and contrived to reach Oxford on the second day, where he remained for the winter.

The brilliant hopes excited by Montrose were now at an end; his highland followers had, after their usual manner, quitted him to go home to secure their plunder; and having stationed himself with the remainder at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk, in Etrick forest, he was suddenly fallen on by Lesley, and after doing all that was in man to avert defeat, he was totally routed, and forced to fly once more to the mountains. Digby and Langdale, who were coming to join him with fifteen hundred English horse, after routing a party of the enemy at Doncaster, and being themselves defeated by colonel Copley at Sherborne, reached Dumfries; but getting no account of Montrose, they disbanded their men and passed over to the Isle of Man, whence Digby proceeded to Dublin.

The negotiation with the duke of Lorraine was now at an end, and the king's only hopes lay in Ireland, where he had been carrying on a mysterious treaty with the insurgents. His wish had been to convert the cessation into a permanent peace; but the bigotry of the native Irish, headed by their clergy, would be content with nothing short of the establishment of their religion. To this Ormond, as a protestant, neither could nor would consent; Charles then looked out for another agent, and such he found in lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquess of Worcester, a catholic, his personal friend, and romantically and devotedly loyal. Herbert, now created earl of Glamorgan, received, in the month of January, (1645) various instructions and commissions to treat with the Irish confederates, the king pledging himself to make good whatever he should conclude. They were sealed with the private signet and blanks left for the names of the pope and other princes, which he was to insert himself, "to the end," said Glamorgan, "the king might have a starting hole to deny the having given me such commissions, if excepted against by his own subjects; leaving me, as it were, at stake, who, for his majesty's sake, was willing to undergo it, trusting to his word alone."

Thus furnished, Glamorgan proceeded to Ireland, (Apr. 30,) where Rinuccini, a papal nuncio, was now expected; so whom, as well as to the pope, he had letters from the king

Having communicated his instructions to a certain extent to Ormond, negotiations were entered into with the supreme council of the Irish at Kilkenny; to which town Glamorgan proceeded; and he there (Aug. 25) concluded a secret treaty, by which the catholics were to enjoy the public exercise of their religion, and all the churches and their revenues which were not actually in the possession of the protestant clergy; they, in return, were to supply the king with a body of ten thousand armed men, and devote two thirds of the church revenues to his service, during the war. A public treaty was, meantime, going on with Ormond, who scrupled on the subject of religion. But while he hesitated, the parliament got hold of the secret treaty; for the titular archbishop of Tuam, a martial prelate, happening to be killed in a skirmish between the Scots and Irish, (Oct. 17,) copies of all the documents were found in his carriage, and transmitted to London. When Ormond got information of this, which was not till Christmas, he called a council, and it was determined, at the suggestion of Digby, to arrest Glamorgan for high-treason; and Digby wrote in very strong and indignant terms to the king. Charles, in a message to the parliament, (Jan. 29, 1646,) solemnly disavowed Glamorgan's proceedings, averring that he had only given him a commission to raise soldiers. To Ormond, who had Glamorgan's warrant now in his hands, the king wrote evasively, asserting that he had no recollection of it, and that if he did give such a warrant, it was with an understanding that it was not to be employed without the lord-lieutenant's approbation. Glamorgan, of whose innocence there could be no doubt, was not long a prisoner. He hastened to Kilkenny to resume the treaty, (Jan. 22;) and obtained an immediate aid of six thousand men; but while he was waiting for transports to carry them to the relief of Chester, he learned the fall of that city, and the total ruin of the royal cause in England. He therefore disbanded his army, but still remained in Ireland.

After the surrender of Bristol the whole south and west of England were speedily reduced. While Fairfax was employed in the western counties, Cromwell took Winchester (Oct. 5) and Basing-house, the fortified mansion of the marquess of Winchester, (14th,) and in the north Latham-house, which lady Derby had defended for two years: lord Scroop's castle of Bolton and other places surrendered. The new year opened with the taking of Dartmouth by Fairfax, (Jan. 18,) who then resumed the siege of Exeter. At Torrington (Feb. 16) he totally routed lord Hopton and his Cornish

troops. He followed him into Cornwall, where the people submitted at his approach, and by a treaty (Mar. 14) Hopton disbanded his army, and surrendered all his arms, stores, and ammunition. The prince of Wales had gone to Scilly whence he soon after passed over to Jersey, and finally joined his mother at Paris. Penryn and other places surrendered, and the lord-general came back to Exeter, which at length was yielded on articles, (Apr. 13.) The whole west being now reduced, Fairfax led his army back to Newbury.

Chester had surrendered early in February. Sir Jacob Astley, with a body of three thousand men, whom he was leading to Oxford, was attacked (Mar. 22) and totally defeated at Stow in the Woods, on the borders of Gloucestershire by colonel Morgan and sir William Brereton. "Now you have done your work and may go play, unless you fall out among yourselves," said sir Jacob to those who had made him a prisoner.

The king's only hopes in fact lay in the divisions among his enemies; and had he known (which he never did know) how to act with judgment, he might have recovered a sufficient portion of his regal authority. The breach between the two religious parties was widening every day; the cordiality between the English parliament and their Scottish brethren was also on the wane. Charles intrigued with all these parties. "I am not without hope," he writes to Digby, "that I shall be able to draw either the presbyterians or independents to side with me for extirpating one the other; that I should be really king again." He used Montreuil, the French envoy, as his agent in his dealings with the Scots. His great object was to get to London, where he had numerous adherents, and where the peace-party was now strong. For this purpose he was urgent for a personal treaty, but to this the parliament, suspecting his object, would only consent on condition of his giving a previous assent to bills which they were preparing; the three first of which were the same as those offered at Uxbridge. The commons even went so far as to pass a vote, (Mar. 31,) that if the king came within their lines, the militia of London should apprehend those who came with him or resorted to him, and "secure his person from danger," *i. e.* confine him. They also ordered such as had borne arms against the parliament to quit London by the 6th of April.

At length the parliamentary troops began to close in Oxford, and the king must either resolve to sustain a siege and finally surrender himself a prisoner, or to fly from the town

He chose the latter, and on the night of the 27th of April he quitted Oxford, having cut his hair and beard, and riding with a portmanteau behind him as the servant of his faithful follower Ashburnham; one Dr. Hudson, a loyal military clergyman, who knew the country well, being their guide. They took the road to London. They passed through Uxbridge and Brentford, and thence turned to Harrow-on-the-hill, where the king finally determined to give up all thoughts of London, and to follow his original design. He proceeded by St. Alban's, and finding that his escape in the disguise of a servant was known, he assumed that of a clergyman. At length (30th) he came to Downham in Norfolk, where he remained while Hudson went to Montreuil at Newark. Montreuil had been for some time negotiating on the part of the king with the leaders of the Scottish army. The affair is, like most Scottish transactions, involved in obscurity; but it would appear that the Scots had overreached the sanguine Frenchman, and led him to give the king hopes of what they never intended to perform. It was proposed that they should receive the monarch in their camp — a measure from which they proposed to themselves many advantages, but at the same time it must be done in such a manner as not to implicate them with the English parliament. Their plan was to send a party of cavalry to Harborough, whither the king was to come, as it were, accidentally, on his way to Scotland, and he was to command their attendance on him. This plan, however, had been given up, and Charles on arriving at that place had found none there to meet him. Montreuil, though he now distrusted the Scots, thought when Hudson came to him that the king's only chance was to put himself into their hands. Charles therefore came (May 5) to Montreuil's abode at Southwell, and after dinner the envoy took him to Kelham, Leven's head-quarters. Leven raised his hands in real or affected surprise; he and his officers showed the monarch the most marked attention; he assigned him Kelham-house for his residence; but when Charles, to try if he was free, gave the word to the guard, Leven said, "I am the older soldier, sir; your majesty had better leave that office to me." They wrote off immediately to the parliament, saying that "they were astonished at the providence of the king's coming into their army, which was so private that it was long ere they could find him there," etc.; and the king having ordered Bellasis to surrender Newark to them, they set out (9th) on their march homewards, for the commons had voted that the king's person should be disposed of by

both houses, and that he should be sent to Warwick castle Poyntz, with a body of five thousand horse, was ordered to watch the Scottish army; but their march was so rapid that on the 18th the houses had intelligence of their arrival at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Next day they voted that they "had no further need of the army of their brethren the Scots in this kingdom," and voted them 100,000*l.*, half to be paid when they gave up Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places held by them; the other half when they had entered Scotland.

At Newcastle the king was treated with suitable respect, but none of his friends were given access to him. As the establishment of presbytery was a *sine quâ non* with the bigoted Scots, he undertook, unaided as he was, to discuss the matter with their great champion Henderson, and candor must allow that the advantage was on the side of the king; for most certainly no universal form of church government is laid down in the New Testament, and if antiquity is to decide the matter, the cause is won for episcopacy. The error of all sides at that time was supposing any form to be enjoined in Scripture. From the general insincerity of his character it was thought at the time that Charles was not in earnest in his maintenance of episcopacy, but his sincerity in this matter is now beyond question. He had consented to its abolition in Scotland, but it was with a secret design of restoring it when he should have the power. He had in a similar manner, as we have seen, agreed to the abolition of protestantism in Ireland; and as his attachment to the protestant faith cannot be questioned, we fear he meant to deceive the catholics also. Yet at this very time he wished to throw himself into their hands. In a letter to Glamorgan (July 20) he says, "Tell the nuncio that if once I can come into *his and your hands*, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest as I see despise me, I will do it." He also, while at Newcastle, meditated an escape by sea, but whether he intended to go to France or Ireland is uncertain. At this very time, too, he was harassed by letters from the queen, Jermyn, Colepepper, and others, at Paris, and the foreign residents there, urging him to give up the church; the queen even threatening to go into a monastery if he refused. Yet he stood firm. In truth he saw that he should gain nothing by it, for nothing short of the militia would content the parliament, and this the queen and his other friends would not allow him to part with.

There were two points now under debate between the

English and the Scots; the one the disposal of the royal person, the other the settlement of the arrears due to the Scottish army. The Scots declared (July 4) "that as they came into England out of affection, and not in a mercenary way, so they will be as willing to return home, and want of pay shall be no hinderance thereunto." In reply to this it was voted that the kingdom had no more need of them, and "is no longer able to bear them." The Scots (Aug. 12) then proposed to evacuate the kingdom, provided they were paid for their losses, etc.; it was voted (14th) to give them 100,000*l.* and to have their accounts audited. "The houses," says Whitelocke, "now saw the advantage of keeping up their army, as that which the more inclined the Scots to come to this offer." The Scots (19th) stated their demands at 500,000*l.*, but agreed (Sept. 1) to take 400,000*l.*, which sum the parliament consented to give; and so far the transaction appears to have had no reference to the king.

In the end of August the parliament sent nineteen propositions to the king; they were in substance the same with the Uxbridge articles; but the militia, with power to employ it, was to remain with the parliament for twenty years. To these the king gave a positive refusal, veiled indeed under the demand of a personal treaty. The enemies of peace and royalty exulted, the moderate party were dejected at this event.* The arrangements having been effected respecting the Scottish arrears, it was voted (Sept. 18) that the king's person should be disposed of as the two houses should think fit, but that no dispute on this subject should interfere with the treaties or the return of the Scots army. The Scottish commissioners strongly asserted the right of their nation to a share in the disposal of the king. In November the Scottish parliament met: Hamilton, who was now at liberty, exerted himself strongly in favor of the king; all were of opinion that he should accept the propositions, but Charles was immovable on the subject of the church. A vote was obtained (Dec. 16) to maintain his personal freedom and right to the English throne. The general assembly, however, having declared it unlawful to support him while he refused to assent to the covenant, and the parliament, being aware of the madness of engaging in a war with England, and ad-

* When thanks were voted to the commissioners, one said more thanks were due to the king. "What will become of us," whispered a member, "since the king refuses the propositions?" "Nay, what would have become of us," replied an independent, "had he granted them?"

vised by Hollis and the leading presbyterians there that the surrender of the king was the only means of causing the independent army to be disbanded, who were the great enemies of the king and of peace; they accordingly gave him up to commissioners sent to receive him, (Feb. 1, 1646.) Charles gladly left the Scots,* and he was conducted to Holdenby- or Holmby-house near Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

Charles himself said that he "was bought and sold," and the charge of selling their king has been down to the present day reiterated against the Scots. There are certainly many circumstances in the affair which have a suspicious appearance. It seems certain that they would not have gotten so large a sum from the parliament as they did if the person of the king had not been in their hands, and they probably took advantage of this circumstance to insist on their demands. But there are no sufficient grounds for charging them with inviting him to their camp with this design; they did not give him up till they had no choice but that of war; they acted under the advice of the friends of monarchy in the English parliament; they stipulated in the most express terms for the safety of his person; nay, to the very last, if he would have given them satisfaction on the subject of religion, they would have declined surrendering him. Like the monarch himself, they were unhappily situated; but we do not think that they can be justly charged with the guilt of having sold their king. Still every friend to Scotland must wish that the event had not occurred.

The civil war, after a duration of nearly four years, was now at an end. Oxford, Worcester, and other places had surrendered; the old marquess of Worcester defended Ragland castle against Fairfax and five thousand men, but he was obliged at last to open his gates, (Aug. 19;) and two days later Pendennis castle in Cornwall also surrendered. Harlech castle in North Wales was the last to submit, (Mar. 30, 1647.) Favorable terms were granted in all cases,

* Whitelocke (Dec. 15, 1646) gives the following affecting notice: "A Scotch minister preached boldly before the king at Newcastle, and after his sermon called for the 52d Psalm, which begins

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,

Thy wicked works to praise?

His majesty thereupon stood up and called for the 56th psalm, which begins

Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,

For men would me devour.

The people wave the minister's psalm and sung that which the king called for."

and the articles were honorably observed. Much and justly as intestine warfare is to be deprecated, we may look back with pride to this civil contest, unexampled in the history of the world. It does not, like the civil wars of other countries, disgust us by details of butcheries and other savage atrocities; all was open and honorable warfare; a generous humanity for the most part was displayed on both sides; and those who were finally victorious, to their honor, sent none of the vanquished to the scaffold.

While awarding praise we cannot in justice pass over the catholic nobility and gentry of England. Urged by an impulse of generous loyalty, as appears to us, rather than by any cold calculations of interest, they ranged themselves on the side of the king, though they knew but too well that he was at all times ready to sacrifice them, and that they were the persons on whom the vengeance of the parliament would fall most heavily; in the royal cause they wasted their estates, and shed their blood; and dead must he be to generous feeling who honors not the names of the marquesses of Worcester and Winchester, sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the other catholic nobles and knights who fought on the side of royalty in the civil contest.

Montrose on receiving orders from the king laid down his arms and retired to the continent. Ormond had by the royal command concluded a peace with the Irish catholics, but the nuncio and the clergy having assembled at Waterford declared it void, (Aug 6.) The nuncio then assumed the supreme power, and at the head of the united armies of Preston and Owen O'Neal,* advanced against Dublin. As Ormond had wasted the country they were obliged to retire, but he was well aware that it must fall into their hands if not relieved from England. The king was now a captive, and powerless; the Irish catholics were entirely ruled by the priesthood, and nothing short of the extirpation of protestantism and the English interest would content them. To avert this calamity Ormond entered into treaty with the parliament, and he agreed (Feb. 22, 1647) to put Dublin and the other garrisons into their hands. The sequestration was taken off from his own estate, and he had permission given him to reside for some time in England.

The presbyterian system was at this time established by ordinance of parliament; each parish was to have its minister and lay elders; a number of adjoining parishes were to form

* Preston was the general of the catholics of the English blood O'Neal of the Ulster Irish.

a classis with its presbytery of ministers and elders; several classes a province with its assembly; and finally, a rational assembly over all. But the system never came into full operation except in London and Lancashire; the parliament could not be brought to allow of the divine right of presbytery; they greatly limited the power of the keys, and they allowed of appeals from the ecclesiastical courts. In their zeal for uniformity, hatred of toleration, lust of power, and tyrannical exercise of it, the presbyterian clergy felt nothing short of the prelatical party who had been their persecutors.

The moderate party in parliament lost at this time a great support by the death of the earl of Essex, (Sept. 14.) He died in consequence of overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor-forest. He was buried with great state in Westminster-abbey, (Oct. 22;) the members of both houses, the civil and military officers, and all the troops in London attending the funeral.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

1647—1649.

THE presbyterians were still the more numerous party in parliament, though their rivals had acquired an accession of strength in the elections which had lately been held; for, says Ludlow, "honest men (i. e. his own party) in all parts did what they could to promote the elections of such as were most hearty for the accomplishment of our deliverance," that is, the establishment of a republic. But the main strength of the other party lay in the army, in which, since the new model, the spirit of fanaticism had, under the auspices of Cromwell, greatly increased. The English presbyterian clergy, less zealous or less prudent than their Scottish brethren, had preferred the enjoyment of good livings to the toils of a military life; the regiments were without chaplains; the officers, and soon the privates, took on them the offices of praying and preaching; goodness of memory and volubility of speech were regarded as inspiration; spiritual pride soon followed, and they regarded themselves alone as the *godly*, the *saints* who were to possess the earth.

The parliament saw the danger likely to result from the

continuance in arms of a body of men animated with fanaticism and formidable by discipline. To reduce their number was therefore their first object. As the royalists were utterly crushed and the Scots withdrawn, they proposed that a moderate force should be retained to preserve the peace in England, a sufficient army be sent to reduce Ireland, and the remainder be disbanded. To this arrangement the army had an invincible repugnance. The service in Ireland, however dattering to their fanatic spirit, promised only toil, privation, and danger, and they looked forward in preference to the quiet enjoyment of their pay in England. The habits of a military life had rendered their former plodding pursuits distasteful to them, particularly to the officers, many of whom had risen from very humble stations in society.* Cromwell too, now their actuating spirit, seems to have even then formed his plans for governing parliament by the army. The commons meantime voted, (Mar. 8,) that excepting the general there should be no further any officer of higher rank than colonel; that no member of the house should have a command; that all the officers should take the covenant and conform to the new form of church-government. It is quite evident that Cromwell was the person chiefly aimed at. But the parliament had unwisely suffered the pay of the army to fall into arrears and thus furnished them with a plausible ground of complaint. The army on hearing of this vote suddenly broke up from their quarters about Nottingham and came to Saffron-Waldon in Essex. Commissioners from the parliament met them there (22d) on the subject of the service in Ireland; but the officers required to be previously satisfied on certain points, and a petition was meantime circulated for signatures through the army, requiring an act of indemnity for all past actions, payment of arrears, exemption from impressment, pensions for the maimed and for widows, and pay till they should be disbanded. The parliament (30th) voted this petition to be mutinous, and forbade any further proceeding in it; but of this the soldiers took little heed.

The army had at this time a parliament of its own; the superior officers formed a supreme council, while two *adjutators*; or, as they were soon named, *agitators*, being chosen

* Colonel Pride for instance is said to have been a drayman, colonel Hewson a cobbler. We must not, however, on all occasions, give implicit credit to the royalist writers in these matters. Thus they always say that Harrison had been a butcher, whereas the truth is that his father was a respectable grazier, and himself a member of one of the inns of court.

from each troop and company by the common soldiers, formed a lower house. It seems probable that Cromwell and his able son-in-law Ireton were the founders of this institution.

Throughout the months of April and May the parliament vainly sought to rid themselves of their refractory servants. At length, urged by the impetuosity of Hollis, Stapylton, and Glynn, they sent (May 25) instructions to the general to disband the various regiments without delay. This measure produced results which they had by no means anticipated.

The king had been all this time at Holmby. The commissioners sent by the parliament to take charge of him treated him with respect, and he enjoyed the recreations of riding about the country and playing at bowls in the bowling-green at Althorpe. But his servants were selected by the parliament: he was refused the attendance of any of his chaplains, and even the people who resorted to be touched for the evil were not allowed to approach him. On the 12th of May he wrote to the parliament offering to establish presbytery for three years, to resign the command of the army for ten years, and to give full satisfaction respecting the war in Ireland. He had received no answer, when, on the 2d of June, as he was at bowls, an officer in the uniform of Fairfax's regiment was observed among the spectators. His answers to the inquiries of colonel Greaves, who commanded the guards at Holmby, excited suspicion; the king was hurried home and the guards were doubled. About two in the morning (3d) the stranger (who proved to be cornet Joice, formerly a tailor) appeared with a party of horse before the gates, where they were received by the guards as brethren: they said they were come to prevent their enemies from carrying away the king. They set guards, and passed the day in consultation. At ten at night, Joice, having placed guards on the commissioners, proceeded to the apartment of the king, which he entered with his hat in one hand and his pistol in the other. He behaved with civility, and he seems to have satisfied the king on the subject of his removal; Charles only required that he should repeat next day in public what he then said in private; Joice then withdrew.

At six next morning (4th) Joice drew up his men before the door. The king standing on the steps asked him what authority he had for conveying him away. He replied, that of the army. The king then demanded if he had a written commission from the general, and on his repeating the question, Joice pointing to his men said, "There is my commission." The king smiled and said, "I never before read such

a commission; but it is written in characters fair and legible enough; a company of as handsome, proper gentlemen as I have seen a long while." He then demanded to be treated with respect if he went with them, and not to have his conscience forced. The troopers acclaimed their assent, and Joice replied that it was not their principle to force any man's conscience, much less their king's. He offered him his choice of residences: Charles fixed on Newmarket; he was allowed the attendance of his own servants. The commissioners protested in vain against this act; the king when ready mounted his horse with a cheerful air and set out with the troopers, whom the commissioners also accompanied.

Fairfax, on hearing what had taken place, sent colonel Whalley with two regiments of horse to reconduct the king to Holmby, but he refused to return. Next day Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and others, waited on him. In a private interview Fairfax made a proffer of his services. "Sir," said the king, "I have as good an interest in the army as you." On this Fairfax remarks, "By this I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on; the agitators had brought him into an opinion that the army was for him." Fairfax tried in vain to bring Joice to a court-martial. Hollis asserts, and probably with truth, that the whole matter had been planned by Cromwell and Ireton, and that Joice was only their agent.

When the parliament heard of this bold proceeding of the army they recalled their precipitate vote of the 25th of May. But this was of no avail; the army mustered (10th) on Trip-low-heath near Cambridge, and prepared to march for London, and two days after they were at St. Alban's, whence (16th) they sent a charge against eleven of the leading presbyterians, requiring them to be sequestered from parliament and thrown into prison. The head-quarters of the army were then moved to Berkhamstead (25th) and next day to Uxbridge. Addresses from the counties round London, who now saw where the power really lay, were presented to the general and the army. Messages passed and repassed between the houses and the army, and at length (July 20) the eleven members desired and obtained leave to go into the country or beyond sea for six months. "Here," says Hallam, "may be said to have fallen the legislative power and civil government of England, which, from this hour to that of the restoration, had never more than a momentary and precarious gleam of existence, perpetually interrupted by the sword."

The king meantime was treated with unusual indulgence

He moved with the army, but things were so arranged as to allow him to stop at the mansions of the nobility, by whom he was splendidly entertained. He was allowed the attendance of his episcopal chaplains; his friends were freely admitted to him. The parliament had always rudely refused to gratify him by the sight of his children, whom they had committed to the charge of the earl of Northumberland; but now, by a letter from Fairfax, the earl was directed to take them down to Cavesham-house near Reading, where they remained for two days with their father. Cromwell, who wanted not for natural feelings, and who was present at their first interview, declared that it was "the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld," and wept plentifully when describing it.

Fairfax, brave and skilful in the camp and field, guileless and simple as a child in civil affairs, was but the puppet of Cromwell and Ireton. These two able men also ruled the council of officers and the agitators. Sir John Berkeley, who had returned from France, was the agent between them and the king. They expressed, and probably with sincerity, every inclination to restore him to his dignity, Cromwell himself declaring that "he thought no man could enjoy his estate quietly unless the king had his rights." But Charles, sanguine and imprudent, thought that by playing the army, the parliament, and the Scots, against each other, he could recover his despotic power; he had also a firm persuasion that nothing could be finally arranged without him, and that whatever party he joined must have the superiority. They saw this. "Sir," said Ireton to him on one occasion, "you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be so between the parliament and you." When the king was at Woburn in the latter end of July, 'Proposals' far more moderate than any he had yet seen, drawn up by Ireton, were laid before him by Berkeley; but his reply was, "Well, I shall see them glad ere long to accept of more equal terms." Lord Lauderdale, one of the Scottish commissioners, had just at this time come down to inform him that a new covenant was receiving numerous signatures in the city, by which the subscribers bound themselves to bring him up to Westminster to confirm the concessions he had made at Holmby. Charles was as usual unduly elated, and when the council of officers waited on him with their completed proposals, (Aug. 1,) they met with a decided refusal. "You cannot do without me," said he; "you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." On a

whisper from Berkeley the king attempted to soften the terms he had used; but colonel Rainsborough, a decided foe to accommodation, had already conveyed them to the army.

An event of great importance was now on the eve of happening. The citizens had petitioned against the demands of the army, but the houses rejected their prayer, and also voted (July 24) the new covenant an act of treason. Two days after, the citizens petitioned again, and on their being refused, a great crowd of apprentices and of the disbanded soldiers of Essex's army besieged the doors of the houses, and never ceased from clamor and threats till they had forced the parliament to rescind the obnoxious ordinances. The houses then adjourned to the 30th, on which day, when they met, they learned that the two speakers and several of the Independent members had fled to the army, which was now on its march for London. They appointed new speakers, revived the committee of safety, and prepared to raise a force to oppose the army. Waller, Massey, and Poyntz were appointed to command the new levies.

On the 3d of August the army mustered twenty thousand strong on Hounslow Heath. About fourteen of the lords and one hundred of the commons appeared among them. The aspect of things in the city in the meantime was various; when word came that the army had made a halt, the cry was, "One and all!" if they heard that it was advancing, the word was, "Treat! treat!" A letter was finally sent to the general, "beseeching him that there might be a way of composure." His demands of having the fortifications on the west side of the city given up to him being complied with, he moved on the morning of the 6th from his head-quarters at Hammer-smith, one regiment of foot and two of horse preceding him, the members following in coaches; a regiment of horse bringing up the rear. All the soldiers wore laurel-sprigs in their hats. In this state he reconducted the members to their seats. He received in return the thanks of both the houses and the lieutenancy of the Tower. Next day (7th) the whole army marched through the city, and then proceeded to take up their quarters in Kent and Essex, the general fixing himself at Croydon.

The eleven members, who had lately come forward again, now sought safety in flight. After many debates, enforced at length by a letter from the general, an ordinance was passed, (Aug. 26,) making null and void all votes, etc., from the 26th of July to the 6th of August. Soon after (Sept. 7) Clement Walker, Glyn, the recorder, and sir John Maynard

were expelled the house; the seven lords also, who had continued to sit, were impeached, (8th,) and the lord-mayor and four of the aldermen were committed to the Tower.

While matters were proceeding thus in London, the king remained in tranquillity. He removed to Oatlands on the 14th, whither numbers resorted to him from London, and ten days after, (24th,) having dined with his children at Sion-house, he took up his abode at Hampton-court; the head-quarters of the general were now at Putney.

At Hampton-court the king enjoyed great liberty, having given his promise not to attempt an escape; he saw his children whenever he pleased; his friends had ready access to him; he corresponded freely with the queen; the officers treated him with the utmost respect. Frequent conversations took place between him and Cromwell as they walked in the gardens and galleries of the palace. Huntingdon, the major of Cromwell's regiment, and Berkeley and Ashburnham communicated frequently between them. On the 8th of September, the parliament, at the desire of the Scottish commissioners, sent the 'Propositions' once more to the king. Charles secretly advised by Ireton, rejected them; his answer was shown privately to Cromwell and Ireton, and was in some parts amended by them. Cromwell gave repeated assurances that no worse conditions than the 'Proposals' of the army should ever be imposed on him, and Ireton said that "they would purge and purge, and never leave purging the houses till they had made them of such a temper as should do his majesty's business." In his reply to the houses, Charles declared his preference of the 'Proposals' of the army, and proposed to treat respecting that plan with commissioners of the parliament and army. "Cromwell, Ireton, and many of their party in the house," says Ludlow, "pressed the king's desires with great earnestness; wherein, contrary to their expectations, they found a vigorous opposition from such as had already conceived a jealousy of their private agreement with the king, and were now confirmed in that opinion; and the suspicions of them grew so strong that they were accounted betrayers of the cause, and lost almost all their friends in the parliament." He adds, that the army were no less dissatisfied with their conduct. There was in effect a new party sprung up in the army, styled by themselves 'Rationalists,' as they affected to possess no knowledge or talents, but simply the *reason* which God had given them to be their guide. They soon, however, acquired the more expressive title of 'Levellers,' as their reason showed them that all distinctions

between man and man should be *levelled*. These were the men to whom all plans for the restoration of the king were so distasteful.

On taking a calm view of the whole of the dealings of Cromwell and Ireton at this time with the king, as they are variously reported, we see no reason whatever to doubt of their sincerity. Cromwell, it is said, was to be made earl of Essex, captain of the king's guard, and a knight of the garter, and Ireton lord-lieutenant of Ireland. But fear of the level-lers, and the discovery of the king's insincerity, caused them afterwards to change and to become his enemies; for at this very time, Charles, with his incurable passion for intrigue, was in secret treaty with the Scots. He told lord Capel, that "he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves a universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England; and that in such a conjuncture he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other." Ormond was also at Hampton-court, and it was arranged that he should at the same time resume the lieutenancy of Ireland, and act for the royal interest. Of this intrigue Cromwell got information, and he expostulated with Ashburnham, complaining "that the king could not be trusted," and adding, that "he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation."

Cromwell is said to have discovered this by intercepting a letter from Charles to the queen. There is a curious story to the following effect. Cromwell and Ireton riding out with lord Broghill one day in Ireland, told him that while they were in treaty with the king, they learned from one of their spies of the bed-chamber, that their doom was fixed in a letter to the queen, which was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, that was to be taken to the Blue Boar in Holborn, to be sent to Dover. Cromwell and Ireton then, disguised as common troopers, went to the inn, and sat drinking there till the man they expected came, when they ripped up the saddle and found what they wanted. The king in it said that he thought he should close with the Scots, and they then, having no hopes of him, resolved to rum him. According to another account, the words of the letter were, "that he should know how in due time to deal with the rogues, who instead of a silken garter should be fitted in due time with a hempen cord."

Be this account true or false, Cromwell and Ireton kept up their communications with the king, but the levellers

were now growing too strong for them. The agitators of sixteen regiments presented to parliament (Nov. 1) a plan for new-modelling the constitution: parliaments were to be biennial; all persons but servants were to have votes, etc. Cromwell and Ireton opposed these measures firmly, but the former was menaced with impeachment, and the latter had quitted the council of officers, on its being intimated that the army would make no more addresses to the king. It is said that there was a plot of the levellers to seize the person of the king, and Cromwell, who had pledged his word to give him warning if there was any danger, wrote to warn colonel Whalley, by whom the letter was instantly shown to him, (Nov. 11.) That very night Charles, who had already withdrawn his parole, secretly quitted Hampton-court, accompanied by Legge, and crossing the river to Thames Ditton, where Berkeley and Ashburnham were waiting with horses, proceeded to Titchfield-house in Sussex, the residence of the countess-dowager of Southampton. On his table at Hampton-court were found various letters, among which was an anonymous one warning him of assassination, and one from himself to the parliament, assuring them he would be always ready to leave the asylum which he had chosen, "whenever he might be heard with honor, freedom, and safety."

There is great mystery in this escape of the king, which could hardly have taken place without the connivance of Whalley, and even of Cromwell. The enemies of the latter see in it a deep stratagem to get the king more completely into his power. We confess that we do not think so ill of Cromwell, and viewing him as a statesman and a man of humanity, we are inclined to give the preference to the opinion of Hobbes, that he wished to give the king an opportunity of escaping to the continent. It would also seem that Charles's original plan had been to make his escape by sea, and that he had arranged with the Scottish commissioners to go to Berwick, but that they had repelled him by talking again of their covenant. He then appears to have thought of Jersey, but no vessel had been provided, and there seemed little chance of being able to procure one speedily. He also thought of the Isle of Wight, of which colonel Hammond, the nephew of one of his chaplains and a man of honor, had lately been made governor. While he and Legge therefore remained at Titchfield, he sent Berkeley and Ashburnham to Hammond with copies of Cromwell's and the anonymous letter, to tell him that the king designed to seek protection from him. They met Hammond as he was on his

way from Carisbrooke-castle to Newport, and Berkeley abruptly began by informing him that the king was at hand. Hammond turned pale, and trembled excessively, and was near falling from his horse. "Oh, gentlemen!" he cried, "you have undone me by bringing the king into the island, if you have brought him; if you have not, pray let him not come; for what between my duty to his majesty and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of his confidence on the one hand, and the observance of my trust to the army on the other, I shall be confounded." When he came to himself the affair was considered. Hammond would only pledge himself to do what might be expected from "a person of honor and honesty," with which Ashburnham declared himself satisfied. Hammond then proposed that one should remain, while the other returned to the king, but he afterwards decided to go with them himself. When they were taking boat at Cowes, he made captain Baskett, the commandant there, enter it with them. On their arrival at Titchfield, the others remained below while Ashburnham went up to apprise the king. "What!" cried Charles, striking his breast in agony, "have you brought Hammond with you? Oh Jack! you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring. The governor will keep me prisoner." He then told him that he had sent to Southampton for a vessel. Ashburnham proposed what he called an "expedient," which was "to secure," i. e. murder both Hammond and Baskett. Charles walked up and down the room, weighing the proposal. "I understand you well enough," said he, "but the world would not excuse me. Should I follow that counsel, it would be believed that Hammond had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him. It is too late to think of any thing but going through the way you have forced upon me, and so leave the issue to God." Ashburnham burst into tears. We could wish that the king had rejected the nefarious project in stronger terms.

Hammond and Baskett were now called up; they kissed the king's hand, and Hammond renewed his protestations. Charles then passed over to the island, where he was lodged in Carisbrooke-castle. He found the people of the place loyal, and he was allowed to ride about as he pleased.

The projects of the levellers meantime appeared so dangerous to the superior officers, that it was determined to make a bold effort to suppress them, and this was effected by the resolution of Cromwell, whose very life was at stake. Fairfax, having ordered the troops to muster in three brigades

on three different days, had a remonstrance prepared, to be read at the head of each regiment. The first rendezvous took place at Ware, (Nov. 15,) where two regiments, not of the brigade, appeared on the ground, with seditious papers round their hats; one of these, on being reasoned with, submitted; the other proving refractory, Cromwell darted into the ranks, and seized the ringleaders with his own hands. A court-martial was held; three were condemned to death, and being made to draw lots, he on whom the lot fell was shot at the head of the regiment, and the mutinous spirit was thus checked for the present. Cromwell, however, it would seem, soon saw that it was too dangerous to oppose the violent party; two thirds of the army, it is said, had apprized him and Ireton, that they were resolved, come what might, to go on with their enterprise of destroying the king, and that fearing the effect of a schism in the army, they "concluded that if they could not bring the army to their sense it was best to comply with them." Of this Berkeley was informed in the following mysterious manner. Being sent by the king and Hammond with letters to the general and Cromwell and Ireton at Windsor, he met with a very cool reception from them. He retired to his inn, and in the evening sent his servant out to try if he could meet any of his acquaintance. A general officer spoke to him, and desired him to tell his master that he would meet him at midnight in a close behind the Garter inn. In the interview he told Berkeley that the army no longer mistrusted Cromwell and Ireton; that it was intended to send a body of eight hundred men to seize the king, in order to bring him to trial; "and therefore," said he, "if the king can escape, let him do it as he loves his life." Berkeley wrote off immediately to the king and Hammond; he then sent to request an interview with Cromwell, who answered that he durst not see him, but assured him, "that he would serve the king as long as he could without his own ruin." Berkeley, on returning to the king, found that in reliance on a treaty he was in with the Scots commissioners he had no thoughts of making an escape.

The king had all along been importuning the parliament for a personal treaty, and at length (Dec. 24) commissioners of both houses presented him four bills, his assent to which was required as preliminary to a personal treaty. By the first the parliament was to have the command of the army for twenty years, even after which time, if the houses declared the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all their bills relating to the army and navy should be acts of parliament

without the royal assent; the second declared all oaths, proclamations, etc., against the parliament during the war null and void; the third took away all titles of honor conferred since the 20th of May, 1642, and no future peers were to sit without consent of parliament; the fourth gave the houses the power of adjourning at their discretion.

The Scottish commissioners had given all the opposition in their power to these bills, and finding they could not impede them, they hurried to Carisbrooke, where they arrived a day before those sent by the parliament, and by making vague concessions on both sides the long-agitated treaty was agreed on and signed. Charles, in consequence, gave a peremptory rejection to the four bills, but as his object was now to effect his escape as soon as possible, he gave his answer sealed up; the commissioners, however, insisting on knowing its contents, he was obliged to read it to them and Hammond. Though he expressly stipulated that it should cause no difference in his treatment, Hammond instantly dismissed his servants, and doubled the guards. Charles had in fact intended to escape that very night to a ship sent by the queen, which lay off the island, but he was thus prevented. A royalist officer named Burley then tried to raise the people and storm the castle, and liberate the king; but the project failed, and Burley was soon after tried and executed as a traitor.

Shortly after the return of their commissioners, (Jan. 3, 1648,) the parliament, after a long debate, voted to make no more addresses to the king, and to receive no more messages from him; that if any person communicated with him without leave he should be guilty of high-treason, and that the committee of public safety should be renewed, and have no foreign (*i. e.* Scottish) coadjutors. This was in effect dethroning the king. Cromwell is said to have declared in the debate, that "the king was a man of great parts and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." A declaration was presented from the army (11th) expressing their resolution "to stand by the parliament in the things then voted." The houses also put forth a declaration, in which all the charges ever made against the king, including the odious one of being accessory to the murder of his father, were reiterated.*

* "Mr. Selden told the house that he was one of the committee to examine the business of poisoning king James, in the duke of Buckingham's time, but could find nothing at all reflecting on the king, and

Yet, though Charles was a close prisoner, his cause was far from being hopeless. The great body of the people were in favor of retaining the original constitution; they saw how they had been illuded; they were oppressed with heavier taxation than ever they had known before, and subjected to the insolence and tyranny of local committees, though the war had long been ended. They beheld before them every prospect of a military despotism. The general wish, therefore, was for a personal treaty with the king. The commonwealth's men in the parliament and the army were at the same time resolved on the abolition of monarchy, as they had found in Scripture that it was a thing bad in itself and condemned of God. Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell procured a conference between them and the grandees of the house and army, in which the latter "kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of these might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us." The former exposed all their reasons, and Cromwell, whose only object had been to learn the state of feeling and opinion among them, declared he was unresolved; and flinging a cushion at Ludlow's head, ran down stairs pursued by him with another cushion.

The friends of the monarchy in Scotland, headed by Hamilton, were meantime exerting themselves to have the treaty carried into effect, and an army raised for the aid of the royal cause. But if ever there was a priest-ridden people, it was the Scots at this time; and the clergy, finding that presbytery was to be established only for three years in England, with liberty of dissent for the king himself and all others, thundered from their pulpits against the engagement, and pronounced a curse on all who should share in the war. The levies, therefore, went on slowly; and the English royalists, who were to have risen when the Scots appeared, lost patience and took to arms in various parts.

The first person who raised the royal standard in this second civil war (Mar. 3) was colonel Poyer, governor of Pembroke for the parliament. He was joined by Laugherne and Powel, two colonels, whose men had been disbanded, but now returned to their standards. They took Chepstow, besieged Carnarvon, and defeated colonel Fleming. Cromwell,

therefore moved the house that that article might be deserted' *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. App. 45.

however, appeared (May 8) and speedily reduced them. The royalists next rose in Kent, (May 23,) and some ships of war in the river declared for the king and went over to the Hague to put themselves under the command of the prince. Fairfax, however, routed the royalists at Maidstone, (June 1,) and Goring, who the next day had appeared at Blackheath, hoping to be admitted by the discontented citizens, found his hopes baffled by the prudence of the parliamentary leaders, who had released the aldermen, discharged the impeachment against the seven lords, and allowed the excluded members to resume their seats. He therefore crossed the river and threw himself into Colchester, where he was soon after besieged by Fairfax.

At length the Scottish army led by Hamilton entered England, (July 8.) Owing to the opposition of the clergy it did not exceed 14,000 men, and these indifferently armed and ill-supplied with artillery. It was followed, however, by 3000 veterans from the army in Ireland under Munro, and a body of 4000 gallant royalists, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, preceded it. But Hamilton, though brave, was no general. Instead of pursuing Lambert, the parliamentary general, who retired from the siege of Carlisle at his approach, he wasted forty days in a march of eighty miles into Lancashire, and thus gave time for Cromwell, who had reduced Pembroke, to come and join Lambert. Hamilton's army was also scattered over such an extent of country as almost rendered it ineffective. The English royalists were attacked (Aug. 18) at Preston by the parliamentary army of nine thousand men; they fought with such heroism that had they been supported by the Scots in the slightest degree they would have probably gained a victory; but the irresolute duke knew not how to act, and when the royalists retired into the town they found that their Scottish allies had abandoned their artillery and baggage, and were in full retreat. Langdale then directed his infantry to disperse, and with his cavalry swam over the Ribble, Hamilton accompanying his flight. Baillie surrendered with the Scottish infantry at Warrington, (20th,) the duke gave himself up to Lambert at Utoxeter, (25th,) Langdale, travelling in disguise, was taken near Nottingham. Such was the termination of this ill-managed expedition.

While the Scots were on their way to England, a feeble attempt to rouse the people of London was made by the earl of Holland, who had once more veered round to the side of royalty. Leaving his house in the city at the head of five

hundred horse, he marched (July 5) to Kingston, whence he sent messages to the parliament and common-council, calling on them to join him in putting an end to the calamities of the nation. But he was attacked and routed, (7th,) and flying to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, was there obliged to surrender, (10th.)

Colchester, though defended only by a low rampart of earth had been gallantly maintained for nearly three months. The distress in the town was extreme; all the horses and even the dogs and cats had been consumed for food, when at length (the officers having vainly urged their men to follow them in an attempt to break through the besiegers' lines) they were obliged to surrender at discretion, (Aug. 28,) quarter being secured to the privates. The earl of Norwich, as Goring was now styled, and the lords Capel and Loughborough, were among those who surrendered. Fairfax held a council of war, which condemned sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne, to instant death. Lucas was first shot; when he fell, Lisle ran up and kissed his dead body; he desired the soldiers to draw nearer. "I'll warrant you, sir," said one of them, "we'll hit you." "Friends," he replied, with a smile, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me." They fired, and he fell dead. Gascoigne, who it appeared was a Tuscan by birth, was respited. This execution is certainly a stain on the character of Fairfax; it was said that Ireton urged him to it.

The prince of Wales, who had taken the command of the revolted fleet, sailed over with nineteen ships to the Downs, (July 20.) Here he lay for six weeks soliciting the city by letters. The king wished that they should come and liberate him, but the sailors insisted on fighting; the parliamentary commanders, however, cautiously avoided an engagement, and want of provisions at length obliged the prince's fleet to return to Holland.

The presbyterian party, as we have seen, had recovered their preponderance in parliament; the vote of non-address was therefore repealed, (July 28,) and a personal treaty was agreed on. But nothing was done till the intelligence of Cromwell's success in the north warned them that the army party might soon regain their influence. They then (Sept. 1) appointed five lords and ten commoners to conduct the negotiation, which was to continue for forty days. The king, on giving his word not to attempt to escape during that time, or for twenty days after, was allowed to reside at a private house in the town of Newport. He was also permitted to

have his servants, his chaplains, and such of his councillors as had not shared in the war, but none of them were suffered to take any part in the deliberations, though the king might retire to consult with them. The terms proposed were in substance those offered to him at Hampton-court, from which the parliament would not, perhaps could not, make any abatement. "Consider, Mr. Buckley," said the king to one of them, "if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, 'There has been a fray and no fray;' and being asked how that could be, 'Why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I have had them all.'" The mental powers which the king displayed in this treaty astonished the commissioners. "The king is wonderfully improved," said lord Salisbury to sir Philip Warwick. "No, my lord, it is your lordship who has too late discerned what he always was," was the reply. Sir Henry Vane told sir Edward Walker that they had been much deceived in the character of the king, whom they had considered as a weak man, "but now," says he, "that we find him to be a person of great parts and abilities, we must the more consider our own security, for he is only the more dangerous."

As the commissioners had no power to concede any point, all the king's objections and proposals had to be transmitted to London, which of course caused considerable delay. Charles himself also was too fond of discussion, in which he knew he excelled. After long debates, he, however, yielded most of their demands. He consented to recall all his proclamations against the parliament, and allow that it had taken up arms in its just defence; he surrendered the militia, the chief offices of state, and the government of Ireland for twenty years; he agreed to accept 100,000*l.* a year for the court of wards, to recognize the parliament's great seal, and to make no peers without consulting the two houses. But on two points he was firm; he would not abandon the seven persons whom they selected as victims to their vengeance; he would not abolish episcopacy, though he would suspend it for three years, cut off all dignities above or below that of bishop, whose powers he would limit to ordination, with the advice of presbyters. The church-lands he would not consent to alienate, but he would let the present possessors have leases of them for lives or ninety-nine years.

While matters were thus protracted the army was advancing, and the real views of the independents were every day made more manifest. Early in September, (11th,) a petition

from "thousands well-affected persons in and near London" had informed the parliament of what they expected. This was to make good the supremacy of the people from all pretences of negative voices in king or lords; to have elections yearly, and of course without writ or summons; that they should not sit longer than forty or fifty days; to have no compulsive power in matters of religion; kings, queens, princes, dukes, earls, and all persons to be alike liable to every law of the land; the proceedings in law to be shortened, and the charges made certain; all late enclosures to be opened, or to be only for the benefit of the poor; all monopolies to be abolished, and all taxes but subsidies to be taken off; the many thousands that are ruined by perpetual imprisonment for debt to be considered, and provision made for their enlargement; tithes to be abolished, etc. This petition did not go the length of calling for the abolition of monarchy and nobility, but it concluded with stating that they had expected the parliament "to have laid to heart the abundance of innocent blood that hath been spilt, and the infinite spoil and havock that hath been made of peaceable, harmless people by express commission from the king, and to have seriously considered whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or his yet remaining wrath to be appeased by an act of oblivion." The meaning of this last hint is plain enough. Some time after (Oct. 18) Ireton's regiment petitioned the general that justice might be done on the contrivers and encouragers of the late rebellion and second war, and "that the same fault may have the same punishment in the person of king or lord as in the person of the poorest commoner;" and that whoever should act or speak in the king's behalf till he had been acquitted of the guilt of shedding innocent blood, should be a traitor. The petition of Ingoldsby's regiment (30th) spoke of "an immediate care that justice be done upon the principal invaders of all their liberties, namely, the king and his party," and required the reestablishment of the general council of the army to consider of some effectual remedies. Finally (Nov. 20) came the 'Large Remonstrance of the Army,' demanding a present reading, and insisting that the treaty should be broken off, and the king be brought to justice "as the capital cause of all." They desired that a period should be set to this parliament, and a new one be elected according to rules which they laid down; this to be the supreme power, and future kings to be *elected* by it "These things they press as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill because from an army, and

so servants, when their masters are servants and trustees for the kingdom." A long debate ensued on this insolent petition; it was adjourned, and when resumed (30th) the question of taking the petition into speedy consideration was resolved in the negative by a majority of sixty-seven voices.

The commissioners were still with the king, for the period of the treaty had been extended. Both they and his friends were urgent with him to concede more, in order to save himself from the army. Hammond being summoned at this time to head-quarters, (26th,) and colonel Ewers sent to secure the person of the king, he could no longer be blind to the ulterior designs of the army. His firmness therefore gave way, and he consented (27th) to abandon his friends, provided they were allowed the benefit of the ancient laws, and to suspend the functions of the bishops, and vest their lands in the crown till religion should be settled by the king and parliament. Next morning (28) when the commissioners were taking leave of him, Charles is said to have addressed them in these words: "My lords, I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again. But God's will be done! I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them that plot against me and mine, but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends." Hammond departed with the commissioners, and the king was again confined in Carisbrooke-castle, under the charge of one Boreman, an officer of militia.

It is to be feared that even in this treaty Charles was not sincere. In a letter to Ormond, who was now in Ireland negotiating with the catholics, he tells him not to be startled at his concessions, which would come to nothing, and directs him to follow not his but the queen's directions. Four days after, when pressed to disavow Ormond's powers, he assured the commissioners that since the first votes for the treaty, he had transacted no business relating to Ireland with any but themselves. He was also all the time meditating an escape, and corresponded anxiously on this matter with sir William Hopkins, who commanded a ship opposite Newport. In one letter (Oct. 9) he says, "To deal freely with you, the great concession I made to-day was merely in order to my escape,

of which if I had not hopes, I would not have done; for then I could have returned to my strait prison without reluctance; but now I confess it would break my heart, having done that which nothing but an escape would justify." It is hence inferred, that his intention was to get over to Ireland and renew the war at the head of the catholic insurgents. But this is not a necessary consequence; he might have only designed to go to the continent, and there wait to see the turn events might take. As to his parole, he seems to have considered himself released from it, as the conditions on which he gave it, he maintained, were not kept.

We have seen from the king's words to the commissioners, that he had apprehensions for his life. We are told, in fact, that some days before sir Philip Killebrew had come privately from Windsor, at the risk, as he said, of going "to prison or to pot," and informed him of the design of the army to seize him, bring him to trial, and put him to death. But the king could hardly credit the intelligence. The evening after the departure of the commissioners, (29th,) a person in disguise told one of the king's servants that the army would seize on him that night. Charles consulted with his friends; they urged an immediate escape, as the night was dark and colonel Coke knew the watchword; but Charles had been induced to renew his parole. "They have promised me," said he, "and I will not break first." He retired to rest about midnight, and soon after colonel Cobbett arrived with a troop of horse and a company of foot. At five the king was awakened by a summons to depart. He was placed in a coach and conveyed to Hurst castle, which stands on a rock in the sea, joined by a causeway two miles in length to the coast of Hampshire.

The proceedings of the army at this time were as follows: The officers having "spent a day (26th) wholly in prayer," entered into consultation on the best mode of bringing to effect the contents of their remonstrance; a petition at the same time reached them from the army of the north, calling for justice on delinquents. This petition was forwarded and recommended by Cromwell. The very day that the king was seized and their 'Remonstrance' rejected, (30th,) they published a 'Declaration' against the house of commons, in which, charging the majority with "apostasy from the public trust reposed in them," they appealed from them "unto the extraordinary judgment of God and good people." They called on "so many of them as God hath kept upright" to withdraw from the others, and added, that the army was drawing

up to London, "there to follow Providence as God shall clear their way." Two days after (Dec. 2) they came and took up their head-quarters in St. James's, the Mews, Whitehall, and York-house, and other houses, and in the suburban villages.

The commons, led by the intrepid Hollis, showed no want of spirit on this occasion, and after a violent debate of three days, in which Pierrepoint and Prynne distinguished themselves as the able advocates of monarchy against Vane and the republicans, it was carried (Dec. 5) by a majority of forty-six that the king's concessions were "sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom." But their triumph was short. Ludlow and his party went and consulted with the officers, and next day (6th) their guard of trained-bands was dismissed, and the colonels Rich and Pride, the one with a regiment of horse, the other with one of foot, took their place. Pride stood in the lobby with a list of names in his hand, and when the members in it were pointed out to him as they passed, by one of the door-keepers, or by lord Grey of Groby, he seized them and sent them off prisoners to various places. About forty members were thus *secured*, as it was termed, on this day, and on the following days several members were *secluded*, or forbidden to enter the house; and these imprisonments and seclusions, joined with the absence of those who retired to the country, reduced the house to about fifty members, afterwards named the 'Rump,' as the process itself was termed 'Pride's Purge.'

During all this time Cromwell was absent, but his place was well supplied by Ireton. After the victory at Preston, he had advanced and besieged Berwick, whence, on the invitation of Argyle and his party,* he proceeded to Edinburgh, (Sept. 30.) Leaving Lambert there with two regiments to support his friends, he returned to England, where he engaged in the siege of Pontefract, which was held by the royalists, and he did not return to London till the day after the seizure of the members, when, on the motion of Henry Marten, the thanks of the house were voted to him for his late services in the north. "He declared," says Ludlow, "that he had not been acquainted with this design, yet since it was done he was glad of it, and would maintain it."

* The people of the western counties, each parish headed by its minister, had marched to Edinburgh and expelled the committee of estates. This was called the *Whigamores' Raid*, for so the western peasantry were named from the word *Whig*, it is said, which they used in driving their horses.

The miserable remnant who presumed to call themselves the commons of England, voted every thing that their military masters prescribed.* They rescinded their late votes, and renewed that of non-address, and when (11th) the secluded members drew up a protest against the late violence on their persons, and declared all acts, votes, etc., made or to be made during their absence void, they (the lords pusillanimously joining them) voted it (15th) to be "false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to destroy the visible and fundamental government of this kingdom." How different their conduct had been with respect to the votes passed between the 26th of July and the 6th of August! Yet these are the men whom we are called on to admire as models of pure virtue and disinterested patriotism.

The very same day (11th) a piece called 'The Agreement of the People,' drawn up as usual by Ireton, was presented to the general by the council of officers. It was a plan of government the same in substance with their late 'Remonstrance.' On the 22d both houses kept the usual solemn fast. "Hugh Peters, the pulpit-buffoon," says Walker, "acted a sermon before them." His subject was Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt, which he applied in the usual manner to the present times; the grandees being Moses, etc. "But how," cries he, "is this to be done? That is not yet revealed unto me." He then laid his head on the cushion, covering his eyes with his hands. At length he started up. "Now I have it," cried he, "by revelation; now I shall tell you. This army must root up monarchy, not only here, but in France and other kingdoms round about; this army is that corner-stone cut out of the mountain which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces." The objection of the deed which he recommended being without precedent, he obviated by referring to the case of the birth of our Lord. "This," said he, "is an age to make examples and precedents in." Next day (23d) there was a debate about bringing the great delinquents to a speedy punishment. "And now," says Whitelocke, "was set on foot and begun their great design of

* The caustic Walker calls the parliament "a mere free-school, where Cromwell is head-schoolmaster, Ireton usher, and that cipher Fairfax a propositor." "Surely," he adds, "these men are either the supreme judges, or the supreme rebels and tyrants of the kingdom." It should be recorded to the honor of sir Henry Vane, that he had no share in the subsequent iniquitous proceedings. He retired to his castle of Raby when the house was purged.

taking away the king, whom divers in the debate did not stick to name, for the greatest delinquent." There were some who maintained that a king could not be brought to justice by his subjects; but they saw from the fierceness of their adversaries, that if they opposed they would only be secluded, and their constancy gave way. It was then attempted to throw the business on the army. "But they," says Whitelocke, "were subtle enough to see and avoid that, and to make those whom they left sitting in the parliament to be their *stales* and do their dirty work for them." A committee of thirty-eight was voted to consider how to proceed in a way of justice against the king. In the debate, Cromwell is said to have expressed himself as follows: "If any man moved this upon design, I should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I shall pray to God to bless your councils, though I am not provided on the sudden to give you counsel."

On the 1st of January, 1649, the commons voted that it is treason in a king of England to levy war against the parliament and people; and the next day (2d) an ordinance which they had passed for the trial of the king was sent to the upper house. The lords, who, in anticipation of what was to come, had ordered the attendance of all the members of their house, and who therefore now mustered sixteen, rejected the ordinance unanimously.* The commons then (4th) voted themselves to be the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them is law without the concurrence of king or lords; and (6th) they passed the ordinance for the trial of their sovereign.

This unhappy prince was now at Windsor. On the 18th of December, at midnight, the sound of the fall of the drawbridge and the trampling of horses awoke him from his sleep; on inquiring the cause, he learned that colonel Harrison had arrived. The king was troubled. "Do you not know," said he to Herbert, who waited on him, "that this is the man who intended to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed

* "The parliament of England, by the fundamental laws," said the earl of Manchester, "consists of three estates, king, lords, and commons. The king is the first and chief estate; he calls and dissolves parliaments, and without him there can be no parliament; therefore it is absurd to say the king can be a traitor against the parliament." "The greatest part (at least twenty to one, adds Walker) of the people of England," said the earl of Northumberland, "are not yet satisfied whether the king levied war first against the houses, or the houses against him."

during the late treaty? This is a place fit for such a purpose." Charles, however, had been misinformed; Harrison was a fanatic, but not an assassin. He was come to conduct him to Windsor, which he did with all due respect. The royal captive felt his condition sadly altered; the usual ceremony no longer surrounded him; even his meat was brought to table, uncovered, by the hands of the rude soldiers. This treatment mortified him greatly. He had various hints too of the meditated proceedings against him, yet still so sanguine was his temper that he was actually cheerful; he had hopes on Ireland and Scotland, and on foreign princes, and he could not believe it possible that his subjects would bring him to a public trial. Of this, however, he soon had the certainty; for on the 19th of January he was brought to Whitehall, to prepare for his trial the next day.

The individuals at Westminster, who presumed to act in the name of the people of England, had in their ordinance of the 4th of January nominated one hundred and thirty-five persons, members of the house, officers of the army, lawyers, and citizens, to form a 'High Court of Justice,' for the trial of the king; John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law, was appointed president; Dr. Dorislaus, and Messrs. Steele, Aske, and Cooke, counsellors to the court; sergeant Dandy, sergeant-at-arms; and Mr. Phelps, clerk.

On Saturday the 20th, the solemn mockery of justice was opened in Westminster-hall, which was prepared for the occasion. At the upper end, in a chair of crimson velvet, sat the president Bradshaw, his broad-brimmed beaver, lined with plates of iron for security, covering his head; a desk and velvet cushion were placed before him. At a table below him, covered with a rich Turkey carpet, on which lay the sword and mace, sat the two clerks of the court. The members of the court, about seventy in number, sat in "their best habits," and with their hats on their heads, on side benches covered with scarlet. A seat of crimson velvet was placed within the bar, opposite that of the president, for the illustrious prisoner; the galleries and the lower part of the hall were filled with spectators.

Charles was brought by water from Whitehall, and it is worthy of notice that the watermen insisted on rowing him bareheaded. He was conducted into the hall by the colonels Tomlinson and Hacker, and a guard bearing partisans; the sergeant-at-arms advanced to receive him, and led him to his seat. Charles looked steadily round on the court and the spectators, and then sat down; he rose again, looked over

the hall, and resumed his seat. Bradshaw addressed his sovereign, informing him that "the commons of England, assembled in parliament," had, in pursuance of their duty and in consequence of the bloodshed and calamities brought on the kingdom, of which he was regarded as the author, constituted this court for his trial. Cooke then, in the name of the commons of England, accused Charles Stuart of high-treason and misdemeanors, and desired the charge to be read to him. The king was about to reply, but the president stopped him; the clerk then read the charge. After stating that, having been "trusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the laws of the land, and not otherwise," he had attempted "to rule according to his will," and with this design "had, traitorously and maliciously, levied war against the present parliament and the people therein represented;" it enumerated all the battles in which the king had been present, charging him with all the blood shed in them, etc. etc. "And the said John Cooke doth, for the said treason and crimes, on behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." The king smiled often (as well he might) during the reading of the charge, especially at the words "tyrant, traitor, etc." Bradshaw then informed him that the court expected him to reply to the charge. Charles asked by what power he was called thither. "I would know," said he, "by what lawful authority—there are many unlawful authorities, thieves and robbers on the highway—I was brought from the Isle of Wight and carried from place to place?" He reminded them that he was their lawful king, and declared that he would not betray the trust "committed to him by God, and old and lawful descent," by answering to "a new, unlawful authority." Bradshaw told him the authority was that of the people of England, "of whom he was *elect* * king." "I deny that," replied the king; "England never was an elective kingdom." "I see no house of lords here," said he; "that should constitute a parliament, and the king, too, should have been here." Bradshaw replied, "We are satisfied with our authority that are your judges, and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's." He then adjourned the court till Monday.

* [Bradshaw was in this strictly and legally correct. See "Comparative View of Ancient History," note p. 66, and *ante*, vol. I, note p. 57. — J. T. S.]

On that day (22d) the court again sat. The king was required to answer the charge; he denied the authority of the court, and asserted that, as a king, he could not be tried. "But," said he, "it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberties of the people of England, and do *you* pretend what you will, *I* stand more for their liberties; for if power without law may make laws, nay, alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life, or any thing he calls his own." To all the reasons and arguments of the king Bradshaw's reply was, that prisoners were not to dispute the authority of the court. The court was adjourned to the next day, (23d.) The proceedings on that day were of a similar nature. On Saturday (27th) the court held its final sitting, the intermediate days having been occupied in hearing witnesses in proof of the king's having been in arms; sixty-seven commissioners were present. As the king passed up the hall, a cry of "Justice! justice! execution! execution!" was raised by some soldiers and some of the rabble. When addressed by the president he said he should now waive all debate, as he saw it was useless, and "an ugly sentence" he believed would pass on him; but, as he had something which concerned the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject, he desired before sentence was given to be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the lords and commons. They retired to consult; in about an hour they returned with a negative; the king declared that he had nothing more to say, and Bradshaw then made a long speech in proof of the king's misgovernment, and of kings being accountable to their people. When he had concluded the clerk read the sentence, adjudging the monarch to death as a traitor, murderer, etc. All the commissioners present stood up in proof of their assent. "Will you hear me a word, sir?" said the king. — "Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence." — "No, sir!" — "No, sir, by your favor, sir. Guards, withdraw your prisoner." — "I may speak after the sentence, by your favor, sir! I may speak after sentence is over! By your favor, hold! The sentence, sir! I say, sir! I do, I am not suffered to speak; expect what justice other people will have." As he passed out, the cry of "Justice! execution!" again assailed his ears, and various insults were offered him. One soldier cried out, "God bless you, sir!" for which his officer struck him with his cane. "The punishment, methinks," said Charles, "exceeds the offence." He afterwards asked Herbert if he had remarked the cry for "justice." He re-

plied he did, and wondered at it. "So did not I," said the king, "for I am well assured the soldiers bear no malice to me. The cry was, no doubt, given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like were there occasion."

The following events, which occurred during the trial, are deserving of note. When the name of Fairfax, as one of the commissioners, was called, a female voice from the gallery replied, "He has more wit than to be here." When the charge was made in the name of the commons and people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "It is a lie! not a quarter of the people! Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor." The speaker was masked; col. Axtell desired his men to fire on the gallery; there was a confusion, and the lady withdrew. It was lady Fairfax, a rigid presbyterian. As the king was leaning on his cane, or staff, as it was then called, the silver head fell off and rolled on the ground. The circumstance seemed ominous, and Charles was evidently disturbed. He afterwards owned to bishop Juxon that "i really made a great impression on him."

When the king returned to Whitehall, he sent to the house, desiring, as the time of his execution might be nigh, that he might have leave to see his children and have Dr. Juxon to be private with him and to give him the sacrament. His request was acceded to, (Hugh Peters, to his honor, exerting his influence in his favor,) and Juxon preached before him that night. Next day being Sunday, (28th,) the commissioners kept their fast in the chapel at Whitehall; the king employed himself in private devotion with Dr. Juxon. In the course of the day a book of proposals from the grantees of the army and parliament was tendered to him, on his signing which they promised him his life and regal state. By this he was to put the militia into their hands, with power to keep it at its present amount, and to lay a tax on the kingdom for its pay to be levied by the army itself. Charles, it is said, threw them indignantly aside, declaring he would rather become a sacrifice for his people than thus betray their laws and liberties, lives and estates, to the bondage of an armed faction.

On Monday (29th) the king was removed to St. James's, whither his two children, the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester, were brought to him from Sion-house. As was to be expected from the strength of Charles's domestic affections, the meeting was a most tender one. He gave them a few presents, charged the princess to assure her mother of his unceasing affection, and told her that "his

death was glorious, for he should die for the laws and liberties of the land; he should die a martyr." His nephew, the elector palatine, the duke of Richmond, the marquess of Hertford, and other noblemen, came to the chamber door, requesting admission to take their last farewell of their sovereign, but Charles declined seeing them, wishing to devote the little time that remained to him to his children and his devotions.

Ambassadors from Holland to intercede for the king had an audience, but no answer from the houses this day. They had been accompanied by sir John Seymour, the bearer of letters from the prince to the king and the lord-general; with the 'ast was sent a blank paper, signed and sealed, on which the grandees might set their own terms. This, however, produced no effect; the warrant was signed by fifty-nine commissioners, and directed to the colonels Hacker, Hunks, and Phayer. It is said that, as Cromwell was advancing to the table with the pen in his hand to sign it, he drew the pen across Marten's face and marked him with the ink, and that Marten returned the compliment.

During the last night of his life Charles slept soundly for four hours. About two hours before dawn he opened his curtains, and by the light of a "great cake of wax set in a silver basin," he saw that Herbert's rest was disturbed. He awoke him; Herbert said he had been dreaming that Laud had entered the room and knelt before the king, that they conversed, the king looked pensive, Laud sighed, and as he retired fell prostrate on the ground. "It is very remarkable," said Charles; "but he is dead; had we now conferred together, 'tis very likely — albeit I loved him well — I should have said something to him might have occasioned his sigh." He then said he would rise, "for he had a great work to do that day. Herbert trembled as he combed his hair "Though it be not long to stand on my shoulders," said the king, "take the same pains with it as you were wont to do. Herbert, this is my second marriage-day; I would be as trim as may be." He put on a second shirt; "For, said he, "the season is sharp, and probably may make me shake, which some will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death; death is not terrible to me. I bless my God, I am prepared; let the rogues come." When dressed, he spent an hour in private with the bishop.

At ten o'clock colonel Hacker announced that it was time to proceed to Whitehall. Charles went on foot at his

usual quick pace through the park, calling to the guard, 'March on apace!' He was conducted to his own bed-chamber at Whitehall; sir John Seymour was there admitted to present him the prince's letter. A repast had been prepared; as he had received the Eucharist he declined taking any other food in this world, but at the suggestion of the bishop he ate about noon half a manchet and drank a glass of claret. Soon after Hacker came with the warrant, and called for the king. Charles rose, and with Hacker, Tomlinson, (whom he had entreated not to quit him,) and the bishop, proceeded through the long gallery, which was lined with soldiers, whose faces testified their respect and sorrow. Through the central window of the banqueting-house he stepped out on the scaffold, which was hung with black; two executioners in masks stood on it; regiments of horse and foot were stationed beneath; the streets were thronged with anxious spectators. Charles looked toward St. James's with a smile; he then regarded earnestly the block, and asked "if there were no place higher."

He addressed himself to those about him on the scaffold, justifying himself, and referring to dates of the commissions and declarations to prove that it was the parliament began the war; yet he hoped that they too might be guiltless, as there had been ill instruments between him and them. He owned, however, he suffered justly, as an unjust sentence which he had allowed to take effect was now punished by an unjust sentence on himself. He proceeded to show them how they were "out of the way" in what they were doing, and exhorted them to give God, the king, and the people their due. The liberty of the last, he said, consisted not in having a share in the government, but "in laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own." "Sirs," said he, "it was for this that I am now come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here, and therefore I tell you that *I am the martyr of the people*." At the desire of the bishop he declared that he died a member of the church of England.

Though Charles did not fear death, he disliked pain. He interrupted his speech when one touched the axe, and said, "Hurt not the axe that may hurt me;" when another approached it, he cried, "Take heed of the axe! take heed of the axe!" and turning to Hacker, he said, "Take care that they do not put me to pain." To the executioner he

said, ' I shall say but very short prayers, and then thrust out my hands.'

Having taken a white satin cap from the bishop and put his hair up under it, he said, " I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side." " There is but one stage more," said the prelate; " this stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one, but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort."—" I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be."—" You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange." The king gave his cloak and George to the prelate, saying, *Remember*. He knelt down, gave the sign, and one blow of the axe terminated his mortal existence. A deep groan arose from the multitude, and many ran to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, but two troops of horse were set in motion to clear the streets. The royal corpse, after being embalmed, was deposited at Windsor, in the vault which contained the remains of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour.

In this manner perished Charles Stuart, in the forty-ninth year of his age, by a sentence hitherto unexampled in the annals of the world. In his person Charles was vigorous and handsome; his health was robust, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His aspect was pensive, he had a slight hesitation in his speech, and his general manner was cold and ungracious. When we consider the profligacy of the court in which he was brought up, we may well wonder at the general purity of his morals, and admire in him the force of nature. At the same time, we must not, with his idolaters, pretend that he had escaped all pollution. He was not, for example, free from the common vice of profane swearing, and his language was at times indelicate and licentious. Like all of his race, Charles bore adversity better than prosperity. Affliction gave a lustre to his character; he gained the respect and sincere attachment of those who like Herbert were set about him by the parliament, and certainly the man who could do so could not have been originally unamiable. Charles was also sincerely religious, but his religion was of too ceremonial a cast, and akin to superstition. Had he been born in a private station, it is probable that he would have been respected by every one, though loved perhaps by few. He had, however, greater defects than any yet alluded to. He was uxorious, and

scandalously subservient to a worthless, selfish woman; he was by nature a despot, though not a tyrant. In his despotism, however, both in church and state, he conceived himself to be only exercising the just authority with which God had invested him; and it will be difficult to point out any of his acts which had not the sanction either of positive law, or of the practice of former kings and the ancient prerogative of the crown. But the great blemish in the character of this unhappy prince was his insincerity. When his fancied rights and prerogative were in question, neither his word nor his oath could be trusted; he had an unfortunate system of casuistry which released him from the most solemn obligations; in his eyes truth and honor were as nothing compared with the duty of ruling uncontrolled as a viceroy of the Deity. It was this blemish, beyond doubt, which mainly caused his untimely fate. How strange is the course of human affairs! the despot Charles actually died, as he said, the martyr of the constitution!

If murder be the deliberate taking away of human life without the sentence of a previously recognized law, then was the execution of king Charles a murder in the fullest sense of the term. The solemn mockery of the forms of justice used on the occasion only adds to its atrocity; for surely none of his judges could have contemplated the giving him a fair trial. Such supposes the possibility of the prisoner's proving his innocence; but had Charles's self-constituted judges acquitted him, they must at the same time have condemned themselves; for if *he* was innocent, what were *they* but rebels and traitors?*. To call themselves the representatives of the people of England, and to act in their names, was the very summit of audacity. The people of England were guiltless of the blood of their sovereign, which was shed by a knot of military men, anxious to secure their own power or safety. Many of the so-called judges acted under the influence of fear, and secretly abhorred the deed which was forced on them. There were some, no doubt, whose motives were pure; such was Hutchinson, who sought counsel of the Lord in prayer, and finding no check, (as none such we believe ever do,) conceived what he did to be approved by Heaven. Others, like Ludlow, bent on having a commonwealth, would see no excuse for the king,

* "I tell you," said Cromwell to Algernon Sydney, "we will cut off his head with the crown on it." This was early in the month of January; so the faction had already determined what they would do.

assumed his guilt, and took the municipal law of the Israelites for their guide and justification. It may even be true that Cromwell himself was in this number, and that he believed himself to be acting rightly.

Shortly after the execution of the king, there appeared a work named 'Ikon Basiliké,' or a 'Portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitude and his sufferings,' said to be written by the king himself. It passed through fifty editions in the course of a twelvemonth, and is held to have been of essential service to the royal cause. It is, however, but a poor performance, and is not the composition of the king. Its author is known to have been Dr. Gauden, who obtained a bishopric on account of it after the Restoration. Milton was employed by the parliament to answer it; his reply is named 'Iconoclastes,' or 'Image-breaker.'

CHAPTER X.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

1649—1653.

THE very day of the execution of the king the commons passed an act making it treason to proclaim the prince of Wales or any other to be king of England or Ireland. On the 6th of February they voted, by a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine, that "the house of peers is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished;"* and the following day (7th) it was resolved that the office of a king is "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, etc., of the nation, and ought to be abolished." The next day (8th) the great seal was broken to pieces by order of the house and in their presence, and a new one substituted, of which Whitelocke, Lisle, and sergeant Keble were appointed lord commissioners, to hold their office *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. Of the judges six resigned; the others consented to remain, provided the parliament engaged not to alter the fundamental

* The peers were allowed to retain their titles, but they lost their privileges; in return they became eligible to be elected into the house of commons, of which Pembroke, Salisbury, and Howard of Escrick took advantage.

laws. The King's-bench was henceforth to be styled the Upper-bench; writs were to run in the name of the "Keepers of the liberty of England by the authority of parliament;" an engagement to be true to the commonwealth of England took the place of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. To form an executive, five members of the house were directed to select a certain number of persons to be Council of State.

While the commons were thus converting the ancient monarchy of England into a republic, a High Court of Justice was sitting in judgment on the royalists of rank who were prisoners in their hands. On the night after the death of the king, the duke of Hamilton had made his escape from Windsor; but he was recognized, and arrested by some troopers next day as he was knocking in disguise at an inn-gate in Southwark. Lord Capel also escaped out of the Tower; but he was discovered, and seized by two watermen at a house in Lambeth. These two noblemen, with lord Goring and sir John Owen, were some days after (10th) brought before a High Court of Justice, presided over by Bradshaw, and arraigned for treason. The duke, who was arraigned as earl of Cambridge, pleaded that he was of another nation, under an order of whose parliament he had acted; but to this it was replied, that he had sat and voted and otherwise acted as an English peer. Goring and Owen simply pleaded not guilty. Capel pleaded the articles of Colchester, but Fairfax, Ireton, and colonel Berksted proved that these were only "to free him from immediate power of the sword to take his life." The court sat on several days. Lord Holland, who had been brought up from Warwick, was also put on his trial, (27th;) he pleaded that quarter had been given him. None of their pleas, however, availed; they were all sentenced to lose their heads, (Mar. 6.) A petition was presented to the parliament the next day by the lady Holland and other ladies, which only procured a respite of two days; the following day new petitions were presented. The house then proceeded to vote on their several cases; it was determined that the duke and lord Capel should not be reprieved; the votes for and against were equal in the cases of Holland and Goring, and the speaker, by his casting vote, condemned the former and saved the latter. Colonel Hutchinson, seeing sir John Owen without any one to make any exertion in his favor, took pity on him, and prevailed on Ireton to give him his interest, and by their joint influence he was saved by a majority of five. Hamilton, Holland, and Capel were be-

headed next day (9th) in Palace-yard; they met their fate with courage and constancy, especially the last, who behaved "like a stout Roman."

The new Council of State when completed consisted of forty-one members, of whom five were peers. They were appointed for a year; the army, navy, and ordnance were placed under their authority; they had power to regulate trade and to negotiate with foreign states. They were required to take an oath expressing their approval of all the late proceedings, but only nineteen (among whom fourteen were regicides) would subscribe it; the remainder, headed by Fairfax and Vane, positively refused it. A new form was therefore devised, (Feb. 22;) they were only required "to approve of what *shall be done* by the commons in parliament, the supreme authority of this nation."

This supreme authority was such a miserable remnant of the parliament of England, that they could not but feel ashamed and uneasy as they looked on their shrunken dimensions. To increase their number, they consented to readmit such members as had not voted in the affirmative on the 5th of December, and who would record their dissent from that vote on the journals; they, also, from time to time, issued writs for new elections in places where their interest was strong, and their number thus gradually rose to about one hundred and fifty.

"Never," says the panegyrist of the heads of the republican party, "never did any governors enter upon their functions under more formidable difficulties than the men who now undertook to steer and direct the vessel of the new commonwealth. They were, in a certain sense, a handful of men with the whole people of England against them." In these words he has, we think, pronounced their condemnation; for a handful of men had no right to take upon them to decide what form of government was best for the nation, and to force it on them by the swords of a fanatic soldiery. Against them were the royalists, who, though depressed, were numerous and wealthy, and the presbyterians, whose hostility had been to the church, not to the crown. On their side were their great personal qualities, the arms of upwards of forty thousand soldiers, and the greater part of the independents and the other minor religious sects.

The new government was, in fact, that species of tyranny denominated oligarchy, and depending, like all other tyrannies, for its existence on the power of the sword. But it was here that its chief source of danger lay; the fanatic princi-

ples of the levellers were widely spread among the Prætorian guards of the new commonwealth, and it was not long ere they broke out into action. The fearless John Lilburne, the sworn foe to despotism of every kind, led the way by a petition against the 'Agreement of the People;' petitions from officers and soldiers, and from the 'well-affected' in various parts, poured in, calling for annual parliaments with entirely new members; the enforcement of the self-denying ordinance; the abolition of the Council of State and the High Court of Justice; requiring legal proceedings to be in English, and the fees of lawyers to be reduced; the excise and customs to be abolished, and the estates of delinquents to be sold; liberty of conscience, abolition of tithes, and fixed salaries of 100*l.* a year for the ministers of the Gospel.

To quell the spirit of the army vigorous means were employed. Five troopers, the bearers of a remonstrance from several regiments, were sentenced by a court-martial to ride the wooden horse, have their swords broken over their heads, and be cashiered. Lilburne, who was keeping up a constant fire of pamphlets, was, with his associates Walwyn, Prince, and Overton, committed to the Tower, (Mar. 29.) Numerous petitions, especially from the women,* were presented in their favor, but without effect. Mutinies broke out in the regiments destined for Ireland; the first was at Bishopsgate, in the city, where a troop of horse seized the colors and refused to march. For this five of them were sentenced to be shot; but, with the exception of one named Lockier, they were pardoned by the general. At the funeral of Lockier, (Apr. 30,) the corpse, adorned with bundles of rosemary dipped in blood, was preceded by one hundred men in files; six trumpeters sounding a soldier's knell went on each side of it; his horse, covered with mourning, was led after it; then came thousands of people with sea-green and black ribbons at their breasts. The women brought up the rear; thousands more of the better sort met them at the grave. This funeral convinced the government of the necessity of acting with energy, for the mutiny was spreading fast. A captain Thompson, at the head of two hundred men, set forth at Banbury a manifesto named 'England's Standard Advanced.' They were, however, surprised by colonel

* "They were bid," says Walker, "to go home and wash their dishes, to which some of them replied, They had neither dishes nor meat left." A very different answer, he says, from what they used to receive, "when they had money, plate, rings, bodkins, and thimbles to sacrifice to these legislative idols."

Reynolds, (May 13;) Thompson fled, and his men surrendered. A body of more than one thousand men moved from Salisbury to Burford, where Fairfax came up with them. At midnight Cromwell forced his way into the town, and made four hundred of them prisoners, several of whom were shot by sentence of a court-martial, (19th;) the rest were pardoned. Thompson was slain shortly after at Wellingborough, (21st,) and the mutiny was finally suppressed. On Cromwell's making a report to that effect to the house, (26th,) a general day of thanksgiving for that great mercy was ordered.*

It is now time that we should take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland at this conjuncture. The parliament there, now under the control of Argyle, had sent instructions to their commissioners to protest against the trial and execution of the king; but it was evident that Argyle feared to offend, and the men who drove on that measure were not to be diverted from their purpose. No notice, therefore, was taken of the Scottish protest. When tidings of the execution of the king reached Edinburgh, the parliament forthwith (Feb. 5) proclaimed Charles II., provided he would take the covenant and adhere to the solemn league between the two kingdoms. Afterwards, when they found themselves treated with contempt by the English parliament, and their commissioners actually sent under a guard to the frontiers, they appointed commissioners to proceed to the Hague to treat with the king. These, on arriving, (Mar. 26,) found Lanark, (now duke of Hamilton,) Lauderdale, and Callendar, the chiefs of the engagers, and the royalists Montrose, Kinnoul, and Seaforth already there. The antipathies and disputes of these parties caused distraction and confusion; and Charles, whose real design was to repair to Ormond and the catholics in Ireland, was little inclined to give them satisfaction. The murder of Dr. Dorislaus, which occurred soon after, made it expedient for him to quit the Hague. This civilian had been sent as envoy from the parliament to the states. On the very evening of his arrival, (May 3,) as he was at supper in an inn, six gentlemen entered the room with drawn swords, and dragging him from his chair, mur-

* There was another kind of levellers at this time, named the 'Diggers,' whose principle it was that the barren earth was to be made fruitful. They accordingly repaired to St. George's-hill, near Walton, in Surrey, and began to dig a common there, and to sow beans and other plants in it. Fairfax sent two troops of horse, and easily dispersed them, as their number was only thirty.

dered him on the ground. The assassins escaped, but it was known that they were Scotsmen and followers of Montrose. Charles immediately left the Hague and proceeded to Paris, whence, after a delay of three months, he went to Jersey in order to take shipping for Ireland. But the intelligence which he received from that country showing that his cause there was hopeless, he renewed his negotiations with the Scots. Many months passed without any thing being done; but early in the following year (Mar. 15, 1650) he met the commissioners, who were the earls of Cassilis and Lothian, two barons, two burgesses, and three ministers, at the prince of Orange's town of Breda. But though urged by his mother, the prince of Orange, and several of his other friends, to take the covenant and comply with the other demands, he still protracted the treaty.

The truth is, Charles, who had all the insincerity distinctive of his family, had in view another mode of recovering his throne. The restless and enterprising Montrose, having obtained some supplies of arms and money from the northern courts, had embarked at Hamburg with about six hundred men, Germans and Scottish exiles. He sailed to the Orkney isles, where by a forced levy he raised his troops to about fourteen hundred, with whom he passed over to the opposite coast; but as he marched through Caithness and Sutherland, the people, instead of joining him as he expected, fled at his approach. At Corbins-dale, in Fifeshire, he was encountered (Apr. 17) by a party of three hundred horse, under Strachan; the main army of four thousand men under David Lesley not being yet come up. The unwarlike islanders, when charged by cavalry, threw down their arms and fled; the Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered. Montrose, in the disguise of a peasant, escaped by swimming across a river; but he was betrayed (May 8) by a person with whom he had taken refuge, and was conducted a prisoner to Edinburgh. Every insult that could be devised was heaped on him by his ungenerous captors. The magistrates of Edinburgh met him at the gates, and by their directions he was placed, bareheaded and pinioned, on a high seat in a cart, and thus led by the executioner to the common gaol, his officers walking two and two before the cart. Argyle and his other enemies feasted, it is said, their eyes with the sight from a balcony. Within two days he was brought before the parliament to receive his sentence. The chancellor in a bitter tone enumerated all his offences. He replied that he had always acted by the royal command. He was then sentenced to be hung on a

gallows thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth and Stirling, his legs on those of Glasgow and Aberdeen, his body to be buried by the hangman on the Burrow-muir. He heard this sentence with an unchanged countenance. The clergy then came to torture him; they told him that his punishment here was but a shadow of what awaited him in the next world. He repelled them with disdain; he was prouder, he said, to have his head placed on the prison walls than his picture in the king's bed-chamber, and he wished he had flesh enough to be dispersed through Christendom to attest his loyalty. He appeared on the scaffold in a splendid dress, and addressed the people in explanation of his dying unabsolved by the church; the executioner then hung the book containing the history of his exploits about his neck; he smiled at their malice, and said he wore it with more pride than the garter. His behavior at his last moments gained many proselytes to the cause for which he suffered.

Montrose was only thirty-eight years of age. His mind was irregularly great, always aiming at what was beyond his power to achieve. He never displayed the talents of a great commander, but as a partisan or *guerrilla* he was not to be excelled. Personal aggrandizement or the gratification of personal enmity was the impelling cause of most of his actions. His barbarous death has in some measure effaced the memory of the cruelties which he had committed.

Sir Francis Hay Spotswood, grandson of the archbishop, colonel Sibbald, and colonel Hurry, his companions, were all executed a few days after Montrose. His friend lord Fren-daught balked the public vengeance by a voluntary death.

When the news of Montrose's defeat reached Charles he lost no time in declaring that he had forbidden him to proceed in his design, and that he was not sorry for his defeat. He then submitted without reserve to the demands of the commissioners. Besides taking the covenant and the solemn league and covenant, he bound himself not to tolerate popery in any part of his dominions, and to govern by the advice of the parliament and the kirk. He then embarked (June 2) on board of a Dutch fleet employed to protect the herring-fisheries, and after a tedious voyage of three weeks reached the mouth of the Spey, (23d.) A court was arranged for him with all the proper officers, but none of the Engagers were permitted to approach it, and none of his English followers but the duke of Buckingham, lord Wilmot, and a few servants, were suffered to remain with him. He soon found

that he was to be a mere pageant of royalty, and the insolence of the despotic fanatic clergy made his life wearisome. Evermore he was compelled to listen to their invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own connection with malignants. Long prayers, tedious sermons, rigid fasts, and Judaical sabbaths were inflicted on him, and the slightest levity in look or conduct was severely reprehended. How long a licentious youth (for such was Charles) and these sour religionists could have agreed is uncertain; but the time for the experiment was brief, for Charles had been but one short month in Scotland, when (July 22) Cromwell, flushed with victory in Ireland, crossed the Tweed at the head of an English army.

In Ireland, when the nuncio and the clergy had gotten the supreme power into their hands, they exercised it, as churchmen always exercise temporal power, weakly, passionately, and injudiciously. But the able and honorable Clanrickard and some other peers rallied against them, and finally obliged the nuncio to fly to the camp of his friend Owen O'Neal. Lord Inchiquin, who had been hitherto on the side of the parliament, having declared for the royal cause, the council invited Ormond to return and resume the lieutenancy; and on his arrival, the insolent, turbulent Italian found it necessary to quit the kingdom in which his presence had been only productive of evil. The news of the danger of the king at this time made Ormond and the confederates to recede a little from the rigor of their mutual demands. *They* engaged to maintain an army of seventeen thousand men for the royal cause; *he* promised the free exercise of the catholic religion, the repeal of Poyning's law, and other graces. This treaty was concluded on the 17th of January, 1649; the account of the execution of the king caused the Scottish army in Ulster to declare for the royal cause. Owen O'Neal, who was closely connected with the party of the nuncio, refused to be included in it, and he formed an alliance with the parliamentary commanders. Ormond, being joined by Inchiquin from Munster, was enabled to appear at the head of a combined army of eleven thousand men, protestants and catholics, before the walls of Dublin, (June 19,) and Inchiquin reduced Drogheda. Monk, who commanded at Dundalk, had concerted with O'Neal a plan for drawing the lord-lieutenant away from Dublin; but Inchiquin fell on and routed a body of O'Neal's troops who were convoying the ammunition sent him by Monk for this purpose, and then compelled Monk himself to surrender. He also reduced Newry, Carlingford,

Trim, and other towns, and then rejoined Ormond before Dublin. Owen O'Neal meantime advanced toward Londonderry, which was hard pressed by the royalists, and he obliged them to raise the siege.

The parliament had appointed Cromwell to the command in Ireland, (Mar. 15 ;) he hesitated to accept it ; the council of officers directed two from each regiment to meet and seek God as to what advice to offer him, and at length he declared himself willing to undertake that service. He was appointed lord-lieutenant, with supreme authority, both civil and military; for three years. He demanded a force of twelve thousand men with all needful supplies, and 100,000*l.* in money. These preparations caused so much delay, that Cromwell did not leave London till the 10th of July ; on which day, when three ministers had offered up prayers for his success, and he himself, Goff, and Harrison " did," says Whitelocke, " expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion," he left Whitehall with a train of carriages, each drawn by six horses, with his life-guard of eighty gentlemen, all of whom had been officers, and a numerous suite of attendants. Ere their departure, his officers presented a petition to parliament, praying that drunkenness, profane swearing, etc., might be restrained, legal proceedings be in English, cheap, certain, etc. ; lands and houses with their encumbrances be registered in each parish ; tithes be abolished, and two shillings in the pound be levied on the land for the support of the clergy and the poor, etc., etc.

The troops for Ireland were appointed to rendezvous at Milford-haven ; the regiments of Reynolds and Venables were embarked at once for the relief of Dublin. Mutinies and desertion among his troops, however, delayed the departure of the lord-lieutenant, and meantime the siege of Dublin was raised. Ormond, who had hitherto lain at Finglass on the north side of the city, had crossed the Liffey and encamped at Rathmines on the south side. To cut off the communication with Ring's-end, where the reinforcements from England would land, he sent a party to take and secure the castle of Baggotrath, near the walls. (Aug. 1.) Jones, the governor, who had been reinforced by the regiments of Reynolds and Venables, sallied out and drove them off, and then following up his success, attacked and totally routed the besieging army with a loss of one thousand killed, two thousand taken, and all their ammunition, baggage, and stores. Cromwell and Ireton soon after (18th) landed in Dublin, and

having given their troops about a fortnight's rest, led them (Sept. 3) against Drogheda, in which Ormond had left a garrison of between two and three thousand men,* under the command of sir Arthur Aston, an English catholic. Having effected a breach in the walls, (11th,) about one thousand of the besiegers entered at it, but they were driven out again; they renewed the attempt and succeeded; orders were issued to give no quarter, and the whole garrison was massacred. About a thousand of the catholic inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the great church in which they had set up the mass, were slaughtered in it; "their friars and priests," says Cromwell, "were knocked on the head promiscuously with the others."

From Drogheda Cromwell advanced to Wexford, all the towns and castles on his way submitting. When his guns had played for a day on the castle and effected a small breach, the governor sent in the evening to treat for a surrender, but neglecting to demand a cessation, the firing continued, and the breach being enlarged, a part of the English soldiers entered, and opening the gates admitted the rest; and a promiscuous slaughter, as at Drogheda, took place. Shortly after, Cork and some other great towns in Munster declared for the parliament, and on lord Broghil's coming back from England most of Inchiquin's troops went over to him. Cromwell, whose men suffered greatly from disease and want of provisions, found it necessary to retire from before Waterford, to which he had laid siege. He then put his troops into winter-quarters.

Early in February (1650) Cromwell, having been reinforced, again took the field. No place was able to resist him. Kilkenny opened its gates, (Mar. 28,) and its example was followed by Clonmel, (May 10.) He was preparing to renew the siege of Waterford when he was summoned to England on account of the Scottish affairs. He left the chief command in Ireland to Ireton, by whom the war was prosecuted with vigor.

On his approach to London (May 31) Cromwell was met at Hounslow by many members of parliament and officers of the army, and conducted to Whitehall. The affairs of Scotland being taken into consideration, it was decided that an army under Fairfax and Cromwell should be marched into that country without delay. Fairfax at first made no objection, but afterwards, being influenced by his lady and

* Mostly English, according to Ludlow, i. 260.

the ministers, he felt scruples as to the justice of invading a country with which they were in alliance. The council of state appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelocke, as a committee to confer with him in order to remove his scruples. They met in a room at Whitehall, (25th,) and after prayer (as was the custom) proceeded to the discussion. They endeavored to prove that the Scots, by their late invasion of England under duke Hamilton, had already broken the covenant, and that their present levies of men proved a hostile intention. He declared himself unconvinced, and expressed his determination to lay down his commission. This they all conjured him not to think of doing, in which, Whitelocke says, "none were so earnest as Cromwell and the soldiers; yet there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it." Fairfax, however, persisted, and the parliament passed an act next day constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq., to be captain-general of all the forces raised and to be raised within the commonwealth of England. Three days after (29th) the new general set out for the north.

On the 22d of July, Cromwell crossed the Tweed at the head of a veteran army of sixteen thousand men. The whole country thence to Edinburgh presented a scene of desolation; for orders had been given to remove the cattle and provisions, and by disseminating monstrous falsehoods of Cromwell's cruelties in Ireland, and by threats of infamy and death, the government had caused the people to abandon their dwellings. The Scottish army under David Lesley was posted behind a strong entrenchment running from Edinburgh to Leith, and as, though more numerous than the enemy, they were mostly raw levies, it was the prudent plan of their general to give the invaders no opportunity of fighting, and thus to starve them out of the country. This plan would doubtless have succeeded, for sickness had already begun to prevail in the English army, but they had a good ally in the ignorance, bigotry, and presumption of the Scottish clergy, who were evermore meddling in both civil and military affairs. They commenced by obliging the king to remove to Stirling, his presence in the army they asserted giving occasion to riot and neglect of discipline. They next required that the camp should be purged of malignants; and about eighty officers and some of the men being dismissed, the army was held to be entirely composed of saints, of whose success there could be no doubt, the Lord being always supposed to espouse the cause of the righteous in those days

But one dark cloud still shed its gloom over the prospect; though they were holy themselves, they were engaged in the cause of him who was immersed in sin. To remove this offence a declaration was drawn up which the king was required to subscribe; in this he was to deplore the blood-guiltiness of his father and the idolatry of his mother; to declare that he took the covenant in truth and sincerity, and had no enemies but those of it; to pronounce all treaties with the bloody Irish rebels null and void; to detest popery, prelacy, etc., etc. Little scrupulous as Charles was, he refused to commit an act so repugnant to natural duty. But it soon appeared that he would be supported on no other terms. He therefore affixed his signature to the instrument, (Aug. 16,) an act in which no one could believe him to be sincere; yet — the zealots were filled with joy, and the cloud of guilt being thus dispelled, the ministers assured their hearers of a certain victory over a “blaspheming general and a sectarian army.”

Cromwell finding that he could not bring the Scots to action retired to Musselburg, (30th,) where he put his sick on board his ships. He then moved to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar, followed by Lesley, who occupied the heights of Lammermuir. But the civilians and the clergy, the committees of the estates and the kirk, would no longer be advised by the prudent general; fearing now that the enemy might escape, they insisted on his giving battle. Cromwell and his officers had been seeking the Lord, on which occasion, as he afterwards declared, he felt “such an enlargement of heart in prayer and such quiet upon it,” that he assured those about him that God would certainly appear for them. As they were walking after this exercise in lord Roxburgh’s gardens, and viewing the Scottish camp with glasses, Cromwell, observing a great motion in it, cried, “God is delivering them into our hands; they are coming down to us.” He was right; during the night, which was rainy and stormy, the Scots descended from their elevated station, and in the morning, (Sept. 3,) while they were wet and weary, they were fallen on by the English troops. The Scottish horse after a gallant but brief resistance were broken and routed; the foot then threw away their arms and fled, two regiments only resisting, who bravely perished where they stood. The fugitives were pursued for eight miles; three thousand were slain, and ten thousand, with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were taken. Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country south

of the Forth submitted to the English general, a few castles only holding out.

To raise a new army was now the first object of the Scottish government, but this could hardly be effected if the religious test were retained in all its rigor. The commissioners of the kirk, on being consulted, passed two resolutions to the following effect: those who had made defection, or had been hitherto backward in the work, ought to be admitted to make profession of repentance, and on doing so, might be allowed to serve and to defend their country. Mock penitents now appeared in abundance; royalists, engagers, and all the excluded crowded to court and camp. But a new schism hence arose, for the more rigid and fanatic portion of the clergy protested against the resolutions as an insult to God and a betrayal of the good cause. The kirk was now split into **Resolutioners** and **Protesters**, or **Remonstrants**, for the five most fanatic counties of the west, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, presented a remonstrance against the treaty with the king, and required him to be excluded from the government.

Charles meantime, weary of the state of pupilage in which he was held, had concerted with the royalists in the Highlands to make his escape to them. One afternoon, (Oct 4,) having gotten out of Perth, where the parliament now sat, under pretence of hawking, he rode forty-two miles to a hovel named Clova in the Highlands, where his friends had promised to meet him. A few only appeared, and colonel **Montgomery**, who had been sent in pursuit of him by Argyle, to whom his plan had been betrayed, (by Buckingham, it is said,) persuaded him to return. This *Start*, as it was named, was, however, of some service to the king, as it caused him to be treated henceforth with a little more consideration.

On the first day of the new year (1651) Charles was solemnly crowned at Scone. When he had sworn on his knees and with upraised hand to observe the two covenants, to maintain presbytery, govern according to the laws of God and the land, and root out false religion and heresy, the crown was placed on his head by the marquess of Argyle, and nobility and people swore allegiance to him. His friends were now admitted to parliament, and to gain Argyle more entirely to his side he hinted at a marriage with his daughter; but that wary nobleman was not to be caught by an offer in which he knew he was not sincere.

By the joint exertions of all parties, an army of twenty

thousand men was assembled at Stirling in the month of April. The king himself took the chief command, with Hamilton for his lieutenant, and Lesley for his major-general. The passes of the Forth were secured, and the army was encamped in a strong position at the Torwood, near Stirling. Cromwell, who had been suffering so severely from ague as to have obtained permission to return to England, finding himself unexpectedly better at the approach of summer, resumed operations in July. By means of a fleet of boats which had been collected a Queen's-ferry, Overton passed over and fortified a hill at Inverkerthing; he was followed by Lambert; the Scottish force sent to oppose them was driven off, (21st;) Cromwell lost no time in transporting over the remainder of the army; the whole of Fife was rapidly reduced, and Perth opened her gates. The communications of the royal army with the north were now cut off, and if it remained in its present position it must either starve, disband, or fight at a disadvantage. In this dilemma the king proposed the desperate expedient of a march into England; Argyle alone opposed it in the council, and when his reasons were rejected he obtained permission to retire to his estates. The king then at the head of fourteen thousand men left Stirling (July 31) on his way for England. Cromwell immediately sent Lambert with a body of three thousand horse to hang on his rear, and he ordered Harrison to advance from Newcastle with an equal number to press on his flank; he himself, leaving Monk with five thousand men to complete the conquest of Scotland, moved rapidly (Aug. 7) in the direction of York.

Charles entered England at Carlisle; at Warrington (16th) Lambert and Harrison attempted to prevent his passage of the Mersey, but they were not in time to break down the bridge, and he passed them by, and marching rapidly through Cheshire and Shropshire came to Worcester, (22d,) where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor and some of the gentlemen of the county. The aspect of his affairs was, however, by no means cheering. The royalists had not been prepared, and few of them came to join him; the committee of the kirk forbade any one to be employed who did not take the covenant; and the attempts of Massey, the defender of Gloucester, who was now one of the royal commanders, to raise men in Lancashire, failed in consequence of it.

At the first intelligence of the king's march into England the council of state were in great alarm, for they supposed

that it must have been concerted with the presbyterians, and they expected the royalists every where to rise; they even suspected Cromwell of treachery. They soon, however, resumed their courage; they caused the declaration which Charles had published to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and they proclaimed him and all his abettors guilty of high-treason; they put suspected persons into prison,* and ordered the militia of the adjoining counties to march toward Worcester. Cromwell himself soon arrived, (28th,) and found himself at the head of thirty thousand men, while the royalists were not half the number, and but a sixth part of them English. That very day Lambert made himself master of the bridge over the Severn at Upton, in the defence of which Massey received a severe wound, which deprived the royal army of his valuable services. On the 3d of September (the day of the victory of Dunbar) Fleetwood, advancing from Upton on the west bank of the Severn, proceeded to force the passage of the Team, while Cromwell threw a bridge of boats over the Severn to come to his aid. The Scots, having the advantage of the numerous hedges in that part, fought gallantly; but Cromwell having passed over some regiments, they were at length driven back to the city. Meantime the remainder of the royal forces issued from the town and attacked the troops on that side. At first their efforts were successful, but they were finally driven back by Cromwell's veteran reserve and forced into the city. Cromwell stormed the fort named Fort Royal, put its garrison of fifteen hundred men to the sword, and turned its guns on the town, which the royalists speedily abandoned. The battle had lasted five hours; the Scots had fought nobly. "This has been," said Cromwell in his despatch, "a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen." Of the vanquished three thousand men were slain, of the victors only two hundred; but as the whole country rose against the Scots, whose speech betrayed them, the number of the prisoners amounted to ten thousand. Among these were the earls of Derby, Cleveland, and Shrewsbury of the English nobility, and the duke of Hamilton, (who was mortally wounded,) the earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, and Kelly, and the lords Sinclair, Kenmuir, and Spynie of the Scottish; also the generals Lesley, Middleton, and Mas-

* The very day that Charles entered Worcester, a presbyterian clergyman named Love and a layman named Gibbons were beheaded on Tower-hill for their share in a conspiracy in favor of royalty.

sey. The earl of Derby and two others were tried by a court-martial at Chester and put to death; the others were kept in prison, from which Massey and Middleton escaped. "It is certain," says Godwin, "there was on the whole a great spirit of clemency displayed in the limits the government thought proper to prescribe to itself on this occasion. Of the common soldiers taken prisoners, the greater part were sent to the plantations, [as slaves,] and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa." Not one word of reprehension has the historian to bestow on this barbarous treatment of the freeborn soldiers of an independent nation! The republicans seemed resolved, we may see, to tread faithfully in the foot-print of the Greeks and Romans.

The parliament voted Cromwell an estate of 4000*l.* a year, in addition to that of 2500*l.* a year already given him. It was also voted that Hampton-court should be fitted up for his residence. Lambert, Whalley, Monk, and others had also estates granted to them.

The dangers and escapes of Charles after the defeat of Worcester are so interesting in themselves, and serve so much to display the nobler and more generous feelings of our nature, that we cannot refrain from relating them somewhat in detail.

Charles, who had shown no want of courage during the battle, left the town with the Scottish horse; but he parted from them during the night with about sixty followers, and proceeded to Boscobel-house in Staffordshire, the seat of a catholic gentleman named Gifford. He was, however, conducted instead to Whiteladies, another of Gifford's houses, and here his companions took leave of him. He cut off his hair, stained his face and hands, and putting on the coarse, threadbare clothes of a rustic, went forth in the morning with a bill in his hand, as a woodcutter, in the company of four brothers, laboring men, named Penderel, and Yates their brother-in-law, all catholics. One of them accompanied him into the thickest part of the wood while the rest kept watch. As the day was wet and stormy, and Charles was weary with his previous exertions, his companion spread a blanket for him under a tree, whither Yates's wife brought him some food. He was startled at the sight of her, but she assured him that she would die sooner than betray him; and the aged mother of the Penderels, when she came to see him, fell on her knees and blessed God for having chosen *her* sons to save the life of their king.

About nine in the evening the king and Richard Penderel left the wood and proceeded to Madeley, the house of another catholic gentleman named Wolf, which was near the Severn it being his intention to pass over into Wales. They did not reach it till midnight; all the next day (5th) they remained concealed behind the hay in a barn, while Wolf sent to examine the river. But all the bridges were guarded and all the boats secured, and they found it necessary to abandon their design, and, when night set in, to direct their steps to Boscobel. Here the king met colonel Careless, a catholic loyalist, and as the soldiers were very numerous about there, they both concealed themselves all the next day (6th) in the dense foliage of an oak-tree which grew close to the foot-path in a meadow in the centre of the wood; whence they could frequently discern the red coats of the soldiers as they passed through the trees. In the night they returned to the house, where Charles remained quietly all the next day, (7th,) which was Sunday. On Monday (8th) he received a message from lord Wilmot, to meet him at Moseley, the house of Mr. Whitegrave, also a recusant. As his feet had been cut and blistered by the walk to and from Madeley, he rode a horse belonging to one of the Penderels, the six brothers attending him armed. Here a new plan of escape was devised for him; the daughter of Mr. Lane of Bentley, a protestant gentleman in that neighborhood, had obtained a pass to go visit Mrs. Norton, her relation, near Bristol, and it was proposed that the king should ride before her as her servant. To this he readily consented, and in the night Wilmot went to Bentley to make the arrangements. Next day (9th) a party of troopers came; the king was shut up in the Priest's Hole, but they departed without searching the house. In the night he went to Bentley, and on the second day, (11th,) equipped in a suit of gray he mounted before Miss Lane; her cousin, Mr. Lassells, rode beside them, and on the fourth day (14th) they reached Mr. Norton's in safety. Wilmot, who had boldly ridden with a hawk on his fist and dogs at his heels, also eluded discovery, and he took up his abode at sir John Winter's in the neighborhood.

Miss Lane, pretending that her servant was unwell, obtained a separate apartment for him; but the butler, who had been a servant in the palace at Richmond, recognized him as soon as he saw him. He told his suspicions to Lassells, and the king then deemed it his wisest course to confide in him. His confidence was not deceived; the man was faithful and zealous. By his means Wilmot had a private meet-

ing with the king, (17th;) and as the butler had inquired without success for a ship to take him to France or Spain, it was arranged that he should go to colonel Windham's at Trent, near Sherburn in Dorset, and that a letter, as if her father was dangerously ill, should be given to Miss Lane to serve as a pretext for her sudden departure. They therefore left Mr. Norton's the next morning, (18th,) and reached Trent the following day. Miss Lane and Lassells then returned home.

A ship was soon hired at Lyme to convey a gentleman and his servant (Wilmot and the king) to France. They went down in the evening, (23d,) Charles riding before a young lady, to a little inn at Charmouth, where they were to be taken on board; but no bark came, for when the master was leaving his house for the purpose, his wife stopped him and would not suffer him to stir. At dawn (24th) Wilmot went to Lyme to learn the cause of the disappointment: the others meantime rode to Bridport, which was full of soldiers; Charles led the horses through them into the inn-yard, rudely pushing them out of the way. But the hostler here claimed acquaintance with him, saying he knew him in the service of Mr. Potter at Exeter, (in whose house Charles really had lodged.) Taking advantage of the confusion of the hostler's memory, the king replied, "True, I did live with him, but I have no time now; we will renew our acquaintance over a pot of beer on my return to London."

When Wilmot came to say that the master would not put to sea, they rode back to Trent, where the king staid till the 8th of October, when he removed to Heale near Salisbury, the residence of a widow-lady named Hyde, where he remained concealed for five days, during which colonel Gunter, through one Mansell, a merchant, engaged the master of a collier which was lying at Shoreham in Sussex. Charles rode to the adjoining fishing-village of Brighthelmstone, (15th,) where he sat down to supper with the colonels Philips and Gunter, and Mansell, and Tattershall, the captain of the vessel. This last recognized the king, having been detained in the river by him in 1648. He called Mansell aside and complained of fraud; the king when informed took no notice, but kept them all drinking and smoking till four in the morning, when they set out for Shoreham. Ere he departed, as he was alone, the landlord came behind him and kissed his hand, which was on the back of a chair, saying, "I have no doubt that if I live I shall be a lord and my wife a lady." The king laughed.

When they were aboard, Tattershall assured the king of his fidelity. The ship when under weigh stood along the shore as if for Deal, whither she was bound. At five, Charles, as had been arranged, addressed the crew, saying that he and his companion were flying from their creditors, and begged them to join him in prevailing on the captain to land them in France; at the same time he gave them twenty shillings to drink. The sailors became zealous advocates; Tattershall made many objections; at length he affected to yield, and next morning (17th) the two adventurers were put ashore at Fechamp in Normandy.

Upwards of forty persons, it appears, were privy to the escape of Charles; a reward of 1000*l.* had been offered (Sept. 9) for his apprehension; yet no one, not even a servant, was base enough to betray him. This surely is creditable to human nature. It is only to be regretted that the object of such devotion should have afterwards proved so worthless.*

The Channel-Isles, Scilly, Man, and the colonies of Barbadoes and Virginia were reduced by the end of this year. Scotland and Ireland only remained to occupy the attention of the council of state.

In the former country, after the loss of the army in England, there remained no force to oppose to Monk. Stirling had already capitulated, (Aug. 14,) and Dundee had been taken by storm and all within it ruthlessly massacred, (Sept. 1.) Montrose, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews opened their gates, and English detachments even visited the Orkney and Zetland isles. The earls of Huntley and Balcarras retired to the Highlands, where Argyle was endeavoring to organize a system of resistance; but they preferred submission to the English to a union with him, and he only had the honor of being the last to yield. A commission of eight persons (among whom were Vane and St. John,) for the affairs of Scotland was appointed. The object in view was to form an incorporating union of the two countries, for which purpose delegates were summoned to meet the commissioners at Dalkeith. To this project both the national and the religious feelings of the people were adverse; but they were of little avail against superior power. Ere, however, the terms of union could be adjusted, the parliament of England had ceased to exist, and Scotland remained a conquered country; a chain

* After the Restoration, Careless and the Penderels were rewarded by the king; Miss Lane and colonel Windham by the parliament

of new forts which extended to its remotest parts securing its tranquillity and reminding the people of their subjection.

The total conquest of Ireland also was achieved. After the departure of Cromwell, Ireton had reduced Waterford and Carlow, while sir Charles Coote was equally successful in Ulster, and lord Broghil in Munster. Connaught and the city of Limerick only remained to the Irish. Ormond, thwarted and impeded in every possible manner by the priesthood, quitted the kingdom, (Dec. 7,) leaving his uneasy seat to be filled by the marquess of Clanricarde, a catholic nobleman of high honor and unsullied loyalty. A negotiation was meantime going on with that princely *condottiere* the duke of Lorraine for the service of himself and his army, but he required for himself, his heirs, and successors, the title of 'Protector-royal,' with the chief civil and military authority, to be retained until Charles Stuart should repay him his expenses. To these extravagant demands the agents sent to Brussels subscribed, (July 27, 1651;) but Clanricarde rejected them with indignation, and the arrest of the duke by the Spanish government soon put an end to all hopes from that quarter.

Ireton opened the campaign of 1651 with the siege of Limerick, (June 11.) It had a garrison of three thousand men under Hugh O'Neal, the gallant defender of Clonmel, but the keys of the gates and the government of the city remained with the mayor. Coote advanced from the north, and in spite of Clanricarde pushed on to Portumna and Athunree; Broghil defeated lord Muskerry, the catholic commander in Munster; Ireton himself forced the passage of the Shannon at Killaloe, and transported a part of his army to the Clare side of that river; and Limerick was thus shut in on all sides. The defence was gallant, and it was not till after a siege of four months and a wide breach had been effected in the walls, that the people and the garrison consented to treat, (Oct. 27.) Twenty-two persons were excepted from mercy, of whom five, namely, the bishop of Emly, Wolf, a turbulent friar, Stretch, the mayor, Barrow, one of the town-council, and general Purcel, were executed. The intercession of the members of the court-martial which tried him saved the life of the brave O'Neal. Ireton did not long outlive his conquest; he fell a victim to the plague, which was then raging in that part of the kingdom, (Nov. 25.) His remains were transmitted to England and honored with a magnificent funeral in Westminster-abbey, and an estate of 2000*l.* a year was settled on

his family. Lieutenant-general Ludlow, who succeeded to the command, completed the subjugation of the country in the following year.

The parliament appointed Lambert to the office of lord-deputy in Ireland, (Jan. 30, 1652,) but his commission was only for six months. Lambert, a vain, ostentatious man, went to great expense, laying out not less than 5000*l.* on his coach and equipage, but a simple accident came to terminate his visions of glory. His wife and Ireton's widow happened to meet in the park; the former, as the lady of the actual deputy, claimed precedence. The mortified relict complained to her father; about the same time she gave her hand to lieutenant-general Fleetwood, who was now a widower; and to complete her triumph over her rival, it now only remained that *he* and not Lambert should be the deputy, and this was thus effected. Cromwell's commission of lord-lieutenant was on the point of expiring, and a deputy without a lord-lieutenant was a solecism. Some, indeed, objected to these titles altogether, as savoring too much of monarchy; but it was proposed to renew Cromwell's commission. This however, he declined. It was then proposed to limit Lambert's commission for six months, but he took huff and sent in his resignation, (May 17.) Cromwell was then empowered to appoint the commander of the forces for Ireland and he nominated Fleetwood, (July 9;) he, however, reimbursed Lambert the expenses he had been at.

Commissioners, as in the case of Scotland, were appointed to regulate the affairs of Ireland. The people of that most unhappy country were treated as we shall now proceed to relate.

Each chief, as he submitted, was allowed to levy a certain number of men for the service of the catholic princes of the continent, and take them out of the country. A great number of women and boys were at various times carried away to America and the West Indies.* By the 'Act for the settlement of Ireland,' (Aug. 12, 1652,) a general pardon was extended to all the inferior people. Of the persons of property the following classes were "excepted from pardon of life and estate." 1. All those who before the 10th of November, 1642, had had any share in the rebellion, massacres

* Sir William Petty says, that 6000 boys and women were sent away, (in all of course;) one catholic writer said 60,000, and another 100,000!! See Lingard, xi. 131.

etc. 2. All who sat or voted in the general assembly at Kilkenny before the 1st of May, 1643. 3. All jesuits and other popish priests who had in any manner aided or abetted the aforesaid rebellion, massacres, etc. 4. The earls of Ormond, Castlehaven, Clanricarde, and nineteen other noblemen, with Bramhall the protestant bishop of Derry, and eighty-one baronets, knights, and gentlemen, all mentioned by name. 5. All who since the 1st of October, 1641, had slain any persons in the English interest, soldiers or others, except in war. 6. All who did not lay down their arms within twenty-eight days. All other persons not included in those exceptions, who had borne command, or exercised office in the war against the parliament, to forfeit two thirds of their estates, and to retain the remaining third, or to receive lands to the same value in another part of the kingdom. All persons who had resided in Ireland from October, 1641, to March, 1650, and had not been in the service of the parliament from August, 1649, to March, 1650, or otherwise manifested their good affection to the commonwealth, were to forfeit one third of their estates.

It was the intention of the parliament to transport as many as possible of the original Irish beyond the Shannon, and this seems to have been effected in a great part of Leinster and of Munster, in which, at the present day, scarcely any of the original Irish have any landed property but what is of late acquisition. The land assigned in Connaught in lieu of their thirds exceeded eight hundred thousand acres, which would seem to indicate that a good number had migrated, while the paucity of names belonging to the septs of Leinster and Munster in that province would appear to give a different result. At all events, the great prevalence of Irish names among the peasantry of Leinster and Munster, and their retention of the Irish language, prove that *they*, at least, were undisturbed. The forfeited lands were divided among the adventurers who had advanced money on the faith of parliament in the beginning of the war, and the soldiers who had served in Ireland from the time that Cromwell took the command. Europe had not witnessed such a transfer of landed property by conquest since the subjugation of the Greek empire by the Turks, and that of Granada by the Spaniards. Catholic writers naturally exclaim against the treatment experienced by the native Irish on this occasion, and we are far from giving it unqualified approbation; we would, however, remind them of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, and

the revocation of the edict of Nantes by the catholic sovereigns of Spain and France.*

We must not suppose that the aforesaid act was rigorously carried into effect. It was not so by any means. Many, even of those who were excepted by name, retained or afterwards recovered their estates. In like manner, though a court was established for the trial of those who had been concerned in the murders and massacres of the protestants, but few were executed, and those only persons of some rank, such as lord Mayo in Connaught, sir Phelim O'Neal in Ulster, and in Leinster Luke Toole, the head of one of the septs of Wicklow, colonel Lewis Moore, Lewis Demley, and some others. The mother of colonel Fitzgerald was burnt for the murders she had committed, "with this aggravation," says Ludlow, "that she said she would make candles of their fat." The whole number executed is said to have been about two hundred, which makes it probable that the inferior agents were not rigorously sought after. Indeed, as they massacred their victims by wholesale, it must have been a matter of difficulty to procure evidence.

This conquest strongly resembles that of England by the Normans, and as this last gave origin to the bands of outlaws, so that of Ireland produced the Rapparees or Tories, who harbored in the woods and bogs, whence they issued to commit their ravages in the open country. They proved so formidable that rewards were set on their heads, 100*l.* for that of the captain, 40*l.* for that of a common Tory.†

* Even while we write, (1838,) accounts reach us of the expulsion of the protestant inhabitants of one of the valleys of the Tyrol by the Austrian government—the most tolerant of catholic powers. Well did Pym describe the spirit of popery!

† Rapparee is a corruption of *robber*. Tory comes from the Irish verb "*toruighim*," *to rob*. The barbarism of the Irish at this time is almost incredible. "Near this place," says Ludlow, (i. 365,) "lay the *creaght* of Lt.-gen. O'Neal, son to that O'Neal who after several years' imprisonment in the Tower of London died there. He came over from the service of the king of Spain to be lieutenant-general to the army of Owen Roe O'Neal; but upon some jealousy or particular discontent was laid aside. This man with his wife (who he said was niece to the duchess of Artois) and some children removed, as the Irish do generally in those parts, with their tenants and cattle; from one place to another where there is conveniency of grass, water, and wood; and there having built a house, which they do commonly in an hour or two they stay till they want grass and then dislodge to another station." One might think he was describing an *ordoo* of Turkmen. The Gypsies are the only parallel Europe affords.

We are now to view the foreign relations of the commonwealth. Amity prevailed between it and the courts of France and Spain, and with the eccentric Christina of Sweden. The first dispute was with the king of Portugal on the following account.

We have seen that a part of the English fleet went over to the prince of Wales. This was put under the command of prince Rupert, to coöperate with Ormond in Ireland. The parliament, on the other hand, on the formation of the commonwealth, turned their attention to the navy; the earl of Warwick, as a presbyterian, was deprived of his office of lord-admiral, and (as the naval did not as yet form a distinct profession) the colonels Blake, Dean, and Popham were appointed to command at sea, and a board of three, with sir Henry Vane at its head, was to manage the affairs of the admiralty. Chiefly through the exertions of Vane a formidable fleet was got to sea, and Rupert was blockaded in the harbor of Kinsale. After some months he broke through the blockading squadron with the loss of three ships, and sailed for the coast of Spain, and he wintered in the Tagus. In the spring (1650) Blake appeared at the mouth of that river, and required to be allowed to enter it and attack the pirate, as he styled the prince. This was refused, and as he attempted to force his way he was fired on by the guns of the castle of Belem. He then stationed himself at the mouth of the river and captured the Portuguese merchantmen; the king in return threw the English merchants at Lisbon into prison and seized their goods. Fearful, however, of the effects of a war with the new republic, he forced Rupert to quit the Tagus, and he sent an envoy to London to explain his conduct. It was long before matters could be accommodated, but the affair terminated at last (Jan. 1653) in very valuable privileges being conceded to the English traders. Rupert when driven from the Tagus sailed to the Mediterranean, where he supported himself by piracy, capturing English, Spanish, and Genoese vessels; he thence went to the West Indies and pursued a similar course, till, having lost one of his ships with his brother, prince Maurice, in a hurricane, he sailed to the port of Nantes in France, where he sold his two remaining vessels to the French government, (Mar. 1652.)

The war with the United Provinces which succeeded was of much more importance. During the lives of the princes of Orange, who were connected with the royal family of

England, the States were favorable to their cause; but on the death of William of Orange, (Nov. 6, 1650,) the republican party got the ascendancy. The English parliament forthwith joined St. John with Strickland, their ambassador at the Hague, in an embassy, of which the object was to propose a strict alliance and union between the two countries; but owing to various causes (one of which was said to be St. John's haughtiness) the envoys returned without having effected their purpose. The States are also said to have delayed till they should have seen the result of the contest between the parliament and the king of Scots. After the battle of Worcester they sent envoys to London, but the parliament was now elate with triumph, and St. John had already commenced his plan of vengeance. At his instigation White-locke had introduced (Aug. 5) the celebrated 'Navigation Act,' which was calculated to give such a blow to the Dutch commercial prosperity. Letters of marque had also been issued to sundry merchants and many prizes had been made.

The Dutch early in the following year (1651) equipped a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail to protect their commerce, as they asserted. Their admiral, Van Tromp, came (May 19) with forty ships into the Downs where Blake was lying with twenty sail, and, on being required to strike his flag, his reply, it is said, was a broadside. An action ensued, and the Dutch admiral retired with the loss of two ships. Who was the aggressor is uncertain; the English said Tromp had no right to come off their coast and to fire without provocation; Tromp asserted that he had been driven there by stress of weather, and that he was preparing to salute the English admiral when the latter fired at him. The States sent over Pauw, the grand-pensionary of Holland, to explain and apologize, but the parliament would not abate of their haughtiness. They insisted on a large sum of money as compensation for their losses and the charges they had been at, and finally (July 9) issued a declaration of war.

While sir George Ayscue, who was just returned from the West Indies, commanded a squadron in the channel, Blake sailed to the north, where the Dutch were engaged in the herring-fishery. He captured the ships which guarded the fishing-busses, made these last pay the duty of every tenth herring, and sent them home with orders not to fish again without license. Van Tromp had put to sea with seventy sail, but as he was preparing to engage Ayscue a calm came on, and when he went in search of Blake a storm scattered

his fleet and five of his ships were captured. On his return home he was received with murmurs and reproaches, and he laid down his commission in disgust.

De Ruyter succeeded Tromp in the command. As he was convoying a fleet of merchantmen he was attacked by Ayscue off Plymouth, (Aug. 16.) The forces were about equal, but the advantage was rather on the side of the Dutch, and Ayscue, who was suspected of royalism, was removed from his command, with, however, a grant of land in Ireland to console him. The pensionary De Witt having joined De Ruyter, and taken the chief command, an indecisive action was fought with Blake off the coast of Kent, (Sept. 28;) night separated the combatants, but in the morning the Dutch retired to their own coast. Van Tromp was then restored to the command, and with a fleet of upwards of seventy ships he sailed over to the Downs, where Blake was lying with about half the number. The English admiral accepted his challenge, (Nov. 30;) the combat lasted all through the day. In the night Blake, who had lost five ships, ran up the river as far as Leigh. Tromp sought him at Harwich and Yarmouth, and then kept cruising along the coast from the North Foreland to the Isle of Wight, with a broom at his mast-head, to indicate that he could sweep the English off the sea.

Every effort was made to wipe away this disgrace. The ships were refitted, two regiments of foot were embarked as marines, the wages of the seamen were raised, Dean and Monk were joined in command with Blake, and with seventy sail they stationed themselves across the channel from the Isle of Portland to interrupt Tromp, who was convoying a fleet of merchantmen. Blake met him (Feb. 18, 1653) off Cape La Hogue; the action which ensued was obstinate, the Dutch lost five, the English one ship, and Blake himself was severely wounded. The engagement was continued through the two following days, and the Dutch owned to the loss of nine ships of war and twenty-four of the merchantmen.

This was the last triumph of the remnant of the Long Parliament. Their reign, which had lasted for twelve years, had now reached its close; they were doomed to fall by the hands of their own servants.

It is uncertain when the idea of sole dominion first entered the mind of Cromwell. In his despatch after the battle of Worcester, he called it a "*crowning victory*," a very simple and natural expression as appears to us, but one to which his enemies gave an invidious sense. After that vic-

tory he became so elevated, that Hugh Peters, as they were on their return to London, remarked to a friend, "that Cromwell would make himself a king." * In the parliament Cromwell was very urgent to have the Act of Oblivion passed, which his enemies ascribed to his desire to conciliate the royalists. He soon after (Dec. 10) invited some of the principal lawyers and officers of the army to meet him at the speaker's house, to deliberate on the settlement of the nation. At this conference the military men were for a republic, the lawyers for a limited monarchy. With these last Cromwell agreed; but on their recommending one of the sons of the late king as the person to be chosen he said it would be a business of more than ordinary difficulty, but gave it as his opinion that "a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." They came to no result, but Cromwell had gained all that perhaps he wanted — a knowledge of the sentiments of all these different persons.

Besides the Act of Oblivion, Cromwell forced on the parliament another measure which had long slumbered in committee, namely, the setting a term to their own duration. They fixed on Nov. 4, 1654, thus giving themselves three years longer of power certain, and the chapter of accidents for the time to come. In return they proposed to reduce the army. They first (Dec. 19) disbanded a fourth of the forces. They were proceeding to follow up the blow, when (Aug. 13, 1652) a petition was presented from the army, calling for reform in the law, attention to the subject of religion, etc., tacitly charging them with neglect of their duty in various ways: they took the hint, and desisted.

In the following November, Cromwell held a long and confidential discourse with Whitelocke, in which he asserted that without "some authority so full and high" as to be able to restrain them both, it would be impossible to prevent the ruin of the good cause by the collision, between the parliament and the army. Whitelocke told him that *he* could restrain the army, but that the parliament, being the supreme authority, could only be controlled by its own good sense and virtue. "What if a man should take upon him to be king?" cried Cromwell. Whitelocke said, the remedy would be worse than the disease; that Cromwell had already the power of a king without the odium; that he would lose many of his friends, and convert the national quarrel into a contest between the houses of Cromwell and Stuart. His final ad-

* Ludlow, ii. 12.

vice was, that Cromwell should make a private treaty with the king of Scots, and place him on the throne with such conditions as should secure the liberties of the nation, and have the command of the army assured to himself. Cromwell said they would discourse of it another time, and they separated. Whitelocke observed after this that his carriage toward him was altered.

It is remarkable that very soon after, through Cromwell's influence, permission was given to the duke of Gloucester to go to reside with his sister the princess of Orange.* This looks as if Cromwell regarded him as a rival.

During the winter various meetings were held by the officers, at which Cromwell took care to aggravate their discontent against the statesmen, whom he represented as only anxious to reserve all the benefits and emoluments of the state to themselves. An immediate dissolution of the parliament was his great object, and he had already proposed that in the interval between that and the meeting of a new one, the government should be exercised by a council of forty, composed of members of parliament and officers of the army. The affair, however, dragged on slowly through the house, which was reluctant to lose its present hold on power, and the impatience of Cromwell was no longer to be restrained. He summoned (Apr. 19) a meeting of parliament-men and officers to his lodgings at Whitehall, to devise some mode of putting a speedy end to the present parliament. The army party declared that "it was necessary the same should be done one way or the other," for which Cromwell rebuked them. The meeting broke up late at night, but the subject was resumed in the morning. During the discussion, word was brought that the house was engaged on the matter of the dissolution, and it was hoped would do as was required. Those who were members went to the house; but it soon appeared that it was their own original bill, not that of the army, they were engaged on, and that they were about to pass it at once that it might obtain the force of law. Harrison "most sweetly and humbly" urged them to pause; Ingoldsby meantime sped away to Whitehall. Cromwell instantly ordered a party of soldiers to follow him. He proceeded to the house, and leaving the soldiers in the lobby,

* The princess Elizabeth had died. What Hume tells us of the intention of the parliament to put these children to mechanical trades is totally undeserving of credit. They were always treated with humanity and respect.

went in, and taking his seat on one of the outer benches, sat listening to the debate. His dress, we are told, was a plain suit of black with gray worsted stockings. The speaker was about to put the question; Cromwell whispered to Harrison, "This is the time. I must do it." He rose, put off his hat, and addressed them. His language at first was moderate; but as he warmed, his tone altered, and "he told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults." "But," said he, "the Lord has done with you, and has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work that are more worthy." Sir Peter Wentworth declared he never heard such unparliamentary language, and that, too, from their own servant. "Come, come, sir," cried Cromwell, putting on his hat and springing forward, "I will put an end to your prating." He paced up and down the floor, apparently in great agitation, then stamping with his foot, he cried, "You are no parliament; I say you are no parliament. Bring them in, bring them in." The door was opened and colonel Worsley entered at the head of more than twenty soldiers. "This is not honest," cried sir Henry Vane; "yea, it is against morality and common honesty." "Sir Harry Vane, O sir Harry Vane," said Cromwell, "the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane! *He* might have prevented this, but he is a juggler, and has not so much as common honesty." Then without naming him he abused Whitelocke; pointing to Challoner, he said, "There sits a drunkard;" to Marten and Wentworth, "There are two whoremasters." He charged others with their vices and ill lives, and then suddenly turning to the guard, directed them to clear the house. Harrison advanced to the speaker, and on his declining to rise, took him by the hand and led him down. As the members were retiring, Cromwell resumed "It is you," he cried, "that have forced me to do this. I have sought the Lord both day and night that he would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work." Alderman Allen observed, that it was not too late to undo all that had been done; Cromwell charged him with speculation in his office of treasurer of the army, and gave him into custody. Then looking at the mace, he said, "What shall we do with this fool's bawble? Here, carry it away." He took the act of dissolution from the clerk, and putting it under his cloak, went to Whitehall, having ordered the doors to be locked.

In the afternoon Cromwell went with Lambert and Harrison to the council of state. He told the members that if

they sat as private individuals, they should not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, they should take notice, as they could not be ignorant of what had occurred that morning, that the parliament was dissolved. "Sir," replied Bradshaw, with real or assumed dignity, "we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take *you* notice of that." Cromwell made no reply, and they retired.

Thus was terminated the Long Parliament, of whom it has been said, with we fear as much truth as severity, that "scarce two or three public acts of justice, humanity, or generosity, and very few of political wisdom or courage, are recorded of them from their quarrel with the king to their expulsion by Cromwell."* They fell unlamented by the nation,† though a few republican enthusiasts have chanted dirges to their memory. The praises of their panegyrists, we may observe, are almost confined to their successes in war; but these are surely the praises of Cromwell, Blake, and such men, and not of them. Their financial system was as simple as that of an Eastern despot: they laid on enormous taxes and levied them by the swords of the soldiery; if they wanted money on any occasion, they ordered the sale of delinquents' estates; if timber was required for the navy, they directed the woods of some delinquent to be felled. In these cases justice was not to be had from them. Lord Craven, for example, had been out of England all the time of the war; one might therefore expect that no charge of delinquency could be made against him; but some one having sworn that he had seen the king in Holland, the parliament voted that his lands should be sold, though it is said he convicted the informer of perjury. Many other acts of oppression of a similar nature will be found. At the same time they were most liberal in providing for themselves; they of course monopolized all lucrative offices; and in perusing Whitelocke and the Journals, the ignorant admirers of these stern republicans will be surprised at the sums which they voted themselves under the name of arrears, compensation for losses, etc. Neither should their High

* Hallam, ii. 209.

† Godwin (iii. 467) acknowledges and Mrs. Macauley indignantly bewails it. Godwin ascribes it to the smallness of their number and the arbitrary continuation of their power, and the consequent large number of their enemies

Court of Justice and their abolition of trial by jury be forgotten; at the same time it should be recorded that they always inflicted the penalty of death in a mild form, and never butchered their victims, as was done under the monarchy.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PROTECTORATE.

1653—1658.

THE first step taken by Cromwell and the council of officers (Apr. 22) was to put forth a declaration of the grounds and reasons of their dissolving the parliament. They then proceeded to the formation of a new council of state. Lambert proposed that it should consist of ten or twelve members; but the fanatic Harrison was greatly in favor of seventy, that being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Thirteen (the number of Christ and his apostles) was that fixed on, and the council consisted of nine officers (Cromwell included) and four civilians.

The government continued for some time to be exercised in the most anomalous manner, some measures emanating from the council of state, some from that of the officers, others from the lord-general. A ready obedience, however, was every where given; the army and navy never hesitated in their fidelity; the courts of law all proceeded in their usual course. This state of things, however, was felt not to be secure; for a government without a parliament was a monster in the eyes of the people of England. Cromwell was also aware that the time for his assumption of the sole power was not yet arrived. It was requisite therefore to have a parliament of some kind; but as he feared to make the experiment of a general election in the ancient manner, the following expedient was devised, after he and his officers had spent a week in close consultation. The ministers were directed to take the sense of the "congregational churches" in the different counties, respecting persons "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness," and to transmit their names to the council. Out of these the council, in the presence of the lord-general, selected one

hundred and thirty-nine members for England; to whom, with six for Wales, six for Ireland, and four for Scotland, writs were issued signed by Cromwell, (June 8,) summoning them to appear at Whitehall on the 4th of July as members for the places named in the writs, to take on them the trust of government.

On the appointed day the new members to the number of one hundred and twenty appeared at Whitehall. They seated themselves round the council-table, and Cromwell, standing by the middle window with his officers on each side, addressed them in a strain of great piety, the inspiration as it was thought of the Holy Spirit. They had been called to their high office, he told them, by God himself; he therefore would give them no charge; he would only pray that they might exercise the judgment of mercy and truth, and be faithful with the Saints, however they might differ in their forms of worship. He anticipated, he said, the commencement from this day of the reign of Christ. Having finished his "grave, Christian, and seasonable" speech, he placed on the table an instrument under his hand and seal, giving them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months, at the end of which they were to transmit it to another assembly chosen by themselves for an equal period.

The following day the convention met at the parliament-house. They devoted the entire day to pious exercises, and many declared that "they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did on that day." They were, taken all together, an honest, conscientious set of men, occupying respectable stations in life, and possessing, if not large, independent estates. But many of them had adopted wild notions in religion and politics, which they held with obstinacy, because they had no doubt of their truth, and they knew themselves to be single-minded. A leather-seller in London, named Praise-God Barebone, being one of the members, the assembly was called in derision Barebone's Parliament; its other popular appellation was The Little Parliament. They invited Cromwell and four of the principal officers to sit among them, but they had no thought of submitting to his dictation; he had styled them the supreme authority, and they were determined to act as such, and without control.

Being resolved to lose no time in the correction of abuses and the introduction of necessary reforms in all departments,

they formed (20th) eleven committees for various objects: one of which was the advancement of learning; another, the state of prisons and prisoners; a third, provision for the poor. Economy and reform were (as in our own days) the great objects professed to be in view. In pursuit of the former they regulated the excise and the treasury; they abolished useless offices and cut down the salaries in others; and the public accounts were strictly audited. This was all very praiseworthy; but religion and the law were regarded by them as matters of far greater importance, and here their proceedings were quite of the root-and-branch description.

The condition of the law was in itself certainly bad enough, but they regarded it as a perfect Augean stable. There were said to be not less than twenty-three thousand causes pending in the court of chancery, some of which had been there twenty, others thirty years; the expenses were enormous; the justice of the decisions was suspicious. Their remedy was a very simple one — to abolish the whole system. But then came the question, What to do with the pending causes? Bills to answer this purpose were introduced and rejected, but one was on the eve of being passed when the parliament was dissolved. The whole body of the law itself being in their eyes a mere chaos of confusion, made up of traditions, statutes, and decisions, often obscure, often contradictory, it was deemed the wisest course to do away with it altogether, and form out of it a reasonable code which might be comprised in a pocket-volume and be accessible to all men, and not be a mystery confined to a few. A committee was appointed to effect this, and a commencement was made with the articles treason and murder.

In matters of religion one of the first points which presented itself was that of advowsons. Nothing seemed more adverse to the spirit of true religion, than that a layman, merely as the owner of land, should have the right of imposing a religious teacher on a parish, and could even sell that right like any other species of property. It was therefore resolved that the right of presentation should be taken away, and that the parishioners should be empowered to choose their own pastors. The subject of tithes had been the very first to which they had directed their attention. The members of the committee of religion, however, were of Cromwell's party, and not of the fanatics; they delayed for five months making a report, and when they did they gave it as their opinion that incumbents and impropiators had a property in the tithes. In the debate which ensued,

the committee and their friends were defeated, and it was generally rumored and expected that the parliament would proceed to the abolition of tithes.

This fearless, honest, but ill-judging assembly had thus raised themselves a host of enemies of the most formidable description — the whole body of the lawyers, the clergy, the aristocracy. Cromwell saw that he might now dismiss the parliament, and, being regarded by these classes as the only security for their rights and property against the inroads of fanaticism, assume the sole power for which he thirsted.

The vote on the report of the committee of religion had passed on Saturday the 10th of December. Sunday was spent by Cromwell and his friends in secret deliberation, and early on Monday (12th) they appeared in the house, and colonel Sydenham rising made a speech in which he went over all that had been done, and showed how injurious their measures were to every order in the state. He said he could no longer think of sitting in such an assembly, and moved that they should go in a body and resign their power into the hands of the lord-general. The motion was seconded and opposed; but it was not by argument that Sydenham and his party proposed to succeed. Rous, the speaker, who was one of them, left the chair and went out, followed by the sergeant and the clerk and by nearly fifty of the members. There remained thirty-five, and while they were consulting on what was best to be done, colonel Goffe and major White came with some soldiers and requested them to withdraw; seeing that resistance was vain, they complied, and the doors were locked.

When the speaker and his train came to Whitehall they retired into one of the rooms, and drew up and signed an instrument of resignation. They then obtained an audience of the general, who affected the utmost surprise, and was with difficulty persuaded by Lambert and others to accept of it. The instrument was left in a room in the palace to receive the signatures of other members, and on the third day the number amounted to eighty, a majority of the whole. Meantime a new constitution had been prepared and submitted by Lambert to the council of officers, which gave Cromwell the authority, though not the title of a king.

The following day (16th) Cromwell was installed in his new office. The street was lined from Whitehall to Westminster-hall; the general came in his coach at one o'clock; at the door the procession was formed; the judges and other law officers, the lord mayor and aldermen, all in their

robes, went first; then came the general, in a suit and cloak of black velvet with long boots and a broad gold band round his hat, followed by the councils of state and of the army. They proceeded to the court of chancery, where the general took his seat on a chair of state surrounded by the members of the bench; the civilians stood on the right, the military on the left side of the court. Lambert came forward and in the name of the army and the three kingdoms prayed him to accept the office of Protector of the Commonwealth. The 'Instrument of Government' was then read by one of the clerks of the council. Cromwell having with feigned reluctance given his consent, the oath was read to him by the lord commissioner Lisle, and he signed it. Lambert then on his knees offered him the civic sword in a scabbard; he took it, and at the same time laid aside his own military one. He then sat down and put on his hat; the commissioners handed him the seal, the lord mayor the sword; he took them and gave them back. Having exercised these acts of sovereignty he returned to Whitehall. Next day the new government was proclaimed with the ceremonies usual at the accession of a king.

The substance of the Instrument was, that the supreme authority should be in the lord protector and the parliament; the protector to be assisted by a council of not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons, immovable except for corruption or other miscarriage in their trust. The former functions of royalty in general were to be exercised by the protector, with the consent of parliament or the council. A parliament was to be summoned for the 3d of September, 1654, and once in every third year, reckoned from the dissolution of the last, and not to be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved for the space of five months without its own consent. The parliament was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. The qualification for the electors was to be the possession of an estate, real or personal, of 200*l*. Those persons who had aided or abetted the royal cause in the late wars were to be incapable of being elected or voting at elections for the next and three succeeding parliaments. Catholics and the aiders and abettors of the Irish rebellion were to be disabled forever. A provision more certain and less subject to scruple than tithes was to be made for the teachers of religion. All who professed faith in God through Jesus Christ were to be protected; but this liberty was not to extend "to popery or prelacy, or to such

as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness," etc. etc.

Oliver Cromwell had thus, by taking advantage of a train of favorable circumstances, raised himself to the summit on which, since his victory at Worcester, he had fixed his view. His usurpation, if such it is to be called, was the greatest benefit that could befall the country in its present condition. "It secured the nation," observes Hallam, "from the mischievous lunacy of the anabaptists, and from the more cool-blooded tyranny of that little oligarchy which arrogated to itself the name of commonwealth's men." Had the presbyterians recovered their power, they would have bound their odious, intolerant religious despotism on the necks of the people; the royalists, if triumphant, would have introduced the plenitude of absolute power. The rule of Cromwell gave time for men's minds to settle.

As by the Instrument, the ordinances of the protector and the council previous to the meeting of parliament were to have the force of laws, he took an early occasion of repealing the engagement; he made a new law of treason; an ordinance of union, accompanied by an act of oblivion, with Scotland; one appointing commissioners to approve of public preachers, and another for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers.

The parties from whom Cromwell had most to dread (for the presbyterians seem at this time to have been quiescent) were the anabaptists and the royalists. His old assistant Harrison and some of the other officers belonged to the former. Harrison, when asked if he would own and submit to the present power, frankly replied that he would not. His commission was then taken from him, and ere-long he was placed in confinement. Some of the others were removed; the rest complied with the new order of things. With the anabaptist ministers, the protector found it necessary to proceed with some rigor. During the time of the Little Parliament, these sectaries, thinking they had the modelling of the nation in their own hands, used to meet every Monday evening at Blackfriars. These meetings were suppressed, and two of their preachers, Feake and Powel, who in their sermons declaimed against the protector as a "dissembling, perjured villain," and threatened him with "a worse fate than had befallen the late tyrant," were sent prisoners to Windsor.

The royalists, on their side, had recourse to conspiracies. In the month of February (1654) a few were arrested for a

conspiracy; but it appeared to have been merely the wild talk of some hot-headed persons, and nothing could be made of it. But in the following month of May, a plot to assassinate the protector on his way to Hampton-court was discovered. About forty persons, among whom were the earl of Oxford, the two Ashburnhams, sir Richard Willis, sir Gilbert Gerard and his brother John, were arrested. John Gerard, Somerset, Fox, and one Vowel, a schoolmaster, alone were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Fox pleaded guilty; the other three were convicted on the evidence of ten of their accomplices, one of whom was Gerard's brother Charles, a youth of nineteen, he himself being but two-and-twenty. Powel was hanged; Gerard obtained the favor of being beheaded; he suffered on Tower-hill, avowing his royalism, but denying his participation in the conspiracy.

On the same day with Gerard, (July 10,) another young man suffered, in whose case the protector showed that in his regard to justice he would be checked by no pretended privileges. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, had an accidental quarrel, in the last month of November, with John Gerard, whose fate we have just related, in the New Exchange in the Strand. Next day he came with twenty companions, all armed, and taking a person named Greenway for Gerard, fell on and murdered him. They then took refuge in the house of the ambassador, but they were seized and committed to Newgate. The plea of privilege was disregarded, as it was maintained to be only personal to the ambassador. They were tried before a mixed jury of natives and foreigners, and Sa and four others were found guilty. Three were pardoned; Sa and the other were executed, notwithstanding the interposition of all the foreign ambassadors.

With respect to the royalist conspiracies, it is probable that they were not unknown to Charles II. Cromwell, though he declared that he did not believe in them, threatened retaliation, and hinted that he was in no want of instruments. The royalists in the highlands of Scotland, headed by Middleton, whom Charles had sent over, and encouraged by Angus, Montrose, Athol, Lorn, and other noblemen, had bidden defiance to the English troops; but they were speedily dispersed by the vigor of Monk; Ireland was completely subdued; foreign powers sought the friendship of the protector: it only remained for him to terminate the war with the United Provinces, in order to consummate his glory.

While all the late internal changes were taking place in England, the Dutch war was not intermitted. In May, 1653, each country sent a fleet of one hundred sail to sea. The English were commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawson; the Dutch by Tromp, Ruyter, Witt, and Evertson. They met off the North Foreland, (June 2,) the action lasted the entire day. Dean and Monk were in the same ship; the former was killed by a chain-shot; Monk instantly flung his cloak over him, lest the men should be discouraged. In the night Blake joined with eighteen ships, and the battle was renewed next day. A panic seized the Dutch, and though Tromp fired on them to rally them, they fled. The loss of the Dutch was twenty-one sail; that of the English, only one.

The States had already, at the desire of the merchants, appointed ambassadors to treat of peace; but they had not set out at the time of this great victory. On their arrival in England, (June 22,) they found the demands of the council as high as those of the parliament had been. At length, (July 26,) Cromwell told them that England would be content if Tromp were dismissed for a while from his command, and the States would consent to a federative union between the two countries. Two of them returned to the Hague for fresh instructions; meantime another battle was fought, and another victory gained, by the English. Monk and Tromp, each with one hundred ships, engaged off the coast of Holland, (31st.) The battle was long dubious; at length Tromp fell, shot through the heart by a musket-ball; the Dutch lost courage and fled: their loss is uncertain; Monk said, that twenty, they themselves, that only nine sail were sunk. No ships were taken.

The negotiations for peace were resumed in October, and after a great variety of manœuvres and delays, a treaty was signed, (Apr. 5, 1654,) Cromwell receding from all the lofty pretensions of the parliament. By a secret article, the States of Holland engaged never to elect the prince of Orange for their Stadtholder, or give him the command of the army and navy. Commercial treaties were also about this time made with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal. France and Spain were rivals for the favor of the protector.

In this state of things Cromwell met his parliament, the elections for which had been perfectly free. As the 3d of September happened to fall on a Sunday, the protector requested the members to meet him on Monday, at sermon, in the abbey. He proceeded thither in great state. First rode

two troops of the life-guards; next, some hundreds of officers and gentlemen bareheaded; his highness's lackeys and pages, in rich liveries, walked before his coach, a captain of the guard was on each side of it; his son-in-law, Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger richly caparisoned, followed, and he was succeeded by the great officers of state and the members of the council in coaches. After sermon, the protector and the members repaired to the Painted Chamber, where he addressed them in a speech of three hours' length, displaying the wretched, disorganized state of the nation at the close of the Little Parliament, and contrasting it with the prosperous and settled condition to which it had since been brought. It was for them, he said, to put the top-stone to the work, and complete the happiness of the nation. He then desired them to repair to their own house and choose a speaker.

Lenthall was chosen speaker without a division. Though Vane and some others of the leading republicans were not in the assembly, Bradshaw, Haselrig, and Scot, were there, and it soon appeared that the party of the protector was not the majority. The parties came at once to a trial of strength on the question, whether the government should be in a single person and successive parliaments. It was debated with great vigor during four successive days (8th to 11th) in a committee of the whole house. On the fourth day judge Hale proposed a middle course, in which the republicans seemed inclined to acquiesce, but Cromwell had already determined how to act. The following morning, (12th,) the members, on going to the house, found the doors locked and the avenues filled with soldiers, and they were told that his highness would meet them in the Painted Chamber. He there showed how the Long Parliament had brought on its dissolution by its despotism, the last by its imbecility, and that power had been conferred on him, against his will, by the voice of the people, signified in various ways. He told them that in the 'Instrument of Government,' in virtue of which they now sat, four points were fundamental. 1. The supreme power in a single person. 2. Parliaments to be successive, not perpetual. 3. Neither protector nor parliament to have the sole command of the army. 4. Liberty of conscience. These they might not touch; other points might be amended. He therefore had caused to be prepared a Recognition, which they must sign before he could allow them to sit again. He then dismissed them. About three hundred subscribed the recognition; yet, though the more

violent republicans were thus excluded, the house did not prove quite so manageable as had been expected.

Shortly after, an accident occurred which was near bringing the protector's ambition to a sudden termination. The duke of Oldenburg had sent him a present of six Friesland coach-horses. One day (Oct. 5th) he went with Thurloe and some of his gentlemen to Hyde-park, and dined under the trees. After dinner the fancy took him to drive his coach himself, and he mounted the box, putting Thurloe inside. For some time he went on very well, but on his beginning to use the whip rather freely, the horses got into a gallop and ran away. The postilion was thrown: Cromwell himself fell on the pole, his foot got entangled in the harness, and a pistol which he had in his pocket went off; at length his foot came out of his shoe, and he fell under the body of the coach, and thus escaped. Thurloe, who had leaped out, also received some bruises, and they were both confined to their rooms for two or three weeks. The cavaliers prophesied that Cromwell's next fall would be from a cart.

Meanwhile the parliament went on discussing the 'Instrument,' but carefully shunning the forbidden points. Soon after the protector's accident, (Oct. 13,) the question of the succession was brought before them. Lambert, in a long and able speech, dwelt on the evils of elective succession, and recommended that the office of protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell, but the motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred to eighty, and it was resolved, that on his death the successor should be chosen by the parliament, if sitting, if not, by the council. Cromwell waited patiently till the five lunar months were expired;* the parliament then, who had just completed and read a third time their revision of the Instrument, were once more summoned to the Painted Chamber. In a long speech he reproached them with having done nothing during five months, unless it were to give encouragement to the cavaliers and levellers to combine in intrigues against the commonwealth, and he concluded by telling them that the parliament was dissolved.

The coalition of royalists and republicans to which Cromwell alluded was no fiction. The common hatred of *him* united them, and each hoped that when he was overthrown they would be able to subdue their allies and establish their

* "The month in law is always of twenty-eight days, unless the contrary be expressed. This seems, however, not to have been generally understood at the time." — *Hallam*. ii. 335.

own system. Some of the leading republicans, such as colonel Overton and major Wildman, entered into correspondence with the exiled king. Okey, Alured, Lawson, and Hacker, held consultations with Wildman, at which Marten and lord Grey of Groby are said to have been sometimes present. Of the coöperation of Haselrig, Harrison, Carew, and some others, there seems to have been no doubt. The vigilance of the government, however, disconcerted all their plans. Overton was arrested and sent up from Scotland, lord Grey, Harrison, and Carew, were sent to various prisons. Wildman was taken in the very act of dictating 'The Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Esq.'

The general rising of the royalists had been fixed for the beginning of March. Wilmot (now earl of Rochester) and sir Joseph Wagstaff came over privately to take the command of them, and Charles himself with Ormond and others moved from Cologne to Middleburg to be ready to pass over to England. The wakeful eye of government, however, was on their projects, and the partial risings which they made in Yorkshire and the west were easily suppressed. Sir Henry Slingsby and sir Richard Malever, who had been with Wilmot at the head of the former, were taken, but Wilmot himself escaped. In the west, Wagstaff, being joined by colonel Penruddock, captain Grove, and about two hundred others, entered Salisbury on a Sunday night, (Mar. 11th,) and seized in their beds the judges and the sheriff who were there to hold the assizes next day. In the morning Wagstaff prepared to hang them, but Penruddock and others, horrified at such barbarity, interposed so warmly that he consented to liberate them. The insurgents then proclaimed the king, but finding that none joined them, and that a reinforcement which they expected from Hampshire did not arrive, they retired and passed through Dorset into Devon, where they were attacked at South Molton by captain Croke, and routed. Wagstaff made his escape, the rest surrendered. Cromwell resolved to venture on trying them by jury, and as their guilt was manifest according to the present laws, they were all found guilty. Grove and Penruddock were beheaded; some were hanged, others were pardoned; the remainder, without any regard to their station in life, were, in the usual way, shipped off for slaves to Barbadoës.

Hitherto Cromwell had been lenient to the royalists, in the hopes of gaining them; of this he now despaired, and he resolved to keep measures with them no longer. A great

number of noblemen and gentlemen were arrested; the episcopalian clergy were forbidden to act as schoolmasters or tutors, or to use the church service either in public or private; popish priests were ordered to quit the kingdom under pain of death; cavaliers and papists were not to come within less than twenty miles of the city. He finally *decimated* the royalists, that is, imposed an annual income-tax of ten per cent. on all possessing 100*l.* a year and upwards in land, or 1500*l.* in personal property, who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party. He thus openly trampled on the Act of Oblivion, which, when it suited his purpose, he had pressed on so strenuously. The reason he assigned was, that as, by their obstinately keeping themselves separate from the rest of the nation, they were a continual cause of danger, it was but just that they should be made to defray the expenses incurred in guarding against it.

For the collection of this tax, and for carrying into effect his other arbitrary measures, he divided England into eleven districts, over each of which he set a major-general. These officers were furnished with most extensive authority; they were empowered to raise troops, levy the taxes, disarm cavaliers and papists, inquire into the conduct of ministers and schoolmasters, arrest and imprison dangerous and suspicious persons. When to these we add the arbitrary system of general taxation continued or imposed, the high courts of justice, the interference with the functions of judges and advocates, we have a picture of despotism before which that of the Stuarts sinks into insignificance.

We now turn to the foreign affairs of the protector's government. France and Spain, we have seen, were rivals for his favor. Of all the states of Europe, Spain was, perhaps, the one with which there was least ground of quarrel: it had given no countenance whatever to the royal family; it had been the first to acknowledge the commonwealth. But on the other hand, Cromwell was a zealous protestant, and Spain was bigotedly catholic, and the chief seat of the inquisition; and the gold and silver which it drew from America were tempting to his cupidity. He did not see why Spain should monopolize the wealth of an immense country, the innocent people of which she had so barbarously massacred, and treat as pirates the crews of all ships which were found in those latitudes. He therefore demanded of Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, that the trade of the English in the Atlantic should be free. He also required that the English merchants settled in Spain should be secured from

molestation by the inquisition. Cardenas replied, that the American monopoly and the inquisition were his master's two eyes, neither of which he would consent to have put out. The Spanish court, aware that Cromwell was equipping a fleet, and fearing that it might be intended for the West Indies, sent the marquess of Leyda to London; but after staying there five months, he returned without having effected any thing.

Cromwell had prepared two fleets; the one of thirty sail under Blake had sailed in the preceding month of October to the Mediterranean, to exact reparation for injuries done to the English trade by the states around that sea. Blake first cast anchor before the port of Leghorn, and he made the duke of Tuscany pay 60,000*l.* for the injuries he had done to the English nation. He then sailed to Algiers, (Mar. 10,) and required the Dey to deliver up the English ships and men taken by his piratic subjects. Having received a conciliatory reply, he proceeded to Tunis, and made a similar demand; the Dey bade him destroy the castles of Goletta and Porto Ferino, and his fleet, if he could. Blake speedily silenced the fire of these castles, and then entered the harbor and burned nine ships of war that were lying there. He sailed thence to Tripoli, whose Dey submitted at once to his demands. Having thus chastised these pirates, Blake returned to England.

The other fleet, which consisted of thirty sail, commanded by admiral Penn, and carrying four thousand land forces under general Venables, sailed about the end of December for the West Indies, with sealed orders. When they reached Barbadoes, (Jan. 29,) they opened their instructions, and having enlisted and regimented a good number of those who had been sent thither as slaves, and thus raised their forces to nine thousand men, to which they added twelve hundred at St. Kitt's, they sailed to Hispaniola; but instead of entering the port of St. Domingo at once, (Apr. 14,) when the town would probably have submitted, they landed the troops at a distance of forty miles from it. Here a mutiny broke out in consequence of commissioner Winslow's issuing a proclamation, stating, in Roman fashion, that all plunder should be public property. This being appeased by Venables, they advanced for three days under a burning sun, and living chiefly on unripe fruit, which caused diseases among the men. At length they joined a detachment which had landed within ten miles of the town. As they advanced they fell into an ambuscade; they drove off the enemy, but their success

was of no avail, for the diseased condition of the troops made it necessary for them to fall back to the station of the detachment, where they remained for a week. When they advanced again toward the town, (25th,) the road, lying through a thick wood, was commanded by a battery, and the sides were lined with Spanish marksmen. The advance guard in disorder fell back on a regiment of foot, and they on a troop of horse; all was confusion till a body of seamen cleared the wood. But night then came on, and they returned to their former station. Here a council of war having decided that success was now hopeless, it was resolved to reëmbark the troops. They therefore left Hispaniola, (May 3;) but as the commanders feared to return without having effected something, they made a descent (10th) on the island of Jamaica, the people of which offered no resistance, but they had placed the greater part of their property in security, so that the plunder gained was trifling. By Cromwell and the nation, the acquisition of Jamaica was thought a matter of no importance; yet there were people who saw farther into things, and regarded it as really of more value to England than Hispaniola would have been. Penn and Venables were, on their return, both committed to the Tower by the indignant and mortified protector. They had shown themselves inefficient commanders, and by their want of harmony they had almost insured failure.

Cromwell at this time added to his reputation in the eyes of the world by his prompt and effectual interference in behalf of the Vaudois, or protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Lucerne, Perusa, and San Martino in Piedmont, who were persecuted by their catholic sovereign. There are of course conflicting statements on this subject, but from the known intolerant spirit of the church of Rome, it is a fair conclusion, that in cases of this kind, and where the catholics were by far the stronger party, they were the aggressors. The Vaudois, it appears, were ordered to give up a part of the valley of Lucerne; they expressed their dissatisfaction, and the duke of Savoy forthwith quartered troops in their valleys. The soldiers acted with insolence and tyranny; the people resisted, but were overpowered, and a massacre of about three hundred of the inhabitants of Lucerne was perpetrated, (Apr. 21.) with all the circumstances, we are assured, of the most revolting barbarity. When the intelligence reached England, Cromwell lost no time in sending off under-secretary Morland as his envoy to Turin; he wrote letters to all the protestant states of Europe, and he made the security of

the Vaudois a *sine quâ non* in the treaty which was pending with the court of France. The duke was therefore obliged to allow his protestant subjects to exercise the religion of their fathers, and Cromwell sent them a sum of money from himself in addition to what had by his permission been collected for them in the churches.

When the Spanish court was certified of the attempt on Hispaniola, it was thrown into great perplexity, being already engaged in a war with France. It could not, however, pass over such an indignity, and it was resolved (Sept. 1) to lay an embargo on the English ships and property in Spain. Cardenas received orders to remonstrate, and if not satisfied to withdraw. He accordingly left England, (Oct. 24,) and the following day Cromwell put forth a declaration of the justice of the war on his part, and he signed the treaty with France, by a secret article of which ten Frenchmen were to be excluded from the British dominions, and Charles II., the duke of York, Ormond, Hyde, and fifteen others from those of France.

Among the events of this year may be noticed the return of the Jews to England, where they had not been settled since the reign of Edward I. Manasseh Ben Israel, a distinguished rabbi, came over to England to negotiate with the protector on this subject, and though the bigotry of the committee appointed to consider his propositions did not allow Cromwell to go so far as he wished, he permitted them to come over, to build a synagogue, and to purchase ground for a cemetery.

The motto of political parties seems to be *Flectere si nequeo superos*, etc. ; in other words, they are willing to join with those whom they most hate to overthrow an object of common aversion. In accordance with this principle, we now meet the sectarian levellers again in alliance with the royalists, and even with the court of Spain. Edward Sexby, a man who had risen from the ranks to the post of colonel, had been an admirer and an agent of Cromwell's in the army ; he had been a leading agitator ; he was a zealot for liberty, and when his former idol apostatized as he thought, he became his inveterate foe. After the arrest of Wildman and others, Sexby, who had not been taken, went through the country distributing pamphlets. In May (1655) he went over to Brussels, where he informed the count Fuensaldagna of the real destination of the fleet under Penn and Venables, and offered the aid of the levellers against the protector, if furnished with money. Fuensaldagna sent him to Madrid,

where he was well received, and he obtained 40,000 crowns, with which he returned to Antwerp, whence he sent various sums to his confederates in England; and though Cromwell had gotten information, and even seized a remittance of 800*l.*, Sexby crossed the channel, remained some time, and returned in safety.

Charles had made an offer of alliance to the Spanish cabinet after the rupture with England. He engaged to recall to his standard the English and Irish regiments in the service of France; he boasted of his influence in the English navy, and, like Sexby, only asked for money. After a long period of the usual delay, the court of Spain resolved to accept both offers, and to effect a union between Charles and Sexby. The latter said, that the wish of his friends was to have a free parliament, in which case there was no doubt that Charles would be restored, though with some limitations. The plan formed was, that Charles should raise four regiments out of his subjects in the service of France, that Spain should furnish a body of six thousand men, and that the levellers should secure for them a port and fortress not distant from London, where they might effect a landing.

While this conspiracy was secretly organized against him, Cromwell issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 17th of September. Great excitement prevailed; the government and its major-generals and other instruments made every exertion to procure favorable returns; on the other side, pamphlets calling on the people now to make a struggle for their liberties were circulated. The result was, that though Scotland and Ireland returned those recommended, England sent to the parliament a great number, such as Haselrig and Scot, strongly opposed to the protector's government. For this, however, Cromwell had a remedy; as the council was empowered by the 'Instrument' to decide on the qualifications of the members returned, he, under various pretexts, chiefly of delinquency or immorality, caused their tickets of admission to be refused to about one hundred persons. The excluded members published a bold and vigorous 'Remonstrance.' Of this, though of a most daring tone, the protector deemed it advisable to take no notice, for his party had now a clear majority in parliament, and that was all that he required.

Acts were speedily passed for renouncing the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and for the security of the protector's person. The war with Spain was resolved to be just and politic, and a supply of 400,000*l.* was voted. In calling

this parliament Cromwell had had two main objects in view : the one was to obtain supplies in a legal manner ; the other to gain from it the coveted title of king. Various motives probably concurred to make him ambitious of the title, though he was without it possessed of more than regal power. He certainly felt that *prestige* from which few are exempt, attached to names of dignities hallowed by time and long usage ; he who was so affectionate to his family may have wished to secure the succession of his son, and even to gratify the vanity of his daughters. The name of king, too, was interwoven into all the institutions of the country, and the lawyers, the clergy, the nobility, and all who were weary of military rule, would be pleased with a prospect of legal and settled government. There were even hopes that the great body of the royalists, on a return to the ancient forms of the constitution, would grow indifferent to the exiled family, and transfer their loyalty to the new dynasty.

Cromwell, as we have seen by what he said to Whitelocke, had had this idea in his mind for some time. He now consulted on the subject with Thurloe, Pierrepont, and St. John ; and to gain the good-will of the people, he resolved to commence with allowing the arbitrary rule of the major-generals to be terminated. A bill being brought in, (Jan. 7, 1657,) of which the object was to confirm their past acts, and invest them with legal authority for the future, it was opposed by Claypole, the protector's son-in-law, and by lord Broghil, his confidant. The debate was continued for ten successive days ; the tyranny of the bashaws, as they were called, was detailed and dwelt on ; but, headed by Lambert, they defended themselves with spirit. One of their arguments amounting to this, that the whole body of the cavaliers should be punished for the offences of some, Henry Cromwell, the protector's nephew, replied, that on this principle, all the major-generals ought to be punished, because some of them had done ill, of which he could produce proofs. He was called on to name, and he professed himself ready to do so, but the debate was adjourned. It was hinted to him that his uncle would not be pleased with his conduct ; but he went that very night and told the protector what he had done, and added, that he "had his black book and papers ready to make good what he had said." Cromwell replied in a jesting manner ; and taking off a rich scarlet cloak and his gloves, gave them to Harry, who strutted into the house with them next day. The bill was finally lost

(Jan. 29) by a large majority, and the major-generals remained exposed to actions at law for their previous conduct.

While this bill was pending, a plot to murder the protector was discovered. The agent was Miles Syndercomb, who had been a quarter-master in Monk's army, but had been dismissed for his share in Overton's plot. Sexby, when last in England, had arranged the plan with him, and there can be no doubt but that Charles and his court knew and approved of it. The death of Cromwell was to be the signal for the rising of the levellers and royalists, and the invasion from Flanders. Syndercomb and another named Cecil bribed Tooke, a life-guardsmen, to give them information of the places where Cromwell was to pass, intending to shoot him from a window. But something always occurred to frustrate them, and at Wildman's suggestion they altered their plan. One evening at six o'clock (Jan. 9) they entered the chapel at Whitehall, and having set a basket of combustibles in one of the pews, lighted a slow match, calculated for six hours; but as they were coming out they were all seized, for Tooke had betrayed them. Cecil told all he knew, which only amounted to this, that some persons in the palace were to kill Cromwell in the confusion. Syndercomb was tried and condemned for high-treason, (Feb. 9;) he would give no information, and he was found dead in his bed a few hours before the time appointed for his execution, (13th.) The royalists and levellers maintained that he had been strangled by Cromwell's orders; the verdict of the jury was suicide by snuffing up a poisonous powder.

The pulse of the house on the subject of kingship having been felt after the discovery of this plot, about a month later, (Feb. 23,) alderman Pack rose and presented a paper, called 'A humble Address and Remonstrance,' protesting against the present uncertain form of government, and calling on the protector to assume a higher title, etc. The officers instantly rose in a great heat, and Pack was borne down to the bar; but order being restored, Broghil and Glyn, Whitelocke, and the lawyers and dependents of the court supporting Pack; the paper was read, and it was resolved to take it into consideration. It was debated, article by article, and at length adopted under the title of 'The humble Petition and Advice.'

The only opposition which Cromwell had to fear was that of the army, in which interest swayed some, fanaticism others, to oppose it. Lambert, in particular, was against it;

for being the second person in the country, and a vain, ambitious man, he looked forward to being the next protector. His proposal to the officers was, to bring up five regiments of cavalry and compel the house to confirm the 'Instrument' and the establishment of major-generals. They hesitated, however, to adopt this bold measure, and he then withdrew from their councils. The inferior officers also held meetings, and they sent (28th) one hundred of their number to inform the protector of their sentiments. He reminded them that at one time they had offered him the title of king; he said he had always been the drudge of the officers; that the parliament had been called contrary to his judgment; that it required to be controlled, which could only be done by enlarging the authority of the protector. Several were convinced by his reasons, but they had no effect on the majority. They, however, agreed that if the question of the title were kept to be last considered, they would make no opposition to those of his being empowered to name his successor, and of the parliament's consisting of two houses, as he proposed.

On the 25th of March the title of king was voted, and six days after a committee waited on the protector with 'The Petition and Advice.' He spoke of the "consternation of his mind" at the offer, and requested time "to ask counsel of God and his own heart;" at the same time approving of every thing but the new title to be given to himself. At his desire, a committee was appointed to hear and resolve his scruples. After various conferences, he owned (Apr. 20) that his doubts were removed, and at length he appointed a day (May 6) to meet the parliament, when it was fully expected that he would accept the royal title.

Cromwell had vainly sought to gain his brother- and son-in-law, Desborough and Fleetwood, over to his design. They now told him they must resign their commissions; and Desborough having informed Pride of what Cromwell was about to do, the latter cried, "He shall not." When asked how he could prevent it, he said by a petition signed by the officers; and they approved of his plan and went straight to Dr. Owen, and prevailed on him to draw one up.

The 8th was the day finally fixed for the protector to meet the parliament. On the morning of that day, colonel Mason and six-and-twenty other officers came and presented the petition, in which they asserted that the design of those who urged the general to take the title of king was to

destroy him and bring the nation under the old servitude, and prayed the parliament to continue steady to the old cause, for which they themselves were willing to lay down their lives. When Cromwell heard of this, he sent for Fleetwood, and asked him why he let a thing of the kind proceed so far, when he knew that he would not accept a crown without the consent of the army; and desired him to go back and stop it. Shortly after, the members were summoned to Whitehall, and Cromwell concluded a long and embarrassed speech by formally declining the title of king.

The word *protector* being substituted for *king*, Cromwell gave his assent to 'The humble Petition and Advice.' It empowered him to name his immediate successor, and restored the two houses, giving the protector the right of nominating the members of the 'other house,' as it was termed, but subject to some restrictions. The inauguration of the protector took place on the 12th of May, in Westminster-hall. He stood on a platform at the upper end of the hall; the speaker arrayed him in a purple mantle lined with ermine, presented him a Bible superbly bound, and placed a golden sceptre in his hand. The oath was then administered to him; a long prayer from the chaplain succeeded. The protector sat down between the French and the Dutch ambassadors, the earl of Warwick and the lord mayor holding a sword at each side of him; the trumpets sounded and the heralds proclaimed the style of the protector, to which the spectators responded. He then rose, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked down the hall to his coach. The house of commons then adjourned for six months. Most of the officers took the oath of fidelity to the protector; Lambert, refusing, was deprived of his commissions, which were worth to him 6000*l.* a year; but he obtained a pension of 2000*l.*

About this time, a pamphlet entitled 'Killing no Murder,' and written with great energy, came out in Holland. The writer of it is generally considered to have been captain Titus, though Sexby, who sent thousands of it over to England, claimed it as his own. Having determined that Cromwell was a tyrant, and that it would be meritorious to kill him; and eulogized Syndercomb, it assured the protector that there were numbers ready to follow that example, and that he was not safe in his bed or at his board: Sexby soon came over again, but he was taken and died in prison

We must now return to the war with Spain. In the spring of 1656 a fleet sailed from Portsmouth, under Blake and Montague. Their destination was Cadiz and Gibraltar; but not feeling themselves strong enough to attack either of them, they sailed to the Tagus, where they obliged the king of Portugal to ratify the treaty concluded with him, and pay the stipulated sum of 50,000*l*. They then went to the Mediterranean and again returned to Lisbon, leaving captain Stayner with six frigates before Cadiz. Soon after (Sept. 10) a Spanish fleet of eight sail from the Havannah came in sight. Stayner attacked it and sunk four, and took two laden with treasure. One of the ships destroyed was the vice-admiral's, on board of which was the marquess of Vaydes, the viceroy of Peru, and his wife and seven children. When the ship took fire, the marchioness and her eldest daughter fainted; the marquess would not abandon them, and he perished with them and one of his sons; the other children were saved and brought to England. The value of the silver taken was estimated at two millions of pounds sterling; and Cromwell, to dazzle the populace, caused it to be conveyed in wagons from Portsmouth to London.

As Montague had returned home with the prizes, Blake remained in the sole command, and in the spring (1657) he sailed for the Canaries to intercept the plate-fleet from Mexico. He found it already lying in the port of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, the plate-ships, ten in number, being moored in a crescent close to the shore, with seven galleons in a line before them; the entrance of the harbor was commanded by the guns of the castle, and around it were seven batteries. Blake resolved to attack. He caused a solemn fast to be held, and next morning, (Apr. 20,) Stayner leading the way, the fleet entered the harbor under a shower of balls and shells. By two in the afternoon the batteries were silenced and all the ships in the possession of the English; but the wind which had brought them in, now opposed their egress. Blake ordered the prizes to be burnt, and soon after the wind changed to the south-west, and enabled them to get out to sea. The English had lost only forty-eight men in this daring action. Blake returned home some time after, but his health was gone, and he died (Aug. 17) as his ship was entering the harbor of Plymouth. The protector gave him a magnificent funeral, and his remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey.

In the month of November Cromwell married his two

youngest daughters to lord Falconberg and to Mr. Rich. grandson of lord Warwick. This last, however died the following February.

In the spring of this year, Lockhart, a Scottish judge, who was married to Cromwell's niece, had proceeded as his envoy to Paris, and a treaty of alliance for a twelvemonth was concluded with Louis XIV. Cromwell was to supply a force of six thousand men, and in return was to get Mardyke and Dunkirk when reduced. The result of the campaign was the reduction of the former place, which received an English governor.

The parliament met, (Jan. 20, 1658;) it presented the ancient form of the two houses, the protector having summoned by writ sixty persons to form the 'Other House.' Cromwell addressed them in the ancient style — "My lords, and gentlemen of the house of commons." But the experiment proved a failure. As by the 'Petition and Advice' the commons were authorized to judge of the qualifications of their body, the secluded members had resumed their seats and there was now a powerful opposition, headed by Haselrig and Scot. They allowed the house to occupy itself with nothing but the title and rights of the other house. Cromwell soothed, and reasoned, and menaced to no purpose. He then formed his resolution with his usual promptitude. One morning (Feb. 4) he threw himself into a coach that was standing at the gate of Whitehall, beckoned to six of the guards to follow him, and drove to the parliament-house. He summoned the commons to his presence. He then, as usual, talked of his dignity having been forced on him, and reproached them with thwarting instead of aiding him, while he was environed with conspiracies; it was therefore time to put an end to their sitting, "and I do dissolve this parliament," said he, "and let God judge between me and you." "Amen, amen," responded several voices. Thus was a fourth parliament dissolved. Addresses to the protector from the army, and counties, towns, and boroughs, were easily procured, and were inserted in the newspapers, to convince the world of the popularity of his government.

At the same time several arrests took place; for the conspiracies of which he spoke were no fictions. Ormond was actually in London at this very time negotiating with the various political parties, and transports were collected at Ostend to carry over an invading force. But Cromwell had a source of intelligence which the royalists little suspected. There was a select band of six, named the 'Sealed Knot

who enjoyed the principal confidence of Charles and his court, and were the directors of the royalists in England Sir Richard Willis had most influence in the Sealed Knot and *he* was in the pay of Cromwell! For Willis having been arrested one time, Cromwell, it is said, undertook to prove to him that it was for the interest of the royalists themselves that their plots should be prevented. Willis was, or affected to be, convinced, and it was arranged that he should give information, but never be brought forward as a witness or required to name any person. For this service he had an annual stipend of 200*l*.

The protector, therefore, knew of Ormond's being in London, and when it was thought that he had been there long enough, a hint was given him, and he hastened to Shoreham and embarked for France. Shortly after, some of the members of the Knot and other royalists were arrested, and sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Hewit, John Mordaunt, brother to lord Peterborough, sir Humphrey Bennet, and captain Woodcock were brought to trial before a high court of justice. Slingsby was a gentleman of advanced age; he had been a prisoner at Hull ever since the rising in 1655, in which he had been engaged; the charge against him was his having given the officers of the garrison commissions from king Charles. Hewit was an episcopalian clergyman and an active agent for the exiled king. Mordaunt also had distributed commissions. Hewit refused to plead, but that availed him not, and he and Slingsby were found guilty. Mordaunt was acquitted, the principal witness against him having been bribed to abscond. Slingsby was married to the aunt of lord Falconberg, and the lady Claypole strongly interested herself for Hewit; but the protector would hearken to neither daughter nor son-in-law in their favor: they were both beheaded, (June 8,) Bennet and Woodcock were acquitted.

While Cromwell thus suppressed conspiracy at home, his arms prospered on the continent. After a victory gained by Turenne over the Spaniards, (June 8,) in which the valor of the English troops had decided the fortune of the day, Dunkirk was invested; it surrendered in a few days, (17th,) and was delivered up to the English by Louis in person.

Cromwell would seem to be now at the height of his glory, victorious abroad and absolute at home, but never was his state more precarious; he wanted money, he was surrounded by enemies. To procure the former it seemed necessary to call a parliament. He appointed a council of

nine to devise means of obviating the influence of the republicans in it, of raising a revenue from the estates of the royalists, and of settling the succession. But after three weeks' deliberation they came to no conclusion of importance, and the protector, suspicious of some of the members, dissolved the council, (July 8.)

To secure himself against the secret attempts of his enemies, he adopted various precautions; he wore armor inside his clothes and carried pistols in his pockets. He drove at full speed, his coach filled with attendants and surrounded by guards, and he always returned by a different road. He changed his bed-chamber frequently, and often personally inspected the night-watch of the palace. His nights were sleepless, or his rest was feverish and disturbed, and the anxiety of his mind visibly preyed on his health. Domestic affliction also came to add to his cares. In the relations of son, husband, and father, no one ever went beyond Cromwell in sincere affection; and his favorite daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, was now dying of an internal abscess, and the grief occasioned by the death of her youngest son augmented her danger. Cromwell abandoned all affairs of state, and went to Hampton-court, where she lay. He spent much time in her room, and always left it with an air of the deepest melancholy. When her death took place, (Aug. 6,) though he had long expected it, the event gave him a great shock. He was himself confined at the time with a fit of the gout; he was also seized with what was called a bastard tertian ague. One day (24th) hearing one of his physicians whisper to another that his pulse was intermittent, he grew alarmed, caused himself to be put to bed, and executed his will; but next morning, (25th,) when the physicians visited him, he took his wife by the hand, and said, "I tell you I shall not die this bout, I am sure of it." Observing their surprise, he added, "Do not think I am mad; I speak the words of truth upon surer grounds than your Hippocrates or Galen can furnish. God himself hath given this answer, not to my prayers alone, but to the prayers of those who maintain a stricter correspondence and greater intimacy with him. Go on, therefore, confidently banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man." His confidence extended to his family and friends. "His highness," writes Fleetwood, "has had great discoveries of the Lord to him, and assurances of being restored and made further serviceable." "O Lord," said his chaplain Goodwin, "we pray not for his recovery; that

thou hast granted already; what we now beg is his *speedy recovery*."

But these predictions were not to be verified. At Whitehall, whither he had moved, his disease turned to a double tertian, (28th;) he became delirious, and, at times, insensible. In one of his lucid intervals he asked his chaplain Sterry if it were possible to fall from grace. On his replying in the negative, "Then," said he, "I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." On the night of the 2d of September he was heard to pray to this effect: "Lord, I am a poor, foolish creature. This people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will rebound much to thy glory; and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins; and do not forsake them, but love, and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest for Jesus Christ's sake; to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory, now and forever. Amen."

The next day (3d) was his fortunate day, that of Dunbar and Worcester. After long lying insensible, he expired about four in the afternoon, amidst the tears of his attendants, and in the sixtieth year of his age. When the news was brought to those who were assembled to pray for his recovery, Sterry is said to have stood up and to have bid them not be troubled, "for," said he, "this is good news, because if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us and to be mindful of us on all occasions." Even his sagacious secretary, Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, says, "He is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints."

This extraordinary man was a gentleman by birth, and educated at Cambridge, whence he went to Lincoln's Inn; but, instead of devoting himself to the study of the law, he plunged into the vices and excesses of the town. He speedily, however, reformed, and then running into the opposite extreme, became an enthusiast in religion. In the contest between the king and parliament, his latent military talents were developed; these did not consist in tactics or manœuvres, but in vigor and decision; he never sought to surprise the enemy; his plan was to fall on with impetuosity. He had the art of attaching the soldiers both by his religious exercises and by a coarse kind of buffoonery and

secular language. As a ruler he sustained the national honor in a manner which called to remembrance the glorious days of Elizabeth. In his domestic relations the character of Cromwell was every way estimable; he was a sincere friend and a placable enemy. He loved justice and delighted not in blood; yet ambition made him at times trample on the one and shed the other: it is possible that in the case of the king he thought himself justified both by reason and revelation. He never lost his sense of religion, though, like many other enthusiasts, he made hypocrisy compatible with it. His desire for the title of king is, like Cæsar's, a curious instance of human weakness. On the whole, Cromwell's is a name which Englishmen will generally be found to mention with respect.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMMONWEALTH RESTORED.

1658—1660.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the protector his council met, and it was resolved to proclaim his son Richard, whom he was said (but the fact is very doubtful) to have nominated as his successor. Richard was proclaimed in the usual manner; not a murmur was heard; and addresses poured in from the army and navy, the churches, the cities, and the boroughs. The royalists and the republicans, who had hoped to see the whole frame of government fall to pieces when the vigorous mind of Oliver was gone, looked on in amazement.

Richard Cromwell was a man of the most amiable, generous temper, but utterly deficient in the energy requisite for the situation in which he was placed. He had never been a soldier, and he made no pretensions to the character of a saint. He had spent his early days in the Temple, and when he married he retired to the house of his father-in-law and led the life of a country gentleman. His father, when protector, made him a lord of trade, then chancellor of Oxford, and finally a member of his house of peers.

The funeral of the late protector was celebrated on a scale of expense such as England had never witnessed be-

fore. The model adopted was that of the funeral of Philip II. of Spain. Somerset-house was hung with black; the effigy of the protector, clad in royal robes, with the sceptre in one hand, the globe in the other, was placed on a bed of state; a crown was on a cushion behind the head. The only light in the apartment proceeded from waxen tapers. After two months (Nov. 1) the effigy was removed to the great hall, where it appeared in an erect posture, with the crown on its head and the sceptre and ball in its hands. Hundreds of tapers were so arranged beneath the roof, that their light resembled the rays of a sun. At length (23d) the effigy was conveyed in state to the magnificent tomb in the abbey in which the real body had been long since deposited.

Though the officers had acquiesced in the succession of Richard, they soon gave him reason to feel that they were disposed to limit his power; they renewed their meetings, and in a body of more than two hundred they presented a petition requiring that no officer should be deprived but by sentence of a court-martial, and that the chief command and the disposal of commissions should be given to some one of whose devotion to the cause there could be no doubt. Richard assented so far as to appoint Fleetwood lieutenant-general, (Oct. 14,) but it would be contrary to the 'Petition and Advice,' he said, for him to part with the chief command and the power of granting commissions. With this they appeared to be satisfied, but they still continued their meetings.

The only security against the officers, and the only means of obtaining money to pay the soldiers, was a parliament: writs therefore were issued, (Nov. 30,) but as the plan of giving additional members to the counties had not proved favorable to the court, the old mode was resorted to in England, while the new form was retained in Scotland and Ireland, where the influence of the government was paramount. Most of the small boroughs therefore returned the court candidates, and when the parliament met, (Jan. 27, 1659,) the state of the parties proved to be as follows. The Protectorists or adherents of the 'Petition and Advice' composed one half of the house; the Republicans, headed by Vane, Ludlow, Lambert, Bradshaw, and Scot, were about fifty, among whom was lord Fairfax, a secret royalist; the Moderates or Neuters constituted the remainder. These were chiefly presbyterians, but among them were several cavaliers, or sons of cavaliers, who had their instructions from Hyde to embarrass the government, and to foment the dissensions.

between it and the republicans. Mr. Challoner Chute was chosen speaker.

The question of the recognition of the protector caused a long and stormy debate, and it was not carried without great difficulty; that relating to the 'Other House' was still more violently disputed, but the commons at length consented "to transact business with them" during the present parliament, with sundry limitations of their authority. Thus far the royalists had supported the courtiers; they now began to act on the other part of their instructions. Complaints were made of various tyrannical acts, such as selling men for slaves in the West Indies, of extortions and embezzlement of the revenue, and secretary Thurloe and Boteler, one of the major-generals, were menaced with impeachments.

These proceedings gave alarm to the officers, who feared there would be soon a power superior to their own. They were divided into two parties—those who adhered to the interests of Richard and met at Whitehall, such as Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and others, and those who met at Wallingford-house, the residence of Fleetwood, such as Desborough, Sydenham, Berry, and Haynes, whose object was to make Richard merely a civil magistrate, and to keep the army in their own power. A third party now appeared at St. James's, composed of Ashfield, Lilburne, Mason, and men of strong republican principles. The republicans in the house, finding their weakness, soon entered into close relations with the Wallingford-house party; there was also a junction formed with the party at St. James's. A general council was formed, and a 'Humble Representation and Petition,' complaining of the neglect of the good old cause and its supporters, etc., was drawn up and presented to the protector, and by him to the commons, who took no notice of it. They then, with the protector's consent, called a general council of officers to make propositions to the parliament respecting the army. It was decided by this council that the command of the army should be committed to some one in whom they could all confide, and that every officer should declare his approbation of the death of Charles I. and the subsequent acts of the army. The commons took alarm and voted (Apr. 18) that the officers should no more meet in a general council, and also declared (21st) that the command of the army was only to be exercised by the protector. The officers then appointed a rendezvous of the army at St. James's; the protector appointed a counter one at Whitehall. But

the troops all went to the former, and at noon on that day Desborough came from them to tell him that if he would dissolve the parliament the officers would take care of him, but if not they would do it without him. After consulting with his friends, among whom Whitelocke alone opposed the dissolution, he consented, and the parliament was dissolved, (22d.)

The officers, having thus put an end to the parliament, were now somewhat uncertain how to act. They wished above all things to retain their power, for which purpose they were not unwilling to continue Richard in his office; at the same time they felt the necessity of money. Their first thought was to raise it, like Cromwell, by the power of the sword; but this proving too hazardous, they listened to the proposals of their republican allies, and agreed to reinstate the Rump parliament. They proposed a settlement on Richard, and the retention of the other house under the name of a senate; but matters not brooking delay, these points were reserved, and a Declaration in the name of Fleetwood and the general council of the army was issued, (May 6,) inviting the members of the Long Parliament who continued sitting till April 20th, 1653, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust. Next day forty-two members met in the Painted Chamber, and headed by Lenthall, passed into their house through lines of officers. Sir George Booth, Prynne, Annesley, and others of the secluded members attempted to enter the house, but the doors were closed against them.

A committee of safety (all but Vane and Scot military men) was appointed, (9th,) and a few days after (13th) a council of state of thirty-one civilians and officers was chosen. Addresses poured in as usual; the house voted (21st) "A free commonwealth without a single person, kingship, or a house of peers." All this, however, was far from being agreeable to the Wallingford-house party; those who were members of the council rarely attended, and when they did, they behaved with great insolence; they scrupled to take the oath "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth in opposition to Charles Stuart, or a single person;" they sent to the parliament (15th) "the things which they had on their minds," when they restored it, in the form of fifteen demands, bearing the modest title of 'The humble Petition and Address of the Officers.' In this they required an act of indemnity for those who had acted under the late power, Fleetwood to be commander-in-chief, the protector's debts to

be paid, and an income of 10,000*l.* a year to be settled on *him*, and 8000*l.*, a year on his mother, "her highness-dowager;" the government to consist of a representation of the people, and a select senate, etc. The parliament replied, that they would take these things into consideration, and give all possible satisfaction. The act of indemnity was passed, but in an unsatisfactory form; the debts of Richard, amounting to 29,000*l.*, were transferred to the public account, a sum of 2000*l.* was given him for present purposes, and the 10,000*l.* a year was voted. He was at the same time required to leave Whitehall, as it was suspected that the officers kept him there for purposes of their own. It was feared that his brother Henry, who was a man of more spirit, would offer resistance in Ireland, where he was lord-deputy, but he yielded obedience to the mandate of the parliament.

But the great object of the parliament was, as Ludlow expresses it, to provide "that for the future no man might have an opportunity to pack an army to serve his ambition." For this purpose two bills were passed; the one nominating a committee of seven persons to recommend officers to the house; the other making Fleetwood commander-in-chief, but only for the present session, or till they should take further order therein; and directing that the officers approved of by the parliament should receive their commissions, not from him, but from the speaker. These restrictions were opposed by Ludlow, Vane, and Salloway, as needless and only tending to disgust the army, but the fervent zeal of Haselrig, Sidney, and Neville, would hearken to no suggestions of prudence. Notice being given to the officers that it was expected they would take new commissions from the speaker, a council was held at Desborough's house, at which Ludlow and Haselrig, who now had regiments, attended. The officers were very high; Desborough even said, that he thought the commission he had as good as any the parliament could give, and that he would not take another. But the next morning (June 8) colonel Hacker and his officers came at the persuasion of Haselrig, and took their commissions from the speaker, and the ice being now broken, others followed. Fleetwood took his the day following, and Lambert soon after, (11th.)

It was voted at this time (6th) "that this parliament shall not continue longer than May 7th, 1660."

While the republican oligarchs were thus employed, the royalists were by no means idle. Negotiations had been carried on with the leading presbyterians, and they were

now all pledged to the royal cause. Richard Cromwell had been offered a title and 20,000*l.* a year; his brother was also solicited, and he at one time is said to have meditated declaring for the king. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk also were applied to. A general rising on the 1st of August was arranged, and the king and his brothers were at the same time to pass over with the troops which they had assembled. But Willis still kept up his correspondence with Thurloe, and the parliament was thus put in possession of their secrets. His treachery, however, was at this time discovered through Morland, the secretary of Thurloe, who forwarded to the court at Bruges some of Willis's communications in his own hand-writing. Willis, after his usual manner, when the government had been put on its guard by himself, represented to the 'Knot' that the project was now hopeless, and persuaded them to write circulars forbidding the rising, (July 29.) Accordingly, it was only in Cheshire that it took place, where sir George Booth called on the people, without mentioning the king, to rise and demand a free parliament. He took possession of Chester, where he was joined by the earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, sir Thomas Middleton, and other royalists. But their spirits were damped when they learned that their friends all remained inactive, and that Lambert was advancing against them with four regiments of horse and three of foot. They moved to Nantwich, intending to dispute the passage of the Weever; but Lambert easily forced it, and their men broke and fled at his approach, (Aug. 16.) Colonel Morgan and about thirty men were killed, and three hundred were taken. The earl of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant, and Booth, as he was on his way to London, dressed as a woman, was discovered at Newport-Pagnel in Bucks.

Lambert hastened up to London, leaving his army to follow by slow marches. A sum of 1000*l.*, which was voted him, he distributed among his officers, and shortly after (Sept. 14) they sent up from Derby a petition, (secretly transmitted to them from Wallingford-house,) requiring that there should be no limitation of time in Fleetwood's commission, that Lambert should be major-general, that no officer should be deprived of his commission except by sentence of a court-martial, etc. This petition having been shown to Haselrig by Fleetwood, (22*d.*) he hastened into the house, and having caused the doors to be locked, moved that Lambert and two other officers should be taken into custody. But on Fleetwood's asserting that Lambert knew nothing of it, they con-

tented themselves with passing a vote expressive of their dislike of the petition; and it was resolved "that to augment the number of general officers was needless, chargeable, and dangerous." Several meetings were now held at Wallingford-house, and another petition was drawn up, which was presented (Oct. 5) by Desborough and other officers. It was in substance the same as the former, but it further demanded that those who groundlessly informed the house against their servants should be brought to justice. This was aimed at Haselrig and his friends. The house in the usual manner returned them thanks for their good expressions, but soon after (11th) a vote was passed, making it treason to raise money without consent of parliament. Next day Lambert, Desborough, and seven other colonels were deprived of their commissions for having sent a copy of the petition to colonel Okey, and by another vote Fleetwood's office was taken away, and he and six other persons were nominated to form a board for the direction of the forces.

Haselrig, having thus thrown down the gauntlet, prepared for defence. He reckoned on the armies of Scotland and Ireland, the regiments of Hacker, Morley, and Okey, and some others about London had assured him of their fidelity, and the parliament had a guard of chosen horse, under major Evelyn. Orders were given for these troops to move to Westminster, and early in the morning (13th) the regiments of Morley and Moss, with some troops of horse, occupied the palace-yard and the avenues of the house. Lambert, on the other hand, drew together his men, and posted them in King-street and about the Abbey. The two parties faced each other, but the men were loath to fight against their brothers in arms, and their officers did not urge them. When the speaker came up in his coach, Lambert ordered one of his officers to conduct the "lord general" to Whitehall, but he was suffered to return to his own house. The council of state then met, and after a good deal of altercation it was agreed that the parliament was not to sit, that the council of officers should keep the public peace, and cause a form of government to be drawn up, which should be laid before a new parliament speedily to be summoned. Fleetwood was declared to be commander-in-chief, with full powers, Lambert major-general, and a committee of safety was appointed.

To ascertain the feelings of the armies in Ireland and Scotland, colonel Barrow was sent to the former country, and colonel Cobbet to the latter. Barrow found the officers and

men wavering and divided; Cobbet was imprisoned by Monk who declared for the parliament.

The conduct of Monk, who now becomes the principal object of attention, is ambiguous beyond example. He had early served under Goring in the Netherlands; he was in the royal army in Ireland, and was made a prisoner at Nantwich; he remained in the Tower till the end of the war, when he got a command in Ireland; he attached himself strongly to Cromwell, by whom the government of Scotland was confided to him; he continued his attachment to Cromwell's family, and he wrote to Richard a most judicious letter, pointing out the best modes of securing his power. Monk was no speculative republican, he was no fanatic in religion, though much influenced by his wife, who was a presbyterian. He was a man of a phlegmatic temper, and of impenetrable secrecy. The royalists always had hopes of him, and it is not improbable, that now seeing the power of Cromwell's house gone, his secret plan was to aid, if it could be done with safety, in restoring the king.

The first care of Monk was to secure the castles of Edinburgh and Leith, and to occupy Berwick. When this was known in London, it was resolved that Lambert should march against him; and he set out forthwith for the north, (Nov. 3,) having previously exacted a promise from Fleetwood, that he would come to no agreement with either the king or Haselrig without his approbation.

Monk meantime went on re-modelling his army: such of his officers as were of the Wallingford-house party having resigned their commissions, he supplied their places with such as he could depend on; he also displaced many who had been put in by the parliament. As his treasury and magazines were well supplied, and he knew his opponents wanted money, he sought to procrastinate; he therefore sent deputies to London, and on their return pretending that the agreement which they had concluded was somewhat obscure, he opened a negotiation with Lambert, who was at Newcastle, in order to have it explained. Meanwhile he went on reforming his army, dismissing even the privates of whom he was not certain, and supplying their place with Scots. He held a convention of the Scottish estates at Berwick, and having commended the peace of the country to them during his absence, and obtained a grant of money, (Dec. 6,) he fixed his head-quarters at Coldstream, where he still continued to amuse Lambert with negotiations.

Meantime the cause of the army was losing ground in city and country. The apprentices in London had frequent scuffles with the soldiers; an attempt was made to seize the Tower; admiral Lawson declared for the parliament, and brought his fleet up to Gravesend; Whetham, governor of Portsmouth, admitted Haselrig and Morley into the town, and the troops sent against them went over to them; the Isle of Wight declared for the parliament. At length the soldiers themselves abandoned their officers, and putting themselves under the command of Okey and Alured, they assembled (Dec. 24) in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and having declared for the parliament, marched by Lenthall's house, in Chancery-lane, and saluted him as their general. On the 26th, the speaker and those members who were in town walked to the house, the soldiers shouting and cheering them as they passed. Haselrig returned in triumph, and the vivacious Rump once more flourished.

Fleetwood had on his knees surrendered his commission to the speaker; Lambert, Desborough, and others, made their submissions in the humblest manner; but they were all confined to their houses at a distance from London. The army was re-modelled; not less than fifteen hundred officers being discharged. The Rump proceeded to punish such members as had been of the late committee of safety; Vane was expelled, and ordered to retire to his house at Raby; Salloway was sent to the Tower; Whitelocke had to resign the great seal, and narrowly escaped being committed also. Charges of treason were made against Ludlow and others. A new council of state was appointed, and an oath, renouncing kingship and the Stuarts in the strongest terms, was imposed on all members of the parliament. Meantime lord Fairfax and Monk had arranged that on the same day (Jan. 1, 1660) the latter should cross the Tweed, and the former should seize the city of York. The engagement was punctually performed; the royalists in York opened the gates and admitted Fairfax. Though the weather was severe, Monk continued his march; Lambert's troops having obeyed the orders sent to them to disperse, no opposition was encountered; and having staid five days to consult with Fairfax at York, Monk resumed his march for the capital, (16th,) the invitation to do so being now arrived. It was Fairfax's advice that he should remain in the north, and there proclaim the king, but he said it would be dangerous in the present temper of his officers; in fact he caned at York one of them for charging him with this design. At Nottingham (21st)

his officers were near signing an engagement to obey the parliament in all things "except the bringing in of Charles Stuart." At Leicester (23d) he was obliged to sign an answer to a petition from his native county, Devon, giving it as his opinion, that monarchy could not be restored, that it would be dangerous to recall the secluded members, and advising submission to the present parliament. At this town he was joined by Scot and Robinson, two of the members sent, as it were, to do him honor, but in reality to discover his intentions. He treated them with great respect, and always referred to them the bearers of the numerous addresses that were presented to him, for the restoration of the secluded members and a free parliament.

The troops which Monk had brought with him did not exceed five thousand men, and those in and about London were more numerous; he therefore wrote from St. Albans, (28th,) requiring, to prevent quarrels or seduction, that five regiments should be removed. An order was made to that effect, (Feb. 2,) but the men refused to obey; the royalists of the city tried to gain them over, but they remained faithful to the parliament, and, on being promised their arrears, marched out quietly the next morning, (3d.) Monk led in his troops the following day, and took up his quarters at Whitehall.

On the 6th Monk received the thanks of the house. In his reply, he noticed the numerous addresses for a free and full parliament which he had received, expressed his dislike of oaths and engagements, and his hopes that neither cavaliers nor fanatics would be intrusted with civil or military power. By some his speech was thought too dictatorial. "The servant," said Scot, "has already learned to give directions to his masters." Monk also excited suspicion, by demurring to the oath abjuring the Stuarts to be taken by members of the council of state. Seven of the other members, he observed, had not yet taken it, and he should like to know their reasons; experience had shown that such oaths were of little force; he had proved his devotion to the parliament, and would do so again.

The tide of loyalty still continued to swell in the city. The secluded members held frequent meetings there, and some even of the king's judges who were in parliament held communications with them. The last elections had given a common council zealous for a full and free parliament; they set the present one at nought, refused to pay the taxes imposed by it and received and answered addresses from the

counties. To check these proceedings, it was resolved by the council that eleven of the common council should be arrested, the posts and chains which had been fixed in the streets be taken away, and the city gates be destroyed. In the dead of the night, (9th,) Monk received orders to carry this resolution into effect. He obeyed, though his officers and soldiers murmured; the citizens received him with groans and hisses, but made no opposition. When the posts and chains were removed, Monk sent to say that he thought enough had been done; but he was directed to complete the demolition, and he therefore destroyed the gates and portcullises. He then led his men back to Whitehall, and, having there coolly considered the whole matter, he thought he saw a design to embroil him with the citizens, and, finally, lay him aside. In concert with his officers, he wrote next morning (10th) to the speaker, requiring that by the following Friday every vacancy in the house should be filled up, preparatory to a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched his troops into Finsbury-fields, caused a common council to be summoned, and told them that he was come to join with them in procuring a full and free parliament. His speech was received with acclamations; he was entertained at the Guildhall; his soldiers were feasted; the bells were tolled; bonfires were lighted, and the populace amused themselves with roasting rumps at them, in ridicule of the parliament.

Monk remained in the city till the 21st. He had daily conferences with all parties, but none could penetrate the veil of secrecy in which he enveloped himself: his words were all for a commonwealth, while many of his actions spoke a different language. It was now arranged that the secluded members should be allowed to take their seats on certain conditions, one of which was, that writs should be issued for a new parliament to meet on the 20th of April. After an absence of more than eleven years, Hollis, Pierrepont, and the other presbyterians resumed their seats, while Haselrig, whose eyes up to this moment had been closed to the duplicity of Monk, retired in despair with his adherents.

All the proceedings against the king and themselves were now annulled: sir George Booth and his friends, the Scottish lords, and several royalists were released from prison; Lambert was sent to the Tower; the government of Hull was taken from Overton, and committed to lord Fairfax; Lawson was voted to be vice-admiral, and Monk and Montague to be generals at sea. Monk was also made general of all the

land-forces in the three kingdoms; the city chose him major-general of their militia; he was also made steward and keeper of Hampton-court, and a sum of 20,000*l.* was voted him. The engagement was now repealed; but the Assembly's confession of faith was approved of, and the league and covenant was ordered to be printed and hung up in the churches; the execution of the laws against popish priests and recusants was enjoined. The council of state which was appointed was composed of presbyterians, and they also held most civil and military offices. In this state of things having issued writs for a parliament to meet on the 25th of April, the ever-memorable Long Parliament put a termination to its own existence on the 16th of March.

Monk still dissembled; but now seeing how the elections were going, he ventured to open his mind to a royalist agent. Mr. Morrice, his relative and confidential friend, having informed him of the state of feeling in the West, he consented to have a private interview with sir John Greenville, who was also his relation, but at the same time high in the confidence of the king. Greenville delivered him a letter from his royal master, which Monk received with great respect; he mentioned the difficulties of his situation, and therefore desired him to confer in private with Morrice. An answer to the royal letter was drawn up, in which Monk advised that the king should send him a letter to lay before the parliament; he recommended an amnesty, total or nearly so, liberty of conscience, confirmation of the national sales, and payment of the arrears of the army. When it had been read, he threw it into the fire, bidding Greenville to remember the contents.

It was also a part of Monk's advice that the king should quit the Spanish dominions.* Charles therefore moved from Brussels to Breda, whence he forwarded by Greenville a declaration, with letters to the house of lords, the house of commons, the lord mayor and city, Monk and the army, Montague and the navy. Copies of them all were sent to Monk, who was to do as he pleased with the originals. The declaration was very different from what he had proposed, but he made no objection.

If ever here was a parliament freely chosen, it was the present one: there was no court or army now to control the

* It is said to have been the intention of the Spaniards to detain Charles till Jamaica and Dunkirk should be restored. According to Clarendon, (vii. 452) he narrowly escaped detention.

elections ; the territorial aristocracy was enfeebled, and could use none but its legitimate influence ; the royalists (the catholics of course excepted) were no longer deprived of the right of voting ; all parties therefore put forth their strength, and the royalists (the moderate presbyterians included) had a most decided majority. The republicans obtained few seats, and their only hopes lay now in the army, and by representing to the officers that they would be obliged to resign their purchases, and to the privates that they would lose their arrears, they succeeded in exciting a mutinous spirit. Lambert, having escaped from the Tower, hastened down to Warwickshire to put himself at their head. He had collected a few troops of horse and some foot, when Ingoldsby, now a royalist, met him near Daventry, (Apr. 21.) Captain Haselrig (son to sir Arthur) passed over with his troop to Ingoldsby ; others followed their example, and Lambert, left alone, having vainly tried to induce his former fellow-soldier to let him escape, surrendered. Colonels Cobbet, Creed, and some others, also were taken. At the very moment (24th) when Monk was reviewing the militia of the city in Hyde-park Lambert and his friends were driven by Tyburn, on their way to the Tower, amidst the hootings of the populace.

The next day the house of commons met, and the presbyterians succeeded in having sir Harbottle Grimstone, one of their party, chosen speaker. Monk sat as one of the members for Devon. At the same time the peers who had sat in 1648, assembled in their house without opposition ; but it was plain that they had no exclusive right, and some of those who had been excluded applied to Monk. On his replying that he had no authority to determine any claims, a few of them ventured to take their seats ; no one opposing, others followed, and in a few days the presbyterians formed only a fifth part of the house.

On the 1st of May, Greenville came to the door of the council-chamber, (by Monk's secret direction,) and requested a member to tell the lord general that one wished to speak to him. Monk came to the door ; Greenville put a letter into his hand ; Monk, perceiving that it was sealed with the royal arms, directed the guards not to let the bearer depart. Greenville was soon called in and interrogated by the president ; he was ordered into custody, but Monk said that he now perceived he was his near relation, and he would be his security. The drama had now reached its conclusion ; Greenville delivered all his letters, and received the thanks of the house and 500*l*. The letters to the army, navy, and

city were read to them by Monk, Montague, and the lord mayor, and addresses to his majesty were unanimously voted.

The declaration from Breda contained a promise of pardon to all except those who should be hereafter excepted by parliament; a promise to consent to any act of parliament that should be passed for the indulgence of tender consciences; a promise to allow the parliament to regulate all differences respecting the rights and titles to lands, and a similar promise respecting the military arrears.

How illusory all this was is plain to be seen; the king in effect was bound to nothing, and what the complexion of the next parliament was likely to be, no one could have a doubt. The upright sir Matthew Hale, therefore, with Prynne and others, called on the house to pause, and now, while they had the power, to make a final settlement of the claims which had hitherto caused collision between the crown and parliament. But Monk opposed the revival of these disputed questions at this time, when every moment was precious. Let the king, he said, but come, it would be always in their power to impose limitations. The house rang with acclamations, and unhappily the golden opportunity was lost, and the king restored without any restriction.

A sum of 50,000*l.* was voted to the king, 10,000*l.* to the duke of York, and 5000*l.* to the duke of Gloucester. The arms of the commonwealth were every where taken down, and the royal arms put in their place. The king was proclaimed with great solemnity, (8th;) and the ministers were ordered to pray for him and the duke of York. Commissioners were sent to invite the king to come and receive his crown.

Charles lost no time in proceeding from Breda to the Hague. The States, who had hitherto neglected him, now treated him with the utmost respect and magnificence. Montague being arrived with the English fleet in the bay of Schevelin, he got on board, (23d.) At Dover (25th) Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry of Kent, received him as he landed. He kissed and embraced the general, made him walk by his side and ride in the coach with himself and his brothers. As he proceeded, the people crowded from all parts to see and welcome him. On the 29th, which was his birth-day, he approached the capital. The army was drawn out on Blackheath to receive him, and they greeted him with joyful acclamations as he passed. In

St. George's-fields the lord mayor and aldermen invited him to partake of a cold collation in a tent. The houses from London-bridge to Whitehall were covered with tapestry; the streets were lined to Temple-bar by the militia on one side, the city companies in their liveries on the other; thence to Whitehall, by militia and regiments of the army. Troops of gentlemen richly clad, with their footmen and trumpeters, the city companies, the sheriffs, mayor, and aldermen, rode along; the lord general and the duke of Buckingham followed; the king, riding between his two brothers, succeeded; the cavalcade was closed by the general's guards, and five regiments of horse, and two troops of noblemen and gentlemen. Such was the general joy displayed, that the king, in his agreeable manner, observed, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not come before, for I have met with no one to-day who did not protest that he always wished for my restoration."

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES II.

1660—1667.

ENGLAND, after nearly twenty years of anarchy and confusion, now resumed her original form. The clouds seemed to be all dissipated, and a bright sun of royalty about to shed peace and happiness all over the land. But this appearance was fallacious; Charles, bland and courteous, easy and negligent as he was, had adopted principles and formed habits which soon dispelled the flattering hopes in which men were led at first to indulge.

Historians have remarked, with a kind of astonishment, the sudden change which took place in the conduct of the people; flinging away, as it seemed, the rigor of religion, they rushed madly into excess and licentiousness. It is, however, an error to suppose that the people were changed; the only change was in the ruling power. Those who had been really religious, remained so still; but such has never been the character of the great body of a people. During the whole

time of the suspension of royalty, the power had been in the hands of men who, though fanatics, were religious; the same was the character of the army.* All the outward expressions of vice and pleasure were suppressed, and the nation wore an aspect of rigor and sanctity which did not really belong to it. The weight being now removed, 't resumed its natural bent, and men ran wildly into excess in proportion to the severity of the restraint under which they had been held. This is one among the many evil consequences of making men religious by law and force.

The first care of the king was to reward those who had been active in his restoration, and to form his council. Monk was created duke of Albemarle, and Montague earl of Sandwich, and both had the garter. Annesley was made earl of Anglesea; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis; and Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley. The earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say lord privy-seal. Monk's friend Morrice was made one of the secretaries of state. Of the old royalists, Hyde was made chancellor, Southampton treasurer, Ormond steward of the household; sir Edward Nicholas continued to be a secretary of state, and lord Culpepper master of the rolls.

The present parliament, not having been summoned legally, was no more than a convention, and its acts were therefore not binding. It, however, passed an act declaring itself to be the parliament, and then proceeded to the consideration of the many weighty matters it had to determine.

The first was to provide a revenue for the crown. As it appeared that a chief cause of the late unhappy troubles had been the inadequacy of the revenue to the exigencies of the government, it was resolved to settle an income of 1,200,000*l.* a year on the king. In return, was required the abolition of tenures in chivalry, with all their incidents, such as wardships, marriages, etc., together with purveyance and preëmption — all, for centuries, fruitful sources of evil, and constant subjects of complaint and remonstrance. This being consented to, the next question was, whence the aforesaid revenue was to arise. A permanent tax on the lands thus relieved was the obvious and equitable course; but he knows little of parliaments, who thinks that this would be assented

* Whitelocke and others will furnish proofs of this. Burnet, speaking of some regiments that he saw at Aberdeen, says, "There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were independents and anabaptists; they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved."

to by the owners of lands who sat in them, while any mode offered of shifting the burden. Some one mentioned the excise; the idea was at once embraced, and it was carried by a majority of two that a moiety of the excise on beer and other liquors should be settled on the crown; and thus this tax, originally so odious, was made permanent. By this act, (12 Car. II. ch. 24,) a most important change was wrought in the constitution; the prerogative losing its most influential branch. We will here add, that at the close of the session, the remaining moiety of the excise was given also to the crown.

An army of sixty thousand men, whose pay required an assessment of 70,000*l.* a month, was alike dangerous to the crown and burdensome to the nation. Symptoms of disaffection had already appeared among the soldiers, and Monk declared that he could no longer answer for the troops. It was therefore resolved to lose no time in disbanding them; money was procured to clear off their arrears, the regiments were reduced one after another, eulogies were lavished on the soldiers, and without mutiny or murmur they merged into the mass of peaceful citizens; and thus disappeared that wonderful army, only to be rivalled perhaps by those of the early days of the Roman republic and those of the first Khalifs, in the union of religion, discipline, and undaunted valor. The king was strongly urged by the duke of York to retain this army, or to raise another; to this course he was himself inclined, but he knew it was useless to propose it to the parliament. Monk's regiment, named the Coldstream, was, however, retained, with one or two of horse, and one formed out of the troops at Dunkirk was afterwards added; the whole amounted to about five thousand men, and under the name of guards formed the germ of the present large standing army.

The bill of indemnity also occupied the attention of parliament. They had been engaged on this even before the arrival of the king. Monk had recommended the king not to except more than four persons; but the commons at first (May 16) excepted seven by name; they afterwards enumerated twenty persons who, though not regicides, should for their share in the transactions of the last twelve years, be affected with penalties short of death: they finally excepted such of the king's judges as had not surrendered themselves on the late proclamation. When the bill came to the lords, (July 11,) where the old royalists prevailed, it was judged to be far too lenient. They voted to except all the king's

judges, and also Vane, Lambert, Haselrig, Hacker, and Axtel; they struck out the clause respecting the twenty persons, and then sent the bill back to the commons. But here there were some feelings of honor and humanity. By the proclamation above mentioned, the king's judges were required to surrender themselves on pain of being excepted from any pardon or indemnity as to their lives or estates. The obvious construction of this was, that the lives of those who came in would be in no danger, and accordingly nineteen had surrendered. It was contended that these should be set at liberty, and suffered to make their escape if they could. A compromise at length was effected. Most of the king's judges were excepted, as also were Hacker, Axtel, and Hugh Peters; but the nineteen were not to suffer death without an act of parliament for that purpose. Vane and Lambert were also excepted; but by an address of both houses, the king was requested to spare their lives if they should be attainted. Haselrig, lord Monson, and five others were to lose liberty and property, and Lenthall, St. John, Hutchinson, and sixteen others, all members of the high courts of justice, were to be ineligible to any office whatever. In this form the bill of indemnity received the royal assent.

After sitting about three months, the parliament adjourned, and during the recess the twenty-nine regicides who were in custody were brought to trial before a court of thirty-four commissioners, of whom some were old royalists; others, such as Manchester, Say, Hollis, and Annesley, members of the Long Parliament; with these sat Monk, Montague, and Cooper, the associates of Cromwell, whom a feeling of delicacy should, perhaps, have withheld from the tribunal.

Most of the prisoners expressed sorrow for their crime; others said that they had borne the king no malice, that they thought his death an act of national justice, and that they had acted under the supreme authority of the nation. They were all found guilty; those who had surrendered were, with one exception, respited; ten were executed. These were six of the king's judges, Harrison, Scot. Carew, Jones, Clements, and Scroop; Cook, one of the counsel on the trial; Axtel and Hacker, who had commanded the guards; and Hugh Peters, the fanatic preacher. The place of execution was Charing-cross, where a gallows was erected for the purpose. General Harrison suffered first, (Oct. 13.) Supported here, as on his trial, by that fervid spirit of enthusiasm so perfectly free from all alloy of worldly motives, he gloried in the act for which he was brought to die as per-

formed in the cause of God and his country, and expressed his confidence in the revival of the good cause in happier times. Carew was the next who suffered, (15th;) his conduct was similar. Cook and Peters were executed on the same day, (16th;) the latter alone, it is said, showed want of courage, and was obliged to have recourse to cordials. Scot, Clement, Scroop, and Jones, also suffered on the same day, (17th.) Hacker and Axtel closed the scene at Tyburn, (19th.) All died with the constancy of martyrs. It is very remarkable, that not a single man of those who had a share in the death of the late king seems to have voluntarily repented of the deed.

Though one must admire the constancy and magnanimity of the sufferers, most of whom were gentlemen by birth and education, the justice of their sentence is not to be denied, even on their own principles; and it was impossible for Charles to suffer such a heinous deed as the solemn execution of his father to go unpunished. But there was another part of the royal vengeance which can be regarded with no other feelings than those of abhorrence and disgust. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were taken from their tombs in the Abbey, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn on the anniversary of the death of Charles I., hung on the gallows till evening, then taken down, their heads cut off and fixed on Westminster-hall, and their trunks thrown into a pit. The bodies of about twenty persons (those of Blake and Cromwell's respectable mother included) were afterwards taken out of the Abbey and buried in the church-yard.

The lives of the remaining regicides were spared; they spent the remainder of their days in different prisons. The witty and licentious Harry Marten died at the age of seventy-eight, in Chepstow-castle. They surely had no just reason to complain of their fate, if they recollected how many royalists *they* had, as far as in them lay, subjected to a similar destiny.

Another important point for the parliament to decide on was the case of those who had purchased the crown- and church-lands and the estates of royalists, which had been sold by the public authority in the late times. A bill was introduced for an equitable adjustment, but it met with much opposition; and nothing having been done when the parliament was dissolved, the crown, the church, and the other proprietors entered on the lands in question, and the occupiers, having no legal titles to produce, were obliged to

sit down contented with the loss of their purchase-money. But it was only the leading royalists that gained in this way. thousands of gentlemen who had sold their lands to support the royal cause, or to pay the sequestrations imposed on them for their loyalty, and had thus been reduced to poverty, remained without remedy. The sales having been legal, the present possessors were secured by the bill of indemnity, against which the disappointed cavaliers now exclaimed, saying it was indeed an act of oblivion and indemnity, but of indemnity for the king's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends. They taxed the king with ingratitude, and they conceived, on account of it, a mortal hatred to Hyde. Their case was doubtless a severe one, but there was really no preventing it but at the risk of a civil war. It was observed that the most clamorous were those who had suffered least, and the petty services for which many claimed large rewards furnished matter for ridicule.

The church was a difficult matter to arrange. Most of the livings were in the hands of the presbyterians, and they had so mainly contributed to the Restoration, that it would be both ungrateful and unsafe to attempt to disturb them. On the other hand, both the king and the chancellor were resolved to reëstablish episcopacy. There was also a difficulty about the livings, for such of the clergy as had been ejected for their loyalty, seemed now to have a just claim to recover what they had lost. This, however, was accommodated to a certain extent; but the vision of the jurisdiction of bishops, and the dreaded surplice, ring, and cross, alarmed the presbyterians. They proposed bishop Usher's model of episcopacy, and prayed that the habits and ceremonies might not be imposed, and that the liturgy might be revised. The king issued a declaration, apparently granting all they required; but when an attempt was made to have this converted into a bill, it was frustrated by the efforts of the court-party in the commons. It was quite plain from this that the royal declaration was only meant to be illusory.

At length (Dec. 29) the convention-parliament was dissolved, for it was urged that it was necessary to have a true parliament, to give the force of law to what it had enacted; and it was also expected that a new parliament would be more purely royalist.

In the September of this year the duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, much lamented by the king his brother. Their sister, the princess of Orange, died of the same disorder in the winter. The king's other sister, the princess

Henrietta, was married about this time to the duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIV.

Another marriage in the royal family was that of the duke of York to Anne Hyde, daughter of the chancellor, who had been maid of honor to the princess of Orange. She possessed wit and sense, though not beauty. The duke, whose taste on this last point was never very delicate, laid siege to her virtue, which was surrendered on a private contract of marriage; when the consequences were becoming apparent, James kept his promise, and privately espoused her, (Sept. 3.) He informed the king and chancellor. The former, though annoyed, forgave him; the latter pretended the greatest rage against his daughter, advised the king to send her to the Tower, and that not being done, confined her to a room in his own house. The queen-mother and the princess of Orange were highly indignant; and Charles Berkeley, to recommend himself to favor, swore that Anne had been his mistress, and brought lord Arran, Jermyn, Talbot, and Killegrew, as witnesses of her wantonness. The duke was shaken; but on the birth of her child, and her solemn assertion at that time, and Berkeley's confession of the falsehood of his story, he resolved to do her justice. He acknowledged her as his duchess, and she bore her new rank, it is said, as if she had been born in it.

The new year (1661) opened with a wild outbreak of the fanatics named Fifth-monarchy men, under their leader, Venner, the wine-cooper. One Sunday, (Jan. 6,) having heated their enthusiasm by a discourse on the speedy coming of Jesus and the reign of the saints, he issued from his conventicle, in Colman-street, at the head of sixty well-armed fanatics. They proceeded to St. Paul's proclaiming King Jesus. They drove off a party of the trained-bands that were sent against them, and in the evening they retired to Caen-wood, between Hampstead and Highgate. Here some of them were taken; but on Wednesday morning (9th) they returned into the city, shouting as before, and dispersed some of the troops and of the trained-bands. At length, some being killed, and Venner taken, they retired into a house at Cripplegate, which they defended, till a party, headed by one Lambert, a seaman, got in at the roof. Most of them were slain; Venner and the remainder were hanged. The attempt was purely an isolated act, but advantage was taken of it to issue a proclamation for closing the conventicles of the quakers, anabaptists, and other sectaries; it was also the occasion of the formation of the regiments of guards already noticed

The king's coronation having been celebrated with great splendor, (Apr. 23,)* the new parliament met, (May 8.) As was to be expected, it was most decidedly royalist, the presbyterians not having more than sixty seats. Its temper soon appeared, by votes for obliging all the members to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, and for having the solemn league and covenant burnt by the common hangman. It was declared that the negative and the command of the army were rights inherent in the crown; and it was made treason to injure the king's person, or to distinguish between his person and his office. It required all the efforts of the king and Clarendon to have the bill of indemnity passed without further exceptions. A bill passed the commons for the immediate execution of the remaining regicides; but the lords, more humane or honorable, rejected it, the king himself expressing his aversion to it.† The act depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament, which had been so violently extorted from the late king, was repealed, and the prelates were restored to their legislative functions. As a chief weapon in those times had been tumultuary bodies of petitioners, an act was passed that not more than ten persons should present any petition to the king or either house, nor should it be signed by more than twenty, unless with the order of three justices, or the major part of a grand jury.‡

While the parliament was thus replacing the constitution on its ancient basis, a conference was going on at the bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, between twelve prelates and nine assistants, and an equal number of presbyterian divines. The ostensible object was a revision of the Book

* Hyde was on this occasion created earl of Clarendon, and Arthur lord Capel (son of him who had been executed in 1649) earl of Essex.

† "I am weary of hanging," said he to Clarendon, "except for new offences. Let the bill settle in the houses, that it may not come to me, for you know that I cannot pardon them."

‡ [It is needless to say that such an act was totally unconstitutional. Neither, of course, can it be necessary to show that the right of petition has ever been as freely and effectually exercised since as before the passage of that act. The largest number of signatures ever appended to any one document in the world was appended to a petition presented to parliament on June 14th, 1839, by Mr. Thomas Attwood, member for Birmingham, and ordered by the house to be printed. The demands and tone of this petition were far more imperative and dictatorial than those of any presented during any period of the reign of Charles I. or of the commonwealth, or indeed of any, perhaps, ever presented to any public assembly. The number of signatures amounted to upwards of 280,000!—J. T. S.]

of Common Prayer. It ended, of course, as all such conferences do. The bishops were predetermined to admit of none but very slight modifications, and to retain all the ceremonies. The presbyterians, under the circumstances, required too much; yet surely the prelates might have conceded something to men at least as pious and as learned as themselves, and but for whom they would be probably still without their sees. If it was puerile on the one side to object so vehemently to the cross, ring, and surplice, it was surely no proof of wisdom on the other to insist on them as if they were of the very essence of religion. So little were the prelates disposed to concession, that even the innovations of Laud were retained, and they remain to this day part of the service of the church of England. They now are become innocuous; no one sees in the surplice any thing more than a decent habit; the ring is used without any scruple, or, in general, any knowledge of its meaning; we kneel at the communion without any apprehension of the real presence: it was not so, however, in those times; and we think that the chief blame lies with those who would not concede.

The strength of the presbyterian party lay in the corporations, and in these, their strongholds, the church party proceeded to attack them. By the Corporation-act now passed it was enacted, that any person holding office in a corporation might be removed, unless he would renounce the solemn league and covenant, and declare his belief of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, etc.; and no future officer to be admitted unless he had previously taken the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. Thus commenced that odious profanation of the most solemn act of religion so long a national disgrace.

The revision of the Common Prayer was finally (Nov. 20) committed to the convocation. They made a number of alterations and additions; none, however, favorable to the presbyterians.* The amended book was presented to the king and council, and by them recommended to the house of lords.

Vane and Lambert still lay in prison. As they had had no immediate hand in the death of the late king, the convention had addressed the king in their behalf, and he had assured

* Will it be believed that they actually increased the number of the Saints' days, and added the silly legend of Bel and the Dragon, and other parts of the Apocrypha, to the lessons? They surely meant to insult, not to conciliate.

them that, if attainted, they should not be executed. They were now brought to trial, at the suit of the commons Lambert, (June 9, 1662,) who had never been an enthusiast, or even perhaps a republican, acted with great caution. He excused his opposing Booth and Monk by saying that he knew not that they were acting for the king, and he threw himself on the royal mercy. He was sentenced to die, but he was only confined for life in the isle of Guernsey. He lived there for thirty years, forgotten by the world, occupying his time in the cultivation of flowers, and in the practice of the art of painting.

Very different was the conduct of the upright, fervid enthusiast and republican Vane, (June 6.) Far from suing for mercy, he asserted that "the decision by the sword was given [against the late king] by that God who, being the Judge of the whole earth, does right, and cannot do otherwise;" and the parliament then became the government *de facto*, and, consequently, he was entitled to the benefit of the statute 11 Henry VII., for acting in obedience to it. The spirit of the law, if not the letter, was decidedly in his favor, and the judges could only get over the difficulty by the monstrous assertion, that Charles had been king *de facto* from the death of his father, though "kept out of the exercise of his royal authority by rebels and traitors." The prisoner's defence was most eloquent and able, but it had been determined not to let him escape. Sentence of death was passed on him, the judges refusing to sign a bill of exceptions, which he presented. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, (14th.) His demeanor was such as was to be expected from his known character. When he attempted to address the people in vindication of himself and the cause for which he suffered, his note-books were snatched from him, and the trumpeters were ordered to blow in his face. "It is a bad cause," said he, "which cannot bear the words of a dying man." One stroke terminated his mortal existence.

The character of sir Henry Vane stands forth preëminent for purity among the republican chiefs. He was disinterested and incorrupt, willing to give to all others the liberty he claimed for himself; the enemy of oppression in all its forms. It is difficult to regard his death as any thing but a judicial murder, yet surely there was in it something of retribution. Though taking no immediate share in the judicial proceedings against the late king, he had mainly contributed to his death by his conduct at the treaty of Newport, and his speech in the house on his return. By the dishonorable manner in

which he furnished evidence against Strafford, (whose sentence was little, if at all, less iniquitous than his own,) he was a main cause of the civil war, and all the bloodshed and misery which thence ensued. On the same spot on which Strafford fell one-and-twenty years before, Vane now underwent a similar fate. As the series of blood began with the one, it ended with the other. As Charles I. forfeited his word and honor in the one case, so Charles II. forfeited *his* in the other.

Having thus far carried on the affairs of England, it is now time that we should notice those of Scotland and Ireland.

As Scotland had not been mentioned in the declaration from Breda, the cavaliers of that country breathed nothing but blood and forfeitures. The spirit of it, however, certainly did apply to Scotland and the earl of Lauderdale, who was now high in the royal favor, by representing all that the Scots had done and suffered in the cause of the king, disposed him to clemency. The marquess of Argyle, relying on an ambiguous answer of the king, through his son lord Lorn, came secretly up to London, but he was immediately sent to the Tower.

The union which the commonwealth had labored to effect was no longer thought of. The earl of Middleton was appointed commissioner for holding the parliament, Glencairn chancellor, and Lauderdale secretary. The fortresses built by Cromwell were demolished, and the garrisons disbanded. As the king had been thoroughly disgusted with presbytery, and he and his chief counsellors regarded it as incompatible with monarchy, the restoration of episcopacy was resolved on. The utmost efforts having been made to pack a parliament, that assembly, when it met, (Jan. 1, 1661,) proved to be suited to all the purposes of the court. It was known by the name of 'The Drunken Parliament,' on account of the continued inebriety of Middleton and his associates. Its first proceeding was to restore the prerogative in its fullest extent. In this there was little difficulty, but to change the church-government was not so easy, as it had been confirmed by two parliaments held by the present king and his father. In one of Middleton's drunken bouts, it was resolved to adopt a measure which Primrose the clerk-register had proposed half in jest, which was, a general act *rescissory*, annulling on various pretexts all the parliaments held since the year 1633. This, though vigorously opposed by the old covenanters, was carried by a large majority, and the presbyterian discipline was left at the mercy of the crown.

Those who hungered after the large possessions of Argyle, now hastened to shed his blood. He was transmitted to Scotland to be tried on charges of oppression and treason. Every national act from the beginning of the wars was laid to his charge, (Feb. 13.) His defence was acute, and, in general, successful. As he pleaded the indemnity granted in the parliament of Stirling in 1650, the king, at the entreaty of lord Lorn, granted a mandate, that nothing done previous to that time should be prosecuted, and that no sentence should be passed till the whole had been submitted to himself. This secured Argyle as far as related to the death of the king; there only remained the charge of compliance with the usurpation, and here, we are assured, the base treachery of Monk came to the aid of his enemies. He transmitted to the parliament some private letters in which Argyle expressed his attachment to the protector's government: his friends were silenced, and sentence was pronounced, (May 25.) He vainly implored a respite of ten days that the pleasure of the king might be known, but Middleton, who hoped to get his title and estates, was inexorable. Argyle met his fate with piety and fortitude, (27th.)

The next who suffered was Guthrey, one of the clergy who had promoted the western remonstrance. As he had once excommunicated Middleton, he had little chance of mercy. He too died (June 1) full of hope and constancy. Swinton, another of the proscribed list, had become a quaker; he acknowledged his fault with so much contrition that his life was spared, though his estate was taken. Wariston, who had escaped to the continent, was delivered up two years after by the French government, and he too ended his days on the scaffold.

The soil being thus watered with the blood of the covenanters Argyle and Guthrey, it was resolved to replant episcopacy. Against this Lauderdale strongly remonstrated, and the king himself was long dubious of the policy of it; but the bigotry of Clarendon would yield to no suggestions of prudence, and the measure was resolved on. As there was only one Scottish bishop now living, it was necessary that some of the new prelates should be consecrated in England. Sharp, who had been the agent of the presbyterians at London and Breda, and who, in the hope of preferment, had basely betrayed their cause, was made archbishop of St. Andrew's, the excellent Leighton (son to Laud's victim) and two others were consecrated with him by Sheldon, bishop of London, and these consecrated the remaining prelates in Scotland. An act

of indemnity was finally passed, but harsh and cruel, like every Scottish measure, it seemed framed only with a view to plunder.

Unhappy Ireland was also to be regulated anew. No blood was here to be shed, and the church, as a matter of course, resumed its former position; but the adjustment of property was a matter of tremendous difficulty. The tide of conquest had swept over the country, effacing all limits and landmarks. The greater part of the lands were now in the possession of the adventurers who had advanced their money on the faith of acts of parliament passed with the assent of the late king, and of the soldiers of Cromwell's army; but there were numerous other claimants, such as the Forty-nine men, or those who had served in the royal army previous to the year 1649, the protestant loyalists whose estates had been confiscated, the innocent catholics, those who had served under the king in Flanders, etc.

The king issued a declaration (Nov. 30, 1660) for the settlement of Ireland; but the Irish houses of parliament disagreeing with respect to it, they sent their deputies over to the king, and the catholics at the same time despatched agents on their part. Charles was, for obvious reasons, disposed to favor these last, but, like true Irishmen, they seemed resolved that it should not be in his power. With the indiscretion and disregard to truth distinctive of their party in Ireland, they behaved with insolence, justified their rebellion, denied their massacres, and finally so disgusted the king with their conduct, that he ordered the doors of the council to be closed against them. The heads of a bill were then prepared and sent over to Dublin in May, 1662, but it was three years before the final settlement was effected. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to give up a third of their lands, to augment what was called 'The Fund of Reprisals,' or property still remaining at the disposal of the crown, and which had been shamefully diminished by lavish grants to the dukes of York, Ormond, Albemarle, and others. Out of this the Forty-nine men were paid their arrears, fifty-four catholics were restored to their houses, and two thousand acres of land; but there remained three thousand who had put in claims of innocence for whom no relief was provided. There can be little doubt that only a portion of these were really innocent, but they should not have been thus condemned unheard. Previous to the rebellion, it is said the catholics had possessed two thirds of the lands of Ireland; there now remained to

them not more than one third.* Dearly did the catholics pay for the massacre of the protestants, in the outset committed by a savage rabble, set on by an ignorant and fanatic priesthood. It has been asserted, but the fact is incredible, that a third part of the population perished by the sword, famine, and disease, between 1641 and 1652.

We now return to England, where the marriage of the king engaged the attention of his council. Charles was a notorious profligate with respect to women. While in France he had a son by a Mrs. Waters, and immediately on his coming to England, Barbara Villiers, daughter of lord Grandison, and wife to a catholic gentleman named Palmer, a woman of great beauty, but utterly devoid of virtue or principle, having thrown herself in his way, made a conquest of his heart, over which she long retained her empire, though only one sultana out of many. The scandal which the king gave by his amours, caused his ministers to urge him to marry; but he had resolved not to espouse a protestant, and his subjects he thought would object to a catholic. At the suggestion of the French king, however, the Portuguese ambassador offered him the infanta Catherine, sister to the king of Portugal, with a dower of 500,000*l.*, the settlements of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and her colonies.

The money tempted the king; Clarendon and the other ministers approved of the match, but the Spanish ambassador now labored to obstruct it. He represented that the infanta was incapable of bearing children; that it might cause a war with Spain, and the loss of the Spanish trade; and he offered, on the part of his master, a large portion with either of the princesses of Parma. Charles sent lord Bristol secretly to Italy, where he saw the princesses as they were going to church. One glance sufficed; the one was hideously ugly, the other monstrously fat. Meantime Louis sent to urge the Portuguese match, offering Charles money to purchase votes in the parliament, promising to lend him 50,000*l.* whenever he should want it, and to aid him with money in case of a war with Spain. The Spaniard, on the other hand, proposed to the king different protestant princesses, whom his master would portion equal to daughters of Spain. He also labored

* Sir W. Petty, quoted by Hallam, (iii. 528;) Lingard (xii. 74) says that only a sixth remained to the catholics. This statement appears to us to be much nearer the truth.

to excite the protestant feelings of the parliament and city, but to no purpose. The Portuguese match was approved of by the council and both houses, and (June, 1661) the earl of Sandwich was sent out with a fleet to convey the infanta, when ready, to England.

The prospect of her lover's marriage made Mrs. Palmer very uneasy. To reconcile her he made her costly presents, and created her husband earl of Castlemain in Ireland, with remainder to the issue male of his wife, who had just borne to her royal keeper a son at Hampton-court; and finally, lost to all sense of honor and delicacy, Charles pledged himself to make her lady of the bed-chamber to his queen.

On the 20th of May, 1662, the fleet which bore the infanta reached Spithead. Charles, quitting the embraces of the wanton Castlemain, hastened to Portsmouth to receive his bride. They were married privately, according to the rites of the church of Rome, by the lord Aubigny, the queen's almoner. They then came forth and sat on chairs in the room where the company was assembled, and Sheldon, bishop of London, pronounced them man and wife. They thence proceeded to Hampton-court, where after some days Charles, taking 'The Lady,' as Castlemain was called, by the hand, presented her to the queen before the entire court. Catherine had so much command of herself as to give her a gracious reception, but in a few minutes her eyes filled with tears, blood gushed from her nose, and she fell into a fit. Charles now affected the tone of a man of honor; he had been, he said, the cause of Castlemain's disgrace, and he was bound to make her reparation, and he would not submit to the whims of his wife. Clarendon and Ormond remonstrated, but were harshly reprov'd, and even required to lend their aid in the royal project; and who will not blush for Clarendon, when he reads that he actually did undertake the odious office? But Catherine would not listen to him. To break her spirit, Charles then sent away her Portuguese attendants, and the presence of Castlemain was continually obtruded on her. The queen long bore up against these studied insults; at length, she most imprudently resolved to yield, and she humbled herself so far as to admit that abandoned adulteress to her familiarity and friendship.

The queen's portion was soon spent, and to raise money for the royal expenses, Clarendon proposed the sale of Dunkirk to the French king: Louis was eager to treat. Clarendon demanded twelve millions of livres; he was offered two, and the bargain was finally concluded for five, (Sept. 11.)

But Charles wanted all the money, and Louis would only pay two millions down, and the remainder in two years. The treaty was nearly broken off, when it was suggested that Louis should give bills for the balance. This was agreed to, (Oct. 17,) and a French banker came over and discounted them. The banker was an agent of Louis, who boasted that he made 500,000 livres on the transaction. Dunkirk was of no direct use to England, but the possession of it gratified the national pride, and the people felt mortified at seeing it sold, and the price squandered away on the king's vices and pleasures.

But the sale of Dunkirk was a trifle to the cruel Act of Uniformity, which now came into operation. It had been urged on by the united bigotry of the clergy, of Clarendon, and of the house of commons; the lords in vain attempted to mitigate its severity; the commons were inexorable. It provided that every minister should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, (Aug. 24,) publicly declare his assent and consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, or lose his benefice. The appointed day came, and about two thousand ministers, the far greater part of them men of extensive learning, sincere piety, and irreproachable life, laid down their preferments, and rather than do violence to their conscience, faced poverty and persecution. It may be said, that the episcopal clergy had done as much in the late times, but those were times of civil war, and politics were so interwoven with religion, that it was difficult to separate them, and they had the prospect of ample reward in case of the king's success. But now all was peace; the king had been restored in a great measure through the exertions of these very men; there was no longer a political contest; conscience alone could have actuated them. Henry VIII. assigned pensions to the ejected monks and friars; Elizabeth had reserved a fifth of the income of the benefices for those who scrupled to comply with her act of uniformity; the Long Parliament had done the same; but now no provision whatever was made, nay, care was taken that those who did not conform should lose the last year's income of their livings, as their tithes would not fall due till Michaelmas.

Petitions claiming the benefit of the declaration from Breda being presented to the king, he took the occasion of setting forth a declaration, promising to exert his influence with parliament in its next session to have his dispensing power so regulated as to enable him to exercise it with more universal satisfaction. His secret object was to procure tol-

eration for the catholics, to whose religion he had a leaning, but on this head the commons were lynx-eyed; the protestantism of the royal brothers was strongly suspected, and the Romish priests, with their characteristic insolence and imprudence, in reliance on the court-favor, gave public offence by appearing in their habits. The commons (Feb. 1663) rejected the whole scheme of indulgence, and brought in bills to prevent the growth of popery.

Rumors of conspiracies were now spread in order to cast odium on the ejected clergy, and a slight insurrection which did take place this summer in Yorkshire was taken advantage of to pass in the following session (May 16, 1664) the cruel Conventicle-act. By this any person above the age of sixteen, who was present at any religious meeting not held according to the practice of the church of England, where there were five or more persons besides the household, was to be imprisoned three months for the first offence, six for the second, and be transported seven years for the third, on conviction before a single justice of the peace. This iniquitous statute speedily filled the prisons, especially with the quakers.

The repeal of the Triennial-act of 1641 was effected in this session. The king had the audacity to declare that he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed in it; and to please him, a bill was brought in to repeal it, and passed, with a provision, however, that parliaments should not be intermitted for more than three years at the most.

Another measure of this session was an address to the king, praying him to seek redress of the injuries inflicted by the Dutch on the English trade, and promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes.

The Dutch were more devoted to commerce than any people in Europe; and as the spirit of trade is jealous and monopolizing, they had been guilty of many unjustifiable actions in their foreign settlements, such, for instance, as the massacre of the English at Amboyna, in the reign of James I. These, however, were all past and gone; treaties had been since made with them, in which these deeds had been unnoticed, even so late as the year 1662. Charles himself, though he had a great dislike to the aristocratic or Louvestein party, as it was named, which now ruled in the States, and which had deprived the prince of Orange of the dignity of Stadtholder, was little inclined to a war, and Clarendon and Southampton were decidedly adverse to it; but the duke of

York, who was lord admiral, was anxious to distinguish himself at the head of the navy, which his exertions had brought to a state of great perfection; he was also a diligent fosterer of trade, which he justly regarded as a main pillar of the national greatness. He therefore lent his powerful aid to the party desirous of war, and Downing, the resident at the Hague, a man of little principle, spared no labor to widen the breach between the two countries.

The duke of York was at the head of an African company for the purchase of gold-dust and for supplying the West Indies with slaves. The Dutch, who had long traded to Africa, thwarted them as much as possible, and even seized or demolished their factories. The duke had already sent out sir Robert Holmes, in the name of the company, with some ships of war, to the coast of Africa, and Holmes had recovered the castle of cape Corse, and taken that of cape Verd, and established factories along the coast. The duke had also sent out sir Richard Nicholas to North America, where the Dutch had settled on the tract of country between New England and Maryland and named it New Amsterdam. The English claimed this by right of discovery, and the king had made a grant of it to his brother. The Dutch settlers offered no resistance, and Nicholas named the country New York, and a fort up the river Albany, from the titles of his patron.

When intelligence came of what Holmes had done, the Dutch ambassador remonstrated in strong terms. But the king denied all concern in the matter, said that Holmes had been sent out by the company on their own authority, and promised to bring him to trial on his return. Holmes accordingly was sent to the Tower; but his explanations were considered satisfactory, and he was soon released. De Witt was resolved to be avenged. A combined Dutch and English fleet, under De Ruyter and Lawson, was now in the Mediterranean acting against the piratic cruisers, and he sent secret orders to the former to proceed to the coast of Africa and retaliate on the English. Lawson, though aware of De Ruyter's object, did not feel himself authorized by his instructions to follow him; but he sent to inform the duke of his suspicions. The Dutch admiral, having accomplished his mission on the African coast, crossed over to the West Indies, where he captured about twenty sail of merchantmen. The duke meantime had two fleets out in the narrow seas, which seized and detained one hundred and thirty Dutch traders.

The war being now resolved on, the king called on parliament for the requisite supplies, (Nov. 25.) Their liberality was unprecedented; they voted two millions and a half. In the bill for this purpose, two remarkable deviations from ancient usage were effected; the old method of raising money by subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths, which had been returned to, was abandoned forever, and the mode of assessments introduced in the civil war was adopted in its stead; the clergy, who used to tax themselves in convocation, now consented to be taxed in the same manner as the laity, by parliament; and in return they obtained the right of voting at elections. This measure put a total end to the influence and importance of the convocation; it became from that moment a mere shadow. It is remarkable, that this great change in the constitution was the effect of a mere verbal agreement between the chancellor and the primate.

On the 21st of April, 1665, the duke of York put to sea with a gallant fleet of ninety-eight ships of war and four fire-ships. This prince had made wonderful improvements in the navy. Instead of committing the command of ships to noblemen of inexperienced valor, he placed them under Lawson and men who had long been familiar with the sea. He continued the practice of dividing the fleet into three squadrons; but he required it to form into line before action, and each captain to keep his place during the engagement; thus substituting the regularity of the land-battle for the previous irregular mode of fighting used at sea. The duke himself, with Lawson for his vice-admiral, commanded the red, prince Rupert the white, the earl of Sandwich the blue squadron.

For more than a month this fleet rode in triumph off the coast of Holland. At length, an easterly wind having blown it to its own coast, the Dutch fleet of one hundred and thirteen ships of war, commanded by admiral Opdam, came out in seven squadrons. The fleets encountered (June 3) off the coast of Suffolk. The sea was calm, the sky cloudless; for four hours the fight was dubious; the duke displayed the greatest conduct and valor; one shot killed at his side his favorite the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerrey, and a son of lord Burlington's, and covered him with their blood. At length, observing great confusion on board of admiral Opdam's ship, he ordered all his guns to be fired into her successively, and she blew up, and Opdam and five hundred men perished in her. Dispirited by the loss of their admiral, the Dutch fled; the English pursued, but during the night, while the duke

was taking some repose, Mr. Brounker, groom of his bed-chamber, came to the master with pretended orders from the duke to shorten sail, and thus in the morning the Dutch got into the Texel. This was the greatest naval victory gained as yet by the English; the Dutch lost eighteen ships, they had four admirals killed, and seven thousand men slain or taken. The loss of the English was one ship and six hundred men; but among the slain were the admirals Lawson and Sampson, and the earls of Marlborough and Portland.

In other days the tidings of such a victory would have spread joy and festivity over all the streets of London; but now a gloom, not to be dispelled by the triumphs of war, sat brooding over the capital: the plague had visited it in its most appalling form.

In the midst of the late winter, a few cases of plague had occurred in the suburbs. The number slowly increased as the season advanced, and in the end of May the disease burst with fury forth from the filthy suburb of St. Giles's on the city and Westminster. The court, the nobility, the gentry, and the more opulent citizens fled to the country; thousands were about to follow, but the lord mayor refused certificates of health, and the people of the adjoining towns took up arms to ward off infection. As usual, its first ravages were among the lower classes, but it soon advanced higher. Various regulations were made, (July 1;) the city was divided into districts, with proper officers; every house in which the disease prevailed, was marked by a red cross on the door, with the words "Lord, have mercy upon us!" over it; pest-carts went round every night with links and the tinkling of a bell, summoning the people to bring forth their dead, which then, uncoffined and without any religious rite, were shot into a common pit prepared in the nearest churchyard. The men employed in this mournful office, taken from the dregs of the people and hardened in vice and brutality, committed deeds too horrible to be told. That unfeeling race too, the hired nurses, often, it is said, murdered the patients in order to rob them.

As in all similar cases, different minds were variously affected. While some devoted themselves to exercises of piety and awaited their doom with calm resignation, others recklessly plunged into riot and debauch; and the awful silence which ordinarily prevailed was from time to time broken by the sound of the unhallowed orgies of the brothel and the tavern. Superstition exerted its influence over others; many fancied they saw a flaming sword in the sky

hanging over the devoted city; others assembled in the churchyards, where in imagination they beheld ghosts stalking round the pits which contained their bodies. Fanaticism too was active; one prophet walked naked through the streets, with a pan of burning coals on his head, denouncing woes on the sinful city; a second Jonah went proclaiming aloud, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed;" a third might be heard by day and by night crying in sepulchral tones, "O, the great and dreadful God!"

July and August were months of oppressive heat. Though September was less sultry, the deaths increased. The experiment was tried of burning large fires in the streets. On the third night (8th) they were extinguished by a copious fall of rain, and the deaths now diminished; but the next week the tempest of disease was more furious than ever; and men began to despair. The equinoctial gales at length brought healing on their wings. The mortality rapidly decreased; and in the beginning of December seventy-three parishes were pronounced free of disease, and their inhabitants resumed their ordinary pursuits and avocations. The number of deaths in London had exceeded one hundred thousand; the disease spread also over the rest of the kingdom, and its ravages in various places were in proportion to the density of the population.

During this desolation, the fleet, which was uninfected, kept the sea; and the Dutch Smyrna and East Indian fleets having taken shelter in the port of Bergen, in Norway, lord Sandwich sailed thither. For a share of the spoil, it is said, the Danish court agreed to connive at the capture of the Dutch vessels. Owing, however, to some mismanagement when the English ships entered the port and attacked the Dutch, they were fired on by the guns of the fort, and obliged to retire. De Witt now came with a strong fleet to convoy the merchantmen home, but they were dispersed by a storm, (Sept. 4,) and Sandwich captured some ships of war and two of the Indiamen. As he plundered these last, and allowed his captains to do the same, he was deprived of his command, and sent ambassador to Spain, as a cover to his disgrace.

The overthrow of the government in England by means of the discontented presbyterians and republicans was one part of De Witt's plans, and he entered into correspondence with Ludlow, Sidney, and the other exiles, for this purpose. Lord Say and some others formed a council at the Hague, and corresponded with their friends in England. An insig-

nificant plot was discovered in London, during the height of the plague; and when the parliament met the following month, at Oxford, to grant supplies, an act was passed for attainting all British subjects who should continue in the service of the States.

In this session, also, was passed the severe Five-mile-act. During the plague, though many of the episcopal clergy had remained and faced all perils in the discharge of their duty, many had left their charges and sought safety in the country. The non-conformists, as the ejected clergy were now named, mounted the empty pulpits, and preached to the despairing people. Their sermons were in general such as were suited to the season, but some of them could not refrain from dwelling on the sins of the court, and displaying the iniquity of their own expulsion. They had broken the law no doubt, but surely the awful calamity then prevailing abundantly justified them. Sheldon, now primate, Clarendon, and their other enemies, however, took advantage of it, and, under the pretext of their having preached sedition, a bill was passed (Oct. 30) requiring every person in holy orders, who had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity, to swear that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, etc. Those who should refuse this oath were to be incapable of teaching in schools, and were not, unless when travelling, to come within five miles of any city, town, or village, in which they had at any time exercised their ministry. This act of cold-blooded cruelty met with little opposition in the commons, (who even wished to impose this oath on the whole nation,) but Southampton and others resisted it strongly, though ineffectually, in the peers. It almost amounted to a bill of starvation; for, as far as in it lay, it cut off all who would not profess the doctrine of passive obedience nearly from every means of obtaining a livelihood.

The king of France, being bound by a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, was now required by them to join in the war. A French fleet being expected to join that of the Dutch, the English fleet, under the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, put to sea. Rupert went, with twenty ships, in search of the French, who were said to be at Belleisle; while Albemarle, with fifty-four, proceeded to the Gun-fleet. To his surprise, he saw (June 1, 1666) the Dutch fleet, of eighty sail, under De Ruyter and De Witt, lying off the North Foreland. Unequal as the numbers were, he resolved to fight, and bore down without any order. Most of the ships of the blue squadron, which led the van

were taken or disabled. Night ended the combat. Next morning (2d) it was renewed. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, but the English again fought till night. Monk then burned a part of his disabled ships, and ordered the others to make for the nearest harbors. In the morning (3d) he had only sixteen ships to oppose to the enemy's pursuit. He had lost the *Prince Royal*, the finest ship in the navy, on the Galloper Sand, and the others were likely to share its fate, when Rupert, who had been recalled on the first day of the battle, at length came to his aid. The engagement was renewed the following morning, (4th,) but the hostile fleets were separated by a fog. Victory was with the Dutch, yet the English lost no honor. "They may be killed," said De Witt, "but they will not be conquered." The obstinacy and temerity of Albemarle were justly censured.

The hostile fleets were soon again at sea, and an action was fought (25th) in which the advantage was on the side of the English, who now rode in triumph off the shores of Holland. Holmes, with a squadron of boats and fire-ships, (Aug. 8,) entered the channel, where the Baltic traders lay, and burned one hundred and fifty of them, two men-of-war, and the adjoining town of Brandaris. De Witt, maddened at the sight, swore by Almighty God that he would never sheath the sword till he had had revenge. He called on his French ally for prompt aid. Louis, who was exciting the discontented Irish catholics to insurrection, and who had lately offered Algernon Sidney 20,000*l.* in aid of his project of raising the commonwealth party in England, would rather not put his fleet to hazard. He, however, ordered the duke de Beaufort, who was now at Rochelle, to advance and join De Ruyter. This admiral had already passed the strait of Dover, when prince Rupert came in view. As De Ruyter himself was unwell, and his men were little inclined to fight, he took shelter near Boulogne, and Rupert then sailed to engage Beaufort, who was coming up channel, but a violent wind forced him to take shelter at St. Helen's, (Sept. 3,) and Beaufort got into Dieppe.

The wind that blew the fleet to St. Helen's was a fatal wind to England. On the night of Sunday the 2d a fire broke out in a bakehouse, near Fish-street, in the city of London. The houses in that quarter being of wood, with pitched roofs, the flames spread rapidly; the pipes from the New River proved to be empty; the engine on the

Thames was burnt; the wind increased every hour in vehemence, and the flames bounded along even to distant houses. The obvious remedy of cutting off the progress of the fire by the demolition of houses was prevented by the avarice of their owners, and the flames spread unimpeded on all sides. The spectacle in the night (3d) was magnificent, though awful. For ten miles round it was light as day. A column of fire, a mile in diameter, mounted into the sky, the flames bent and twisted by the fury of the wind. The heat was oppressive. Evermore the sound of the fall of houses or churches struck the listening ear. Groups of people were to be seen flying in all directions, with the little portions of their property which they had been able to save.

For once during his reign the conduct of the king was praiseworthy. He displayed the utmost energy; he was present in all places of danger, animating and rewarding the workmen; he had provisions brought from the royal stores for the relief of the houseless wanderers; he employed every precaution to prevent robbery and violence. In all his exertions he was cordially aided by his brother.

On Wednesday evening (5th) the wind abated. By blowing up houses with gunpowder, the progress of the fire to the Temple and the Tower was checked, and the flames were gradually spent for want of fuel. Two thirds of the city, containing thirteen thousand houses and eighty-nine churches, were in ashes; and two hundred thousand people were lying in huts, or in the open air, in the fields between Islington and Highgate. The immediate distress and suffering was considerable, and thousands were ruined; but London soon rose from its ashes, better and more regularly built; the streets were wider, the houses of brick, instead of wood, and it hence became more healthy, and less subject to the plague.

It is not to be supposed that the real simple cause would be assigned for this calamity. Incendiaries, it was averred, were seen firing the city in various parts. Some laid it on the French, some on the republicans, but it was finally fixed on the general scape-goat, the papists; and the beautiful column raised by authority on the spot where the fire commenced, long, "like a tall bully, lifted its head and lied," in the inscription which it bore.

The parliament was liberal in its grant for continuing the war, but, owing to the great losses and derangements caused by the fire, the bankers could not make advances as they had

usually done. The king was therefore induced to lay up the larger ships, and only to keep at sea two light squadrons of frigates. There was, indeed, every prospect of a speedy peace, for Louis, who claimed Flanders in right of his wife, wished, ere he engaged in a conflict with Spain, to be at peace with England; and four out of the seven United Provinces were induced by him to declare for peace. De Witt was therefore obliged to yield, (May 14, 1667,) and ambassadors met at Breda to discuss the terms. When an armistice was proposed, the Dutch objected, on account of the delay it would cause; and, while it was under debate, De Witt and De Ruyter left the Texel, ordering the fleet, of seventy sail, to rendezvous at the buoy off the Nore. When the ships arrived, the Dutch admirals entered the Thames in two divisions, (June 9,) and while one sailed up to Gravesend the other prepared to enter the Medway. Monk, at the first alarm, had hastened down, and erected batteries and placed guard-ships for the defence of the boom at the mouth of that river, and sunk five ships in the channel before it. While he was thus engaged, the Dutch came on with wind and tide, (11th,) but the sunken ships impeded them so much, that they were obliged to fall back. Next morning, (12th,) having discovered a new channel, they came up, silenced the batteries, broke the boom, and burned the guard-ships. The following morning (13th) they advanced to Upnor, and having there burnt three first-rates, fell down the river with the ebb, and returned to the Nore. For six weeks De Ruyter continued to insult the English coast.

Meantime the progress of the French arms in Flanders alarmed the Dutch, and they hastened to terminate the war with England. Each party yielded something, and peace was concluded, (July 21.)

The influence of lord Clarendon had long been on the decline. He had made himself enemies in all classes, some by his faults, others by his virtues. The cavaliers hated him for his honorable adherence to the act of indemnity; the non-conformists for his intolerance; the catholics for his zealous protestantism; the courtiers for his opposition to their rapacity; above all, Castlemain hated him because he would not allow his wife to visit her. His high notions of prerogative disgusted the friends of liberty; his haughtiness and dictatorial manner offended the two houses. The king himself grew weary of his lectures and his opposition to his will. He found that he had too great a regard for the reli

gion and liberties of the country to abet his projects for the overthrow of both, and he was therefore secretly desirous to get rid of him.

An attack had been already made on Clarendon. In 1663, the clever, but impetuous and unsteady, earl of Bristol, (the lord Digby of the preceding pages,) who was now become a catholic, had impeached him in the house of lords, but the charges were so frivolous that a warrant was issued to take the accuser, who was obliged to conceal himself for some time. Bristol's plan, however, only failed because the enemies of Clarendon were not yet sufficiently strong; but when the Dutch had burnt the ships in the Medway, and the nation was irritated against the obnoxious minister, and the king had become quite alienated from him, it was thought the attack might be repeated with success. Charles was prevailed on to send his son-in-law, the duke of York, to him, to induce him to resign the seal. In a personal conference with the king, (Aug. 26,) Clarendon refused, as that, he said, would be a confession of guilt. A few days after, (30th,) he was ordered to surrender it, and it was transferred to sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next session the commons (Nov. 6) exhibited seventeen articles of impeachment against the earl; but the bishops stood firmly by their friend; the duke of York faithfully adhered to his father-in-law; several of the peers regarded the charges as false, or the course adopted by the commons as unconstitutional. The motion for committing him, therefore, was lost; conferences of the houses ensued; the king, in perplexity, expressed his desire that the accused would secretly retire to the continent; but this Clarendon was too proud, or too conscious of innocence, to do. At length (29th) the duke of York was the bearer to him of a positive command to quit the kingdom. To this he yielded a reluctant obedience; and having left a written vindication of himself, he retired to France. The commons (Dec. 9) voted this paper a libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the hangman. An act of banishment followed, subjecting him to the penalties of treason if he should return. He fixed his residence at Rouen, in Normandy, where he died, in 1674.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED.)

1668—1678.

THE ministry which had hitherto regulated the public affairs was now at an end. Southampton was dead, Clarendon banished, Nicholas had resigned, Albemarle was infirm, and his mean avarice had deprived him of weight; Ormond resided in Ireland. A new ministry was formed, the most profligate that England had as yet seen; it was named the 'Cabal,' a common term, but which curiously coincided with the initial letters of the names of its members, viz., Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.

Clifford, the son of a clergyman, had been, as was suspected, secretly reconciled to the church of Rome; he was a man of great resolution, violent and impetuous. He was now a commissioner of the treasury, and was afterwards high-treasurer. The earl of Arlington (formerly sir Henry Bennet) was secretary of state, an office he had held for some time, and he was at the head of the party in the cabinet opposed to Clarendon. He too was, perhaps, a secret papist. No man knew better than he how to manage the king's temper, and he never let principle stand in the way of his measures. Buckingham was the son of the favorite of Charles I., and was married to the daughter and heiress of lord Fairfax. He had wit, humor, a great talent for mimicry and ridicule, but was utterly devoid of religion or morality. Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) was chancellor of the exchequer. As sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, he had been first on the king's side in the civil wars; he then went over to the parliament; he was a strenuous supporter of Cromwell, and was finally active in the Restoration. He was accused of being equally devoid of religion and principle, but his talents were allowed to be of the highest order. Lauderdale was a man of talent, but of violent passions, rough and boisterous in manner, and at all times ready to surrender his judgment and his principles to the will of the court. Sir William Coventry, one of the ablest and most upright statesmen of the time, was one of the commissioners of the treasury.

The first measure of this ministry was a laudable one. The rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders giving

cause of general alarm, the able and upright sir William Temple was despatched to the Hague, to propose to the States a union with Spain to check the aggressions of France. In the short space of five days three treaties were concluded (Jan. 13, 1668 :) one was a defensive alliance; the second an engagement to oblige Spain to make peace on the terms Louis had offered; by the third (which was a secret one) they bound themselves, in case of Louis's refusal, to join with Spain in compelling him to confirm the peace of the Pyrenees. Sweden joined in this league, and hence it was named the 'Triple Alliance.' Louis, who had already in secret contracted an "eventual treaty" for the partition of the Spanish monarchy with the emperor Leopold, in which he had bound himself to do the very thing now required of him, after making a little display of his usual theatric dignity, agreed to treat. Plenipotentiaries met at Aix-la-Chapelle, (Apr. 22,) and peace was concluded; the towns which he had conquered in Flanders being ceded to Louis, and the French frontier was thus brought close to that of the United Provinces. It was, however, this treaty alone that prevented Spain from losing the entire of Flanders.

Buckingham, without any ostensible post, was now in fact the prime minister, and one so profligate in morals has rarely been seen in England. He was living in open adultery with lady Shrewsbury, which led at this very time (Jan. 16) to a duel, in which the injured husband was mortally wounded.* It served the cause of the non-conformists but little to be advocated, as it was, by a man of such a character; the commons, therefore, negatived by a large majority a bill introduced for their relief. They also voted only half the sum demanded for the navy, and instituted a rigid inquiry into the conduct of various persons in the late war.

As money for the supply of the royal mistresses and the other profligacies of the court was not to be obtained from the parliament, Buckingham began to form other projects. The first was to reduce the royal expenditure below the revenues, but with a prince of Charles's character that was impracticable. It was then resolved to have recourse to the king of France; Buckingham, therefore, entered into a negotiation with the duchess of Orleans, and Charles himself apologized to the French resident for his share in the Triple Alliance. Louis, as usual, affected indifference, but the

* The abandoned countess, it is said, dressed as a page, held the horse of her paramour while he was fighting with her husband.

communications gradually became more confidential, and by the end of the year Louis had the leading English ministers in his pay.*

It was not the mere gratification of his pleasures that Charles now looked to; he wished to be absolute. Not, however, that, like his father, he believed despotic power to be his right, or that he felt any pleasure in the exercise of it; what he wanted was freedom from restraint; he could not endure that his private life should be publicly criticised, or that parliaments should presume to inquire what had been done with the money they had granted. All this might be obviated by a standing army, which he might make it the interest of Louis to furnish him with the means of maintaining. But there was another motive operating on the mind of Charles, which, from the tenor of his life, one would be little apt to suspect.

The duke of York was at this time become a catholic. His own account of his conversion is as follows. When he was in Flanders, he read, at the request of a bishop of the church of England, a treatise by that prelate, written to clear that church from the guilt of schism in separating from the church of Rome. He also, at the bishop's desire, read a reply which had been made to it, and the effect produced on his mind was the contrary of what was intended. After the restoration, he read Heylin's 'History of the Reformation,' and the preface to Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' and the result was a persuasion that none of the reformers "had power to do what they did." He went on inquiring, and gradually gave his assent to all the Romish doctrines. It must be observed, that the duke, while thus solicitous about his religion, was leading a life nearly, if not altogether, as profligate as that of his brother. All this time he continued outwardly to conform to the church of England. At length he consulted a jesuit named Simons, on the subject of being reconciled, expressing his hope that on account of the singularity of his case, he might have a dispensation to continue his outward conformity to the church of England. To his surprise, the good father assured him that the pope had not the power to grant it, "for it was an unalterable doctrine of the catholic church, *not to do evil that good might follow.*" The duke wrote to the pope, and the reply which he received was to the same effect. Thinking it dangerous

* Colbert, the French resident, wrote that he had made them "*sentir tout l'étendue de la libéralité de sa majesté.*"

to de ay any longer, he resolved to open his mind to the king, whom he knew to be of the same way of thinking. He found his brother equally sensible with himself as to the danger of his condition. It was agreed that the royal brothers should consult with the lords Arundel of Wardour and Arlington, and sir Thomas Clifford, (all in the royal secret,) on the best mode of advancing the catholic religion in the king's dominions.

On the 25th of January, 1669, the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, the meeting was held in the duke's closet. The king spoke with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes, describing his uneasiness at not being able to profess the faith he believed; as he knew, he said, that he should meet with great difficulties, in what he proposed to do, no time was to be lost, and it should be undertaken while he and his brother were in full strength and vigor, and able to undergo any fatigue. It was resolved to apply to the French king for aid, for which purpose his ambassador was to be let into the secret, and lord Arundel, with sir Richard Bellings for his secretary, was to go to the court of France. Arundel, when at Paris, required from Louis a large sum of money, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection that might break out, offering in return to aid him in his intended invasion of Holland. Louis was willing to assent to these terms; the only question was, which should be first, the war or the king's declaration of his religion. Charles, urged by his brother, was for the last; Louis more wisely recommended the former. The year passed away in discussions; at Christmas the king received the sacrament as usual in public, but it was observed that the duke of York did not accompany him.

The Conventicle-act was now near expiring. The lord keeper and chief justice Hale had, with the aid of bishops Wilkins and Reynolds, and of Tillotson, Stillingsfleet, Burton, and other divines, been engaged in forming a scheme of comprehension, which was communicated to Baxter, Bates, and Morton, and by them to their non-conforming brethren. Nothing could be more reasonable than the alterations proposed, and an equally rational plan was devised. But Sheldon and the other intolerants took the alarm; the commons had not abated in their hostility, and the Conventicle-act was renewed with the addition of a proviso, "that all clauses in it shall be construed most largely and benefic ally for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be

employed in the execution thereof." Could any thing be more barbarous than this? The vile crew of informers was now unkenneled, houses were broken open, ministers and other persons were dragged to prison. Sheldon and those prelates, such as Ward and Lamplugh, who resembled himself, were zealous in causing the act to be enforced, and the court secretly encouraged them, in the hopes of driving the dissenters to look to a catholic government for relief.*

It is said that Buckingham was most anxious to prevent the succession of the duke of York. According to this prince's own account, his first project was to get the king to acknowledge the legitimacy of his son by Lucy Barlow, whom he had created duke of Monmouth, and given him in marriage the countess of Buccleugh, the wealthiest heiress in Scotland; lords Carlisle and Ashley, he adds, had the boldness to hint to the king, that if he was desirous of doing so, it would not be difficult to procure witnesses of his marriage, but Charles replied, "that well as he loved the duke he had rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for his legitimate son." To get rid of the sterile queen in some way, in order to enable the king to marry again, was the next plan. Buckingham proposed to seize and convey her away secretly to the plantations, so that she might be no more heard of, but Charles rejected this course with horror. The next project was to deal with the queen's confessor, to induce her to go into a convent; but she had no mind to be a nun, and means, it is said, were employed to cause the pope to forbid her. Some talked of the king's taking another wife, but the public feeling was adverse to polygamy. A divorce was then proposed, and to this the king hearkened; but spiritual divorces were only from bed and board, and a precedent was wanting for the legal marriage of the innocent party. Lord Roos, therefore, whose wife was living in open adultery, got a bill to be moved in the upper house (Mar. 5) to enable him to marry again. The duke, seeing whither this tended, opposed it with all his might; all the bishops but Cosins and Wilkins were on his side, and all the catholic and several protestant peers. The king employed his influence in favor of it, and on the morning of the third reading (21st) he came and sat on the throne, saying, he was come to renew an old custom of attending at their debates,

* "The rigorous church of England men were let loose and encouraged underhand to persecute, that the non-conformists might be more sensible of the ease they should have when the catholics prevailed." — *Life of James*, i. 443.

and desired them to go on as if he were not present. The bill was carried by a small majority, and became a precedent for bills of the same kind, but the king took no advantage of it.* He continued for some time the practice of attending the debates; 'it was as good,' he said, "as going to a play," and his presence was some check on the opposition.

In the month of May, Louis took occasion of a progress he was making through his lately acquired possessions to let the duchess of Orleans cross the sea to Dover to visit her brother, over whose mind she possessed great influence. Louis hoped that she would be able to prevail with him to commence with the war against the States instead of the declaration of religion, but Charles was immovable on this head. The famous secret treaty was now concluded. Charles was to declare himself a catholic when he judged it expedient, and then to join Louis in a war with the Dutch; Louis was to give him two millions of livres, and a force of six thousand men; all the expenses of the war by land were to be borne by Louis, and he was to pay three millions of livres annually toward the charge of the English navy; the combined fleet to be commanded by the duke of York; if the States were conquered, Charles was to have Walcheren, Sluys, and Cadsand, and the prince of Orange to be provided for. It was further agreed, that if any new rights to the Spanish monarchy should accrue to Louis, (by the death of the king, a puny boy,) Charles should aid him in asserting them with all his power.

Such was the conspiracy that was formed against the protestant faith and the liberties of Europe; but many difficulties stood in the way of its success. Charles, when he reflected coolly, became aware of the protestant spirit of his subjects; he did not venture to communicate the secret treaty to his protestant ministers, and to blink them he let Buckingham conclude one (the counterpart of it except as to the article of religion) with France, (Jan. 23, 1671.) When urged by Louis to declare his religion, he hung back and made various objections, and the course of events soon caused Louis to cease from pressing him.

Charles had latterly recruited his harem from the theatre, where now, in imitation of the continent, women performed. He had taken off no less than two actresses, the one named Moll Davies, a dancer, the other the wild and witty Nell

* We do not see how he well could, as the queen had not committed adultery.

Gwyn. He soon grew tired of Davies, who had borne him a daughter ; but Nelly, whom he appointed of the bed-chamber to his insulted queen, retained her hold on his affections through life, and the noble house of St. Albans derive their pedigree from this union of royalty with the stage. With the aid of Shaftesbury, it is said, he seduced the daughter of a clergyman named Roberts ; but her early principles retained their hold on her mind, and Burnet says she died a sincere penitent. A further accession to the royal mistresses was Mademoiselle de Querouaille, a favorite maid of the duchess of Orleans, on whose sudden and mysterious death shortly after the interview at Dover, Charles invited her maid over to England, appointed her of the queen's bed-chamber, and added her to the roll of his mistresses. He afterwards (1672) created her duchess of Portsmouth, and Louis conferred on her the royal domain of Aubigni, which went to her son the duke of Richmond.

As to Castlemain, (now duchess of Cleveland,) she still retained her place as a royal mistress ; and if Charles was faithless to her, she was equally so to him.

In the debate on the supplies in the commons, it was proposed to lay a tax on the play-houses. To this it was objected, that the players were the king's servants and a part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether "his majesty's pleasure lay among the men- or the women-players." This was reported at court, and the king, though earnestly dissuaded by the duke, resolved on a base and cowardly vengeance. The duke of Monmouth was the chief agent, with his lieutenant Sands, and O'Brien, son of lord Inchiquin ; and as Coventry was returning one night (Dec. 21) to his lodgings, Sands and O'Brien, with thirteen of the guards, fell on him in the Haymarket. Coventry snatched the flambeau from his servant, and with it in one hand and his sword in the other, and placing his back against the wall, he defended himself stoutly. He wounded O'Brien in the arm, but they overpowered him, threw him on the ground, and slit his nose with a penknife. They then repaired to the duke of Monmouth to boast of what they had done. When the commons reassembled, they were outrageous at this base assault on one of their members, and they passed an act banishing the perpetrators without pardon, unless they surrendered, and making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to maim or disfigure the person. This act is named the Coventry-act.

A still more atrocious attempt had lately been made on

a more illustrious person. As the duke of Ormond was returning by the dark (Dec. 6) from a dinner given by the city, his coach was stopped in St. James-street, he was dragged out of it, set behind a man on horseback, and fastened to him by a belt. The man urged his horse and proceeded toward Hyde-park; but on the way the duke put his foot under the rider's, and leaning to the other side they both fell to the ground; the sound of footsteps being heard, the assassin loosed the belt and fired a pair of pistols at the duke, but without effect; he then fled away and escaped. An inquiry was instituted by the house of lords; a reward of 1000*l.* and a pardon to any of the party who would turn informer, was offered by the king, but to no purpose.*

Some time after, a person wearing a cassock formed an acquaintance with Edwards, the keeper of the regalia in the Tower. He proposed a match between a nephew of his and Edwards's daughter. At seven in the morning of the 9th of May, the pretended clergyman came with two companions and asked to see the regalia. While they were in the room they suddenly threw a cloak over Edwards's head, and then put a gag in his mouth, and when he struggled they knocked him down and wounded him in the belly. The clergyman then placed the crown under his cloak, another put the globe in his breeches, and the third began to file the sceptre in two to put it into a bag. Edwards's son happening to come by, the alarm was given; the robbers ran, and had nearly reached their horses at St. Catharine's gate, when they were secured. From curiosity, or some other motive, the king himself attended their examination. The chief said that his name was Blood; that it was he that had seized the duke of Ormond, with the intention of hanging him at Tyburn; that he was one of a band of three hundred sworn to avenge each other's death; that he and others had resolved to kill the king for his severity to the godly, and that he had one time taken his station among the reeds at Battersea to shoot him as he was bathing, but the awe of majesty overcame him, and he relented; the king might now take his life

* Some suspected Buckingham; and Ormond's son, Ossory, on coming to court some time after and seeing him standing by the king, said to him, "My lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father. But I give you warning. If by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author. I shall consider *you* as the assassin; I shall treat you as such; and wherever I meet you I will pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair. And I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall not fail of performance."

if he pleased, but it would be at the risk of his own; whereas if he pardoned him, he would secure the gratitude of a band of faithful and resolute spirits. Charles pardoned him, nay, more gave him an estate of 500*l.* a year in Ireland, and kept him at court, where he rose to the possession of much influence; he also requested Ormond to pardon him, saying he had certain reasons for asking it. The duke replied that his majesty's command was a sufficient reason. What are we to infer from all this? Was Charles a coward? or was some one of those who were in his confidence the secret instigator of the attempt on the life of the duke?

The next event was the death of the duchess of York, (May 31.) She died a catholic; her protestantism had been little better than popery; the secret efforts of her husband had had their effect, and she had been reconciled in the preceding month of August. Her father wrote, her brother remonstrated; but their efforts were fruitless; she received the last sacrament from the hands of a Franciscan friar. Her conversion was known, it is said, to but five persons; but the secret gradually transpired and caused the religion of the duke to be suspected. She had borne him eight children, of whom two daughters, Mary and Anne, alone survived.

During the last year, the young prince of Orange had come over to visit his royal uncle. Charles, who had really a regard for him, wished to draw him into his projects; but he found him, as the French ambassador says, too zealous a Dutchman and protestant to be trusted with the secret. It is curious enough that, as the prince told Burnet, the king gave him to understand that he was himself a catholic.

The war with the States being decided on, the Cabal prepared to commence it with robbery at home and piracy abroad. To have a good supply of money to begin with, the fertile brain of Ashley, it is said, (but he always denied it,) suggested to shut up the exchequer. To understand this, we must observe that, since the time of Cromwell, the bankers and others had been in the habit of advancing money at eight per cent. to the government, receiving in return an assignment of some branch of the revenue till principal and interest should be discharged. The new plan was to suspend all payments for twelve months, and to add the interest now due to the capital, allowing six per cent. interest on this new stock. This was approved of by the privy-council; and the public was informed of it by proclamation, (Jan. 2, 1672.) The consequences were, the ministers had a sum

of 1,300,000*l.* at their disposal ; many of the bankers failed , trade in general received a severe shock ; numbers of widows, orphans, and other annuitants were reduced to misery.

There had been no declaration of war against the Dutch, with whom Charles was actually in alliance ; but their Smyrna fleet would be coming up channel in March, and it was known to be wealthy, and it was supposed would suspect no danger. Holmes was therefore sent to intercept it ; he was desired to take with him all the ships-of-war he should meet ; but anxious to have all the glory and profit to himself, he let sir Edward Spragge's squadron, returning from the Mediterranean, pass him by. Next morning (Mar. 3) the Smyrna fleet of sixty sail came in sight. But the States had suspected the designs of their royal neighbors, and put their naval commanders on their guard. Many of these ships were well armed, and Van Nesse, who was convoying them with seven men-of-war, disposed his force so well as completely to baffle the English. Holmes, being reinforced during the night, renewed the attack next day, and he succeeded in capturing one ship of war and four merchantmen, two of which were very valuable. This piratic enterprise (of which the disgrace was aggravated by its failure) was condemned both at home and abroad.

The next measure was to issue a declaration of indulgence, (15th,) in order to gain over the dissenters to the side of the court, and to pave the way for a general toleration. The measure itself, had it originated in good motives, was beneficent ; but it proceeded on the principle of an arbitrary dispensing power in the crown that might be carried to a dangerous extent. The dissenters received it with gratitude, and presented an address of thanks to the king ; the orthodox took alarm, and the pulpits resounded with arguments and declamation against popery.

Both kings now formally declared war against the States. Louis merely said that it did not consist with his reputation (*gloire*) to put up any longer with insult from them. Charles (17th) enumerated several petty causes of hostility, " and surely," says Hume, " reasons more false and frivolous never were employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty." The king of Sweden, the bishop of Munster, and the elector of Cologne were drawn into the confederacy against the States.

While preparations were made to put the land forces of the States into a condition to resist the troops of France, De Ruyter got to sea with seventy-five men-of-war and a number of fire-ships to prevent the junction of the French

and English fleets: this, however, he was unable to effect; and the combined fleet, having vainly tried to bring him to action off Ostend, returned to Southwold-bay. De Ruyter, learning that they were occupied taking in men and provisions, resolved to fall on them while thus engaged. He was near surprising them, (May 28;) but though the wind and tide were adverse, the duke of York, who commanded, got about twenty of his ships in line of battle, being part of the red squadron under himself and of the blue under the earl of Sandwich. D'Estrées, with the French fleet, was to the southward, opposed to the ships of Zealand. Though the disparity of numbers was great, the battle was obstinate. Sandwich, in the Royal James, took a ship of seventy guns and killed admiral Van Ghent; but his own vessel having been much damaged, a fire-ship grappled on her larboard and set her in flames, and the earl and all on board but two or three hundred perished. The duke, when his ship, the Prince, was disabled, shifted his flag to the St. Michael; and this vessel being also disabled, he finally hoisted it in the London. In the afternoon the other ships came into the action, and the Dutch finally fled with the loss of three ships; the English lost but one; the French took no part in the action.

Meantime Louis, at the head of one hundred thousand men, had burst like a flood over the frontiers. His disciplined legions were directed by the genius of Condé and Turenne, while the Dutch troops were raw levies and ill officered. Fortress after fortress opened their gates, making hardly a show of resistance. The season happening to be very dry, the rivers were low, the passage of the Rhine offered no difficulty, (June 2,) and in the space of three weeks he reduced three of the Provinces, and had advanced within three leagues of Amsterdam. Resistance appearing nearly hopeless, ambassadors were sent to learn on what terms peace might be obtained. Buckingham, Arlington, and lord Saville (now earl of Halifax) were sent to Utrecht, where Louis had fixed his quarters, and the demands of the two sovereigns were there communicated to the Dutch ministers. Louis required large cessions of forts and territory; seventeen millions of livres; a gold medal every year; the churches in the towns to be shared with the catholics, and a provision for their clergy. Charles demanded the honor of the flag in the narrow seas; 10,000*l.* a year for the liberty of fishing; a million sterling for the expenses of the war; the dignity of stadtholder for the prince of Orange.

This prince, though only in his twenty-second year, had been made general and admiral of the commonwealth; De Witt, who was his guardian, had, though hostile to his family, given him an excellent education; and the character of the prince himself was such as, joined with the remembrance of the services of his family, enabled him to gain the popular favor. The people were clamorous for the repeal of the 'Perpetual Edict;' they rose in arms at Dort, (June 30,) and then in the other towns, and every where established the unlimited authority of the prince. An attempt was made to assassinate John De Witt; and his brother Cornelius, being charged by an infamous wretch, named Tichelaer, with an endeavor to induce him to poison the prince, was put to the torture. A sentence of banishment was passed on him; his brother, the pensionary, came to the prison to convey him to his place of exile in his coach; instantly an infuriated rabble surrounded the prison, burst open the doors, seized the two brothers, despatched them by a multitude of wounds, and offered every species of indignity to their dead bodies. Such is the rabble in every country — brutal, bloody, and unreflecting; against their sudden fury neither private virtue nor the greatest public services are a protection.

The prince, by means of an atrocity which he abhorred, was now left uncontrolled. He urged the people not to despair, but to reject the humiliating conditions offered to them, and to resist to the uttermost. Their patriotic ardor revived; the sluices had already been opened, and the generous resolution was taken to fly, if all should fail, to their settlements in the East, and there to found a new empire. When Buckingham urged the prince to abandon the cause of the Provinces as their ruin was inevitable, "There is one certain means," he replied, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin; I will die in the last ditch." The affairs of the Provinces, under the guidance of their young hero, soon assumed a brighter aspect. A combined English and French fleet, with a land force on board, approached the coast; but winds and tide acted so opportunely to keep them off, that it was regarded as a special interference of Providence. Louis, weary of the toils of war, returned to the pleasures of Versailles, and the French arms became inactive. Spain had sent some forces to the aid of the prince, and the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg were preparing to impede the progress of the French monarch;

Charles, however, adhered firmly to his engagements with Louis; he also gave his own ministers proofs of his satis-

faction with their conduct by bestowing honors on them : Buckingham and Arlington had the garter, and the latter an earldom ; Clifford was made lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and Ashley earl of Shaftesbury. This last, on the lord keeper Bridgeman's hesitating in some matter, represented him to the king as a mere old dotard, and the seals with the title of lord chancellor were transferred to himself, (Nov. 17.) Here he displayed the levity and eccentricity of his character. He rode himself, and made the judges and law-officers ride in ancient-wise in procession to Westminster ; he sat on the bench in "an ash-colored gown, silver-laced ;" he prided himself on his despatch of business ; made his orders with rapidity and after his own fancy ; but so many applications were made to him by counsel for explanations, that he became quite tame and humble in his court. Clifford at this time was made lord treasurer.

It was now nearly two years since parliament had met ; the king, however willing, could no longer dispense with its services, as the only means of obtaining money. When it assembled, (Feb. 5, 1673,) he addressed it himself. He spoke of the war as just and necessary ; and as to his declaration of indulgence, at which some cavilled, he told them plainly he was resolved to stick to it ; he also mentioned the army, which with their aid he intended to augment. Shaftesbury then spoke. He told them that the Dutch aimed at an empire as extensive as that of ancient Rome ; that they were the eternal enemy of this country ; that *Delenda est Carthago* was the maxim of the parliament, and a wise one ; and he had no doubt but that they would be liberal in their supplies.

Though the members were the same, the house was now different from what it had been. The fervor of their loyalty had cooled, and they saw clearly whither the court was tending. Their first care was therefore to vindicate their own authority. Ever since 1604 it had been the practice in case of a vacancy in the house for the speaker to issue a writ for a new election ; but Shaftesbury had taken on him, as chancellor, to issue the writs, and thus introduce his dependents into the house. The legality of these was questioned, (6th ;) the elections were voted void, and the speaker was directed to issue new writs. As the king made no opposition, Shaftesbury saw plainly that he could not be relied on, and he took his measures accordingly.

The very next day (7th) the house voted a supply of no less a sum than 1,260,000*l.* They then proceeded to their grand attack on the ' Declaration of Indulgence,' to which

Charles had affirmed he would 'stick,' and after a long and adjourned debate, in spite of all the efforts of the courtiers, it was resolved, (10th,) by a majority of 168 to 116, that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." An address to this effect was presented to the king, (14th;) he replied, (24th,) asserting his ecclesiastical authority, but expressing his willingness to assent to any bill for carrying the intents of his declaration into effect. This was voted insufficient, and in a second address they assured him that he was mistaken in supposing himself to possess that power. Charles was indignant, and talked of a dissolution; the duke, Clifford, Shaftesbury, and the more violent applauded his spirit; now was his time or never, they said — concessions had ruined his father and would ruin him. Ormond and Arlington in vain advised him to yield. It was resolved to oppose the lords to the commons. The king solicited the advice of the peers, (Mar. 1;) Clifford addressed them with his usual violence; but Shaftesbury said that his own opinion was in favor of the prerogative, but that he would not presume to set it against that of the house of commons. The lords resolved (4th) that the king's was a good and gracious answer. But Charles's resolution already began to give way; the French ambassador counselled him to yield for the present; the women too, it is said, interfered.

He sent for the declaration, and in the presence of his ministers broke off the seal, and next morning (8th) assured the two houses, that "what had been done should never be drawn into consequence." Acclamation followed, and at night bonfires flamed all through the city.

A few days after (12th) the Test-act, as it is named, passed the commons. In the lords, the earl of Bristol, though avowing himself a catholic, spoke in favor of it; the king gave a ready consent to it; and what is most strange, it is said to have originated with Arlington. Its object was to exclude the catholics from places of honor and profit. It required that every person holding any office of trust or profit should, besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, and subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation. Immediately the duke of York waited on the king, and with tears resigned to him all his commissions; his example was followed by lord Clifford, lord Bellasis, and others.

It is remarkable that the dissenters actually supported this bill, which excluded themselves as completely as the papists. But they willingly joined to oppose the common enemy; and

in return a bill for *their* relief was passed and sent up to the lords, (17th.) Here, however, it received amendments to which the commons would not agree; Sheldon and his party too, it is said, exerted themselves to defeat it; a sudden prorogation (29th) put an end to it, and the disinterestedness of the dissenters was thus ill rewarded.

As the parliament had given the means, a fleet was got to sea under prince Rupert; combined with that of D'Estrées it sailed over to the coast of Holland. De Ruyter gave them battle, (May 28.) The action was indecisive, and the fleets again encountered within a few days, (June 4,) with a similar result. An attempt to land an army under count Schomberg on the coast of Holland also failed. The duke's party threw all the blame on the prince, as being too closely connected with the country party to act with energy; the prince in return complained that his powers were limited and his ships ill supplied. The mouth of the Texel witnessed (Aug. 11) the last naval encounter between the Dutch and English for many years. It was fought with great obstinacy, (the French squadron, as usual, only looking on :) sir Edward Spragge, the second in command, was drowned as he was quitting the second ship in which he had hoisted his flag, in order to raise it in a third. In this action also the victory was doubtful.

The reduction of Maestricht was the only advantage gained by Louis this year. The prince of Orange besieged and took Naerden, and he afterwards eluded the French generals and formed a junction with the Imperialists, under Montecuculi, who were besieging Bonn. The surrender of that town and some other places gave them the command of the electorate of Cologne, and the French troops in the Provinces were thus cut off from communication with home. A congress for peace was meantime sitting at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but the States, now backed by the house of Austria, spurned at the conditions offered by the allied monarchs.

When parliament met, (Oct. 20,) the first question that engaged their attention was the marriage of the duke of York, who had lately (Sept. 30) espoused, by proxy, Maria D'Este, sister to the duke of Modena, a princess only fifteen years of age, but a catholic. They addressed the king, praying him not to allow the marriage to be consummated. Charles pleaded his honor. They forthwith passed votes for refusing supplies, imposing a severer test, etc., when the king came to the

house of lords and prorogued the parliament, (Nov. 4.) As he considered that Shaftesbury had played him false, he took the great seal from him, (9th,) and committed it to sir Heeneage Finch. Sir Thomas Osborne, now lord Latimer, had obtained the white staff resigned by Clifford. Shaftesbury now assumed the character of a patriot, and became the secret leader of the opposition.

When the parliament met (Jan. 7, 1674) the king addressed them with his usual affability; the lord keeper then followed, in a long speech, the object of which was to obtain an immediate supply. The commons first passed an address praying the king to enjoin a public fast, that the nation might implore Heaven to preserve "the church and state against the undermining practices of popish recusants," and to adopt certain measures of precaution against them; they then voted the removal from office of persons "popishly inclined, or otherwise obnoxious or dangerous;" and, following up this vote, they proceeded to attack the individual members of the Cabal.

The first attacked was the duke of Lauderdale. He was charged with having raised an army in Scotland to be employed in setting up arbitrary power in England, and with having said to the king in council, "Your majesty's edicts are equal with the laws, and ought to be observed in the first place." It was resolved to address the king to dismiss him from his employments and from the royal presence and councils forever. Buckingham, aware that his turn would come next, asked leave to address the house. His defence was feeble; his chief object was to shift the blame from himself to Arlington; one expression which he used seemed to go higher: "Hunting," he said, "is a good diversion; but if a man will hunt with a brace of lobsters, he will have but ill sport." An address was voted for his removal from the royal presence and councils. Arlington came off the best; he also defended himself before the commons, and with more spirit than was expected; and the motion for an address against him was lost.

All this time the commons were silent on the subject of a supply; and as the States just now made, through the Spanish ambassador, an offer of peace, which Charles, with the advice of both houses, resolved to accept, sir W. Tempie was appointed to negotiate, and in three days the affair was brought to a conclusion, (Feb. 19.) The honor of the flag was yielded to England; colonial and commercial questions

were to be settled by arbitration; and the Dutch agreed to pay 800,000 crowns in four annual instalments. The parliament was then prorogued, (24th.)

Two further attempts at weakening the influence of the duke were made; the one in the commons, by a more comprehensive test; the other in the lords, by an amendment to a bill brought in for restraining popery. This last was lost, and the prorogation stopped the other. The duke took alarm; his first thought was a dissolution, but to that course the king was very adverse, and the result of it was quite uncertain. He then bent his thoughts to delay the meeting of parliament; but for this purpose it was necessary that the king should be supplied with money. Fortunately for him, Louis XIV. was as anxious as himself to keep the king and parliament asunder, for he feared that England might now join the confederacy against him. The duke therefore proposed that Louis should give the king 400,000*l.*; the usual chaffering took place, and Charles was obliged to be content with 500,000 crowns. The parliament was then prorogued from November till the April of the following year.

The advantages of the campaign this year were on the side of France. Louis recovered Franche Comté; Turenne was successful against the Imperialists in Alsace, and forced the allies to repass the Rhine. The prince of Orange, who was opposed to Condé in Flanders, proposed, as his troops were superior in number, to make an attempt to penetrate into France. Condé avoided fighting, but, at a place named Seneffe, observing that the prince had exposed one wing of his army, he made a furious attack on it. A general action ensued, which was continued, when the day-light was gone, by that of the moon. The loss was nearly equal, and each side claimed the victory. "The prince of Orange," said Condé, "has acted in every thing like an old captain, except venturing his life like a young soldier." The campaign concluded by the taking of Grave by the prince of Orange.

Of the persons who had been accused by the commons, Buckingham alone was abandoned by the king, and he forthwith, as a matter of course, joined Shaftesbury and the opposition. Arlington saw his influence fading before that of the treasurer, now earl of Danby; by the royal command he sold his place of secretary to sir Joseph Williamson for 6000*l.*, and was raised to the higher but less influential post of lord chamberlain. To prop his falling power, he proposed to the king to negotiate a match between the prince of

Orange and Mary the eldest daughter of the duke of York. As the prince was well known to be a staunch protestant, this measure, he said, would eminently serve to allay the apprehensions of the nation on the subject of religion, and be in fact advantageous in many respects. The king approved warmly of the project; the objections of the duke of York were overruled; and in the beginning of the winter lord Arlington and lord Ossory, who were married to two sisters of a noble Dutch family, went over to the Hague under the pretext of visiting their wives' relations. The proposition, when made to the prince by lord Ossory, was coldly received; he said that, as circumstances were at present, he was not in a condition to think of taking a wife. After a short stay the envoys returned to England.

During the winter, the court and country parties were busily engaged in preparing their plans for the ensuing campaign in parliament. In the lords the crown had a decided majority; but the minority, headed by Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, was formidable from its talent and union. The country party was strong in the commons, where it possessed lord William Russell, esteemed for his probity and integrity; lord Cavendish, less correct in morals, but far superior in parts; sir William Coventry, deeply skilled in affairs, and free from passion and private resentments; Poule, learned in precedents and parliamentary usages; Littleton, the ablest in debate; Birch, rough, and bold, and powerful above all men of the day to sway a popular assembly; the veteran senators Lee and Garroway, together with Vaughan, Sacheverell, and many other able debaters. Their plan was, to urge the king to join the allies against France; to impeach the earl of Danby; and to refuse the supplies while he remained in office.

The plan of the court was to unite with the church, and thus deprive their opponents of their advantage in appearing as the champions of religion. A council was held at Lambeth, at which several prelates attended; they were assured of the king's attachment to the church, and called upon to give him their support; measures were devised for crushing popery, and a severe proclamation against recusants and non-conformists was forthwith issued. The duke of York remonstrated in vain; in contempt of his parental authority, the princesses Mary and Anne were led to church by Compton, bishop of London, and confirmed.

When parliament met, (Apr. 13,) the address against Lauderdale, of which the king had taken no notice, was

renewed, but to as little effect. Seven articles of impeachment were then exhibited against the earl of Danby. He had, however, like his predecessors, made large purchases of votes in the house, but on a more economical plan, we are told; for while they bought leading men at high prices, he looked out for those who had only their votes to sell, and consequently disposed of them more cheaply. The articles were therefore all thrown out. The grand attempt of the ministers was made in the lords, where a bill for a new test was introduced. By this, every member of either house, and all holding any office, were required to swear, that it is unlawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king; that it is traitorous to take up arms by the king's authority against his person; and that he will not endeavor the alteration of the government either in church or state. The debate on this bill lasted seventeen days; the king occupied his usual place at the fireside; but Shaftesbury and the other opponents of the bill, heedless of his presence, employed all their eloquence and all their powers of reason against it. It was carried by a majority of only two; had it come to the commons, it had probably been rejected by a much larger majority; but a question of privilege happening just then to arise between the two houses, the king took advantage of it to prorogue the parliament, (June 9.)

When parliament met, (Oct. 13,) the king required money for the navy, and also a sum of 800,000*l.*, which had been borrowed on the revenue. This last was refused, but 300,000*l.* was voted for the building of twenty ships of war, to which it was strictly appropriated. The contest with the lords was renewed; and such was the heat with which it was carried on, that it was moved in the lords to address the king to dissolve the parliament. This was opposed by the ministers, but supported by the duke of York and his friends. A prorogation for the long period of fifteen months was the result, (Nov. 22.)

The campaign of 1675 was favorable to the allies. Condé's army in Flanders was rendered inactive by the able conduct of the prince of Orange; and Turenne having been killed by a random shot while commanding beyond the Rhine, his army was obliged to repass that river, and it was followed by the Imperialists into Alsace. The allies having laid siege to Treves, marshal Crequi advanced to its relief; but at Consabrie he was fallen on and routed, and the garrison of Treves, whither he had escaped, having mutinied, capitulated and delivered him into the hands of the allies

The king of England, when he had concluded peace with the States, made an offer of his mediation to the other powers. Though from various causes they were all but the Dutch desirous of continuing the war, they could not decently reject the proposal of the British monarch. The place fixed on for the congress was Nimeguen, whither the lord Berkeley, sir William Temple, and sir Leoline Jenkins repaired as the English ministers. After many delays the congress met in the summer of this year; but, as was to be expected, the ministers were more anxious to raise than to remove difficulties. The great object of the allies was to prevail on Charles to join them against France; but to this course he had many objections, of which not the least was the state of dependence on his parliament to which it would reduce him. Louis took advantage of this feeling; the ambassador Ruvigni received directions to offer the same amount of pension as before for his neutrality. An agreement was made between Charles and Ruvigni for a pension of 100,000*l.* a year to be paid to the former; in return for which he was to sign a treaty, by which the two monarchs were to bind themselves to enter into no engagements but by mutual consent, and to aid each other in case of any rebellion in their respective dominions. This was communicated to no one but the duke of York, Lauderdale, and Danby. The two former approved of it of course; Danby hesitated and advised to consult the privy council; but the king removed all difficulty, by writing out the treaty with his own hand and setting his private seal to it, (Feb. 17, 1676.) He then delivered it to Ruvigni, who forthwith set out for Paris in order to have it signed by Louis. It would be difficult in the whole of history to meet a more disreputable transaction than this barter of honor and independence for lucre by the sovereign of a great and powerful nation.

Charles, thus enjoying the pension, the price of his dishonor, lived on indolently till the time came for the meeting of parliament, (Feb. 5, 1677.) The opposition had discovered what they regarded as a vantage point against the court. There were two statutes of Edward III., which ordained that a parliament should be held "once a year, or oftener if need be," and as fifteen months had elapsed since the last meeting, the parliament had in fact ceased to exist. This view was maintained with much boldness and ingenuity in the lords by Buckingham, supported by Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton; but Finch, now lord chancellor, maintained, in opposition to them, that the Triennial-act of

the 16th of the late king, and the act of the present king repealing that act, had extended the term to three years. Buckingham's motion was negatived by a large majority; the four lords were required to acknowledge that their conduct was "ill-advised," and to beg pardon of the king and the house, and on their refusal they were committed to the Tower.*

In consequence, it is said, of the bribes which he liberally bestowed, the minister had a majority on finance questions in the commons. Money therefore was granted for the navy; but it was appropriated, and none of it came into the treasury, so that the king had still need of his pension. The parliament now began to urge him to war; for Louis had entered Flanders at the head of a large army, taken Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, and defeated the prince of Orange at Cassel. The king, in order to do so, demanded an additional 600,000*l.*, pledging his royal word† not to break trust with them, or employ the money for any other purposes but those for which it was granted. But the commons knew him too well to trust him. They voted an address, (May 25,) praying him to enter into an alliance with the States-general and other powers for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. Charles affected great anger at this, as an encroachment on his prerogative, and he commanded both houses to adjourn till July. The court of France was still uneasy, and its envoy Courtin was urgent for a dissolution, or at least a prorogation till the following April. For this service Charles demanded an addition of 100,000*l.* a year to his pension. The usual chaffering took place, but the French were finally obliged to come into his terms, and also to consent that the increased pension should be reckoned from the commencement of the current year. The parliament was therefore prorogued from July to December, with a promise to Courtin that if the money was regularly paid it should then be adjourned to April. What

* They remained there till the meeting of parliament in the following year, when the others took their seats, merely asking pardon. Shaftesbury, who had had himself brought before the court of king's bench by *habeas corpus*, was obliged to ask pardon for it on his knees.

† Hume, having noticed the secret treaty with Louis which Charles had signed, calls his pledging of his word on the present occasion "one of the most dishonorable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne." Lingard most strangely says, that the reason given by Hume is, "because he was then negotiating for money with the French ambassador;" and, on this ground, attempts to defend Charles. He has either misread or misrepresented Hume.

Englishman can refrain from blushing at this disgraceful bargain? yet Charles, though the highest, was not the only criminal at this time; Courtin also bribed sundry members of the opposition to impede the granting of supplies, lest Charles might become independent of the French king.

The prince of Orange had long looked forward to a union with his cousin the princess Mary; but the opposition party in England, who feared that this match might unite him more closely with his uncles, had endeavored to divert him from it. Now, however, seeing the necessity of an effort to induce the king of England to aid in checking the career of the French monarch, he resolved to seek the hand of the princess. We must not be so unjust to the memory of this great prince as to suppose him actuated solely by political motives in this proceeding; on the contrary, in the spring of the preceding year, he had held a serious conversation on the subject with sir W. Temple, in which he stated that situated as he was, he knew he must marry one time or other; but that, at the same time, no considerations of political expediency would induce him to marry a woman with whom he could not look forward to a reasonable prospect of domestic happiness, and he begged that Temple would give him his candid opinion respecting the princess. The ambassador urged him to the marriage, and made so favorable a report of the lady Mary, that the prince wrote to his uncles on the subject, and requested permission to go over about it at the end of the campaign. These letters were brought to England by lady Temple.

The prince does not seem to have taken any further steps till the present year, when, having obtained the king's permission,* he set out at the end of the campaign, and landing at Harwich proceeded to Newmarket, where his uncles then were, (Oct. 9.) He was very kindly received by the king, to whose surprise, however, he seemed disinclined to enter on discourse of business. Charles desired sir W. Temple to try to find out the cause, and the prince told him that he was resolved to see the princess before he proceeded any further, and also to settle the affair of his marriage previously to entering on that of the peace. The king, when informed of this, very kindly left Newmarket sooner than usual; the prince, on seeing the lady Mary in London, was so pleased with her that he made his proposals at once to her father and

* Danby wrote to him, by the king's order, to come over Burnet i. 120, *note*.

uncle, by whom they were well received; but they insisted that the terms of the peace must be previously settled. The prince would not give way on this point; he said that "his allies, who were like to have hard terms of the peace at things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their cost; and for his part he would never sell his honor for a wife." The king was equally obstinate on his side, and Temple and Danby, who were both zealous for the match, were beginning to despair; the prince declared that he would remain but two days longer in England — a resolution which he desired Temple to communicate to the king. Temple, on doing so, represented to Charles the ill consequences of a breach between him and the prince. Charles listened attentively. "Well," said he, "I never was yet deceived in judging of a man's honesty by his looks and if I am not deceived in the prince's face, he is the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, and he shall have his wife; and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolved on." The duke, when Temple waited on him, seemed surprised, but declared his readiness to obey the king. Danby, when informed by Temple, undertook to adjust all the remaining points; and that evening the match was declared in the committee, and next day in the council. The king's mode of announcing his intention to the prince was characteristic; "Nephew," said he, "it is not good for man to be alone, I will give you a help meet for you:" he then added, that he would give him his niece; the duke consented in very obliging terms. On the fourth of November this auspicious marriage was solemnized by the bishop of London. It is deserving of note, that six days after the duchess of York was delivered of a son.*

The king, the duke, the prince, and Danby and Temple now took into consideration the question of the peace. The prince, convinced that Louis would never abstain from war, insisted on a strong frontier on both sides of Flanders; the king was of opinion that Louis was weary of war, and would devote himself to ease and pleasure; Temple thought with the prince. They were, however, obliged to give way a little,

* This, perhaps, may refute the insinuation of Dr. Lingard, (xii. 307, note:). "When the offer of marriage was made, (by Arlington in 1674,) the prince knew that the duchess of York was in an advanced state of pregnancy, a circumstance which considerably lessened its value." The duke of Cambridge, the child now born, died the following month (Dec. 15.)

and it was agreed that Louis should be obliged to restore all his conquests from the empire, and Lorraine to its duke; that France and Holland should mutually give back the places they had taken, but that Louis should retain all his conquests in Flanders, except Ath, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes, which would form a frontier between the French dominions and the United Provinces. The lord Duras, a Frenchman and creature of the duke's, (now created earl of Feversham,) was sent over to Paris with this treaty. He was to demand a positive answer in two days, but pretexts were made for detaining him, and meantime the prince was obliged to return to the continent. Louis was in fact highly indignant at the marriage of the princess Mary; Charles excused himself to Barillon the ambassador by saying, "I am the only one of my party, except my brother;" and the truth was, that he could not get any minister to join cordially in his projects of union with Louis. This monarch seemed resolved to listen to no terms but such as he should dictate, and though the winter had commenced, his army forthwith took the field and invested Guislain. Charles then (Dec. 3) appointed the parliament to meet on the 15th of January; Louis (17th) stopped the payment of his pension, offering at the same time, if he would consent to his retention of Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai, to send him the value of them in bars of gold, concealed in silk; and Danby was promised, if he would give his influence, any reward he should name in diamonds and pearls. Danby, however, was not to be bought; the king and duke were also displeased with Louis, and the duke looked forward to the command of an army and the acquisition of military fame. It is also likely, that the royal brothers thought their schemes of arbitrary power would be more likely to be effected by the force of a native army, than by the insidious aid of Louis.

When the parliament met, (Jan. 28, 1678,) Charles informed them that he had concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the States for the protection of Flanders, and that he should require a fleet of ninety sail, and an army of from thirty to forty thousand men. After a good deal of opposition, a supply for that purpose was voted, (Feb. 5.) The king, however, was still desirous of peace; but the success of Louis, who had now reduced Ypres and Ghent, exasperated the English nation, and the commons hastened (Mar. 8) to pass a bill for a part of the supply. Charles forthwith sent a body of three thousand men to the defence

of Ostend, and he issued money for raising twenty thousand more, to be accomplished within six weeks.

The troops when raised were, king James assures us, "as good as any where were to be seen." The commons, who, as the same prince tells us, "were in reality more jealous of the king's power than of the power of France," took alarm, and passed a resolution (Apr. 29) not to grant any more supplies till full satisfaction was given on the subject of religion. Charles, enraged at this disappointment, forthwith prorogued the parliament and commenced negotiations with Louis, with whom he subscribed (May 17) a secret treaty, engaging, in case the States would not accept the terms offered at Nimeguen, to withdraw his troops from the continent, for which he was to receive from Louis 450,000*l.* in four quarterly payments. When parliament met, (23d,) an address was made that war should be declared or the army be disbanded. The king's reply was evasive, and the commons resolved (June 4) that all the forces raised within the last seven months, "ought to be paid off and disbanded forthwith," and voted money for the purpose. The king, however, was not willing to part with his army. Urged by the duke of York, the council resolved to enter on the war; a corps of four thousand men was sent over to Flanders, and four thousand more, to be commanded by the duke, were in readiness for embarkation. At the same time (July 16) a new treaty was concluded with the States, unless Louis should recede from some pretensions which he had lately made in favor of Sweden.

Louis knew when to recede as well as advance. During a fortnight his ministers employed all the resources of diplomatic tactics against those of the States, and then, when all men looked for a renewal of war, suddenly yielded, (July 31,) and the peace between France and the States was signed the same day before midnight. Four days after, (Aug. 4,) the prince of Orange attacked the French army at St. Denis, near Mons, which town they were besieging. As it is not possible that he could be ignorant of the actual signature of the treaty of Nimeguen, the blood of the five thousand men who were slain in the action may be said to rest on his head. He probably hoped that a victory would prevent the ratification of the treaty, to which he was strongly opposed.

Spain and the emperor found it necessary to agree to the 'Peace of Nimeguen,' which left to Louis a large proportion

of his conquests, and put it in his power to renew the war when he pleased with every advantage.

It is not to be denied, that the opposition in parliament this year played the game of the king of France, and thwarted all the efforts of Temple and Danby to urge the king into a war which they imagined to be equally for the honor and interest of England. It is also well known, that the lords Hollis and Russell, and the other leaders of the country party, were in actual communication with Barillon and Ruvigni, and arranged with them the plan of operations. These are points which demand inquiry and explanation.

The country party had a violent distrust of the king, who, they well knew, was bent on making himself absolute, and perhaps on changing the religion of the nation; they also knew that he looked to the money or the arms of Louis for aid in accomplishing his designs: it was therefore their object to deprive him of this support, and they probably thought that a few fortresses in Flanders were not to be put in the balance with the British constitution. On the other hand, Louis acted on the usual maxims of state policy, and he wished to see his neighbors weak rather than strong; he had therefore no vehement desire that Charles should be absolute or the nation catholic: he was of course as little desirous of beholding a republic in England. What he wanted was, jealousy and disunion between the king and people, so that he might be able to play the two parties against each other, and thus be free from interruption from England in his project of extending the frontier of France to the Rhine, and establishing a dictatorship over the rest of Europe. For this purpose he had, in the beginning of the reign of Charles, kept up a communication with the commonwealth-men; then, seeing a prospect of the king's becoming his stipendiary and vassal, he entered into close relations with him; but the marriage of the princess Mary having proved to him that no reliance could be placed on Charles, he resolved to try to form a connection with the popular leaders. For this purpose, Ruvigni, who was a protestant and first-cousin to lady Russell, came over in the month of March, and he took occasion to assure Russell and Hollis, that his master did not at all conceive it to be for his interest that the king should be absolute, and that he was ready to aid in causing a dissolution of the parliament. They agreed, on their side, to take care that the grants of supplies should be clogged with such conditions

as to be so disagreeable to the king that he would prefer a reunion with France to accepting them. Ruvigni offered to spend a considerable sum in the purchase of members' votes, and begged of Russell to name those who might be gained over. He replied, that he should be sorry to have to do with people who could be bought.* He at the same time gave it as his opinion, that there was no chance of a dissolution but through the king of France, whose aid for that purpose Ruvigni freely promised. Nothing could in fact exceed the straits in which the popular party then were; they knew if the king could get an army at his devotion, he would destroy their liberties; they were dubious of the king of France, and yet he alone could aid them: we therefore need not wonder at their falling into a course of tortuous policy, which, though morally wrong, is what those who engage in politics can hardly ever escape. That nothing injurious to the country and constitution was intended, the names of Russell and Hollis are a sufficient warrant.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED.)

1678—1680.

THE king was now at peace, but the army was still on foot, the country party were dejected, and began to think that further resistance to the court was hopeless. In this state of things, during the recess of parliament, the Popish Plot, as it was named, came to fill the nation with alarm.

On the 12th of August, as the king was walking in the Park, a person named Kirby, who used to assist him in his chemical laboratory, came up to him and said, "Sir, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot within this very walk." On being questioned, he said that two men, named Grove and Picker-

* Barillon, in 1680, speaks of having given various sums to the popular leaders, as 1000 guineas to Buckingham, and sums of 500 or 300 guineas to Algernon Sidney, sir Thomas Lyttleton, Mr. Garraway, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Foley, and others. See Hallam's discussion of this matter, (ii. 54*.)

ing, had undertaken to shoot him, and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. He gave as his authority one Dr. Tonge, rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street. This Tonge was a weak, credulous man, and a great alarmist on the subject of popery, against which he published tracts every year. In the evening Tonge was brought to the king, to whom he showed a written narrative of the plot, divided into forty-three heads. He was sent to lord Danby; he said that the narrative had been thrust under his door; that he knew not the author, but had a clew which might enable him to discover him. In a few days he returned, and said, he had met the author in the street, who had given him a fuller account, but required that his name should be concealed for fear of the papists. As Danby insisted on seeing some of the papers mentioned in the narrative, after some delay and evasion he was told, that on a certain day a packet of letters, addressed to Bedingfield, a jesuit, the duke's confessor, would arrive at the post-office at Windsor. Danby hastened down to intercept them; but they had already come to hand, and Bedingfield, seeing that they were not the writing of those whose names they bore, and that they contained suspicious matter, showed them to the duke, who took them to the king. Charles recognized in the writing a similarity to that of the narrative, and expressed his belief of their being forgeries.

After some days, the person from whom Tonge professed to derive his information came forward. This was a man named Titus Oates, son to a weaver, who, having turned anabaptist preacher, and been chaplain to colonel Pride, had after the restoration obtained orders in the established church. He sent his son Titus to Cambridge, where, having finished his studies, he took orders and became a curate, but being indicted for perjury on some occasion, he got to be chaplain in the navy. Here, however, he was charged with an odious offence, and was obliged to quit the ship. He then managed to be appointed as one of the duke of Norfolk's chaplains, where meeting with many popish priests, he became a real or pretended convert to their faith. He was sent over to St. Omers, and thence to Spain, whence he was now returned to England. He had long been acquainted with Tonge, by whom and Kirby he was now chiefly supported.

At the urgent desire of the duke to have the matter sifted to the bottom, the king consented to have Oates examined before the council. Previously to appearing there, Oates

went before a magistrate named sir Edmundbury Godfrey, (Sept. 6,) and made oath to the truth of the narrative, which was now extended to eighty-one articles. He appeared before the council (28th) in a new suit of clothes and a clergyman's gown, and deposed to the following effect.

The jesuits had resolved by all means to reëstablish the catholic religion in the British dominions; they were organizing a rebellion and massacre in Ireland; in Scotland, disguised as presbyterian ministers, they were opposing episcopacy; here they proposed to assassinate the king, and then to offer the crown to the duke, provided he would consent to hold it of the pope, and aid in extirpating protestantism; if not, *To pot James must go*, was their expression. They had abundant funds, having 100,000*l.* in bank, 60,000*l.* a year in rents, etc. Father Leshee, [La Chaise,] the French king's confessor, had given them 10,000*l.*, and they were promised an equal sum from Spain. In March last, two men, named Honest William, [Grove,] and Pickering, (the last a lay-brother of the order,) were often directed to shoot the king with silver bullets at Windsor, for which the former was to have 1500*l.*, the latter 30,000 masses; and on their neglecting to do so, William had been reprimanded, and Pickering had received twenty lashes on his bare back. On the 24th of April there had been a great meeting of the jesuits at the White-horse tavern, by St Clement's in the Strand, to deliberate on the assassination of the king; and two Benedictines, named Coniers and Anderton, and four Irishmen, whose names he knew not, were added to the former two: 10,000*l.*, and afterwards 15,000*l.*, had been offered to Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison the king, and he had reason to believe he had undertaken it. He had also learned, since his return, that the jesuits had caused the fire in 1666, on which occasion they had expended seven hundred fireballs; and they would then have murdered the king, but they relented when they witnessed his zeal and humanity. They had secured, amidst the conflagration, diamonds to the value of 14,000*l.*; ten years after they had made 2000*l.* by setting fire to Southwark, and they now had a plan for burning Westminster, Wapping, and the shipping. Finally, the pope had lately issued a bull appointing to all the dignities in the church of England, as the catholic religion was sure to triumph as soon as the king was taken out of the way.

Next morning (29th) Oates was again brought before

the council. As it was objected to the Windsor letters, that they were in feigned hands, badly spelt, and without any punctuation, he said that such was the practice of the jesuits, that they might say they were forgeries if they were discovered, but that their correspondents knew the secret. As he said he had been introduced to don John at Madrid, he was desired to describe him. He said he was a tall, thin, dark man. The king, who had often seen him, knew that he was short, fat, and fair. He was also asked where he saw father La Chaise pay the money; he replied, "In the jesuits' house close to the palace." "Man," cried the king, "the jesuits have no house within a mile of the Louvre."

It is to be observed, that though Oates, by his own account, had feigned to be a convert with the sole purpose of discovering the secrets of the jesuits and betraying them, though, as he said, he was so highly in their confidence that numerous documents had been in his hands; he had not retained a single one of them, and there was nothing but his bare assertion for the truth of the incredible facts which he related. His only chance, therefore, was that something confirmatory might be found among the papers of those who were committed on his information, and here fortune stood his friend.

Among those named by Oates was Coleman, the secretary of the duchess of York. Coleman, the son of a protestant clergyman, had become a catholic; this naturally gained him the favor of the duke of York; and, with the usual zeal of a convert, he exerted himself to the utmost for the advancement of his new creed. For this and for other purposes he was in correspondence with La Chaise and his successor in office, St. Germain. When, therefore, he heard of his danger, he put all his papers out of the way; but he unluckily forgot a drawer containing his correspondence in 1674 and two following years, which was found. In one of these letters he says, "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and by that, perhaps, the utter subduing of a pestilent heresy, which has a long time domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were never such hopes of success, since the days of our queen Mary, as now in our days. God has given us a prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet

with is also like to be great, so that it imports us to get all the aid and assistance we can." Elsewhere he says, "I can scarce believe myself awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince, in such an age as we live in, converted to such a degree of zeal and piety as not to regard any thing in the world in comparison of God Almighty's glory, the salvation of his own soul, and the conversion of our poor kingdom." In other places he speaks of the interests of the crown of England being inseparable from those of France and the catholic religion, and he describes the king as inclined to favor the catholics, but at the same time thoroughly venal.

When we consider this language of Coleman, and add to it the other proofs which we possess, we think we may venture to say that the following assertion of Hallam is perfectly correct:—"There was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal, but one alert, enterprising, effective, in direct operation against the established protestant religion in England. In this plot the king, the duke of York, and the king of France were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the jesuits, were eager coöperators."

The mysterious disappearance of sir Edmundbury Godfrey next came to increase the public alarm. Godfrey, as we have seen, had taken Oates's deposition. Though he was a zealous protestant, he was on good terms with the catholics, particularly Coleman, whom he had warned of his danger. He seems to have had an idea that some mischief would befall him on account of this business, for Dr. Lloyd, the rector of his parish, heard him say, "I am told I shall be knocked on the head;" and he said the same to Dr. Burnet. To a gentleman who asked him if he had any hand in taking the informations touching the plot, he replied in the affirmative, adding, "I know not what will be the consequence of them, but I believe I shall be the first martyr." To another he said, "I must not talk much, for I lie under ill circumstances. Some great men blame me for not having done my duty, and I am threatened by others, and very great ones too, for having done too much."

On Saturday morning (Oct. 12) Godfrey left his home at an early hour, and went to different parts of town. He was met in St. Martin's-lane by persons, of whom he inquired the way to Paddington-woods; he was seen by others in Soho and Marybone-fields. He was in the Strand at one o'clock, and was afterwards seen in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, and a person supposed to be he was seen in Red-Lion-fields,

and on the way to Primrose-hill, and finally in a field near that hill.

His absence from home (for he did not return) caused great uneasiness to his family and friends, and various conjectures were made to account for it. Some thought he was gone out of the way from his creditors; others gave out that he was married, and "that not very decently," or that he was run away with a harlot; but the most prevalent report was that he was murdered by the papists. For some days no account could be got of him; but on Thursday evening, (17th,) as two men were going toward the White-house at Primrose-hill, they saw a cane and pair of gloves lying on a bank by a ditch, and, on searching further, they found in the ditch the dead body of a man, with a sword run through him. His rings were on his fingers, and his money was in his pocket. There was a double crease round his neck, which was so limber that the face might be turned round to the shoulder. The body was at once recognized to be that of the missing justice. A coroner's jury, swayed by the opinions of two ignorant surgeons, brought in a verdict that he had been strangled, and it was supposed that the assassins had run his own sword through him, that he might be supposed to have killed himself. That the papists had done the deed, was a point about which few had any doubt, and those who had, thought it most prudent to confine their suspicions to their own bosom.

The plain truth, however, appears to be, that in this instance the unfortunate papists were perfectly innocent, and that Godfrey died by his own hand. There was an hereditary melancholy in his family, and for some days before his disappearance a strangeness in his manner and behavior had been observed. The apprehension of being brought into some trouble on account of having taken the deposition of Oates probably led to the catastrophe. As by the law the property of a *Felo de se* was forfeit to the crown, it was the interest of his brothers to have it believed that he was murdered. The report, laying the guilt on the papists, was traced to them; they kept back important evidence; and they dealt with the coroner and the surgeons. It is, however, not to be supposed that they foresaw the judicial murders that were to ensue.*

When parliament met, (21st,) the ferment was great. The

* See L'Estrange's 'Brief History of the Times,' etc., where all the depositions are given.

king's usual application for money was neglected; but an address was voted, praying him to appoint a solemn day of fasting and humiliation for imploring the divine protection for himself and his loyal subjects. A second address followed, for the removal of all popish recusants from London and its vicinity, and proclamations were made accordingly. Committees, with extensive powers, were appointed to search out the plot. The country party became now omnipotent in both houses. Full credit was given to every thing Oates asserted; and he now added, that the pope, treating England as his kingdom, had appointed to all the great offices, civil and military: lord Arundel was to be chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, lord Bellasis commander-in-chief, with lord Petre for his lieutenant, sir Francis Radcliffe his major, and Lambert his adjutant-general; lord Stafford was to be paymaster-general, sir W. Godolphin privy-seal, and Coleman secretary of state. Similar arrangements were made for Ireland. Some of those named were disabled by age, others by infirmity, but these objections were unheeded; warrants were issued against all who were named, and the lords Arundel, Powis, Stafford, Petre, and Bellasis were committed to the Tower. Both houses finally passed a resolution, (31st,) that "there had been, and still was, a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for the assassinating and murdering the king, and for subverting the government, and rooting out and destroying the protestant religion."

On the last day of the month the funeral of sir Edmund-bury Godfrey took place, at St. Martin's-in-the-fields. Seventy-two of the London clergy, in their gowns, walked two and two before the coffin, and it was followed in the same order by more than one thousand gentlemen in mourning, of whom many were members of parliament. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Lloyd, the rector. At each side of him stood a tall, athletic clergyman, for his protection. His text was, "As a man falleth before the wicked, so fellest thou;" and he endeavored to show that Godfrey had been murdered by the catholics on account of his zeal in discharging the duties of his office.

Oates was now called 'The Savior of his Country:' he had lodgings assigned him at Whitehall, with a pension of 1200*l*. No one ventured to call the truth of the plot into question. All precautions were adopted against the rising of the catholics which he had announced: the trained-bands were constantly on duty, the guards were doubled at the

palace, the city put up its posts and chains, in order to be prepared for defence.*

A reward of 500*l.* having been offered for the murderer of Godfrey, a letter came the day after the funeral to the secretary of state, dated from Newbury, requesting that William Bedloe, the writer of it, might be arrested at Bristol and conveyed to London. This was done accordingly, and Bedloe was examined in presence of the king, (Nov. 7.) He said he had seen the body of Godfrey at Somerset-house, (the residence of the queen,) where he had been smothered between pillows by two jesuits, and that he had been offered two thousand guineas to help to remove it. At a subsequent examination (11th) he said that Godfrey had been inveigled into Somerset-house about five in the evening, and there strangled with a linen cravat. But it happened that at that very hour the king was visiting the queen, and the place was full of guards, and the room in which he said he saw the body was that appropriated to the queen's footmen, who were always in it. At first, too, he knew nothing of the plot; but having read Oates's narrative, his memory brightened, and he called to mind many circumstances which he had learned from English monks, nuns, and other religious persons, whom he had met on the continent, all corroborating it.

Bedloe was, if possible, more infamous than Oates. He had been originally a servant of lord Bellasis; he had travelled, chiefly as a courier, over much of the continent; had been guilty of many acts of robbery and swindling, had been often the inmate of a prison, and was but lately come out of Newgate.

The popular leaders had caused a bill, for a test which would exclude catholics from parliament and from the royal presence, to pass the commons, (Oct. 28.) While it was in the house of lords, an address was moved there by Shaftesbury, and in the commons by lord Russell, for excluding the duke of York from the presence and councils of the king. The efforts to have it rejected in the commons having proved abortive, the duke, at his brother's desire, resigned his place at the council-board; and Charles then having addressed the two houses in complacent terms, the 'ords resumed the discussion of the bill, and it was passed, with

* If North may be believed, (*Examen*, p. 206,) sir Thomas Player, the city chamberlain, said to the citizens, that "he did not know but that next morning they might all rise wit' their throats cut."

a proviso that it should not extend to the duke of York, (30th.) By this bill twenty catholic peers lost their seats, and for a century and a half their descendants continued to be excluded.

The two informers (urged, as was suspected, by the enemies of the duke, who wished to revive the project of a royal divorce) now proceeded to accuse the queen. Oates swore that, going one time with some jesuits to Somerset-house, he remained in the antechamber while they went in to the queen, and, as the door was ajar, he heard her exclaim, "I will no longer suffer such indignities to my bed. I am content to join in procuring his death, and the propagation of the catholic faith." Yet when sent to Somerset-house, he could not find the room in which he had been. Bedloe too deposed to a conference between the queen, lord Bellasis, and some jesuits and other priests, which he had overheard. Oates appeared at the bar of the commons, (28th,) and in a loud voice cried, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, queen of England, of high-treason." An address was voted to remove the queen and her attendants from Whitehall; but the lords, having examined the two witnesses, positively refused to concur in it, and the absurd and unfounded charge was dropped. The king in this matter behaved well, and expressed his determination not to let her be oppressed. He told Burnet that, "considering his faultiness to her in other respects, he thought it a horrible thing to abandon her."

The impeachment of lord Danby, which had long been a-brewing, was now effected. Montague, the ambassador at Paris, came over, without asking permission, and got himself chosen a member of the house of commons. His object was the ruin of Danby, and he entered into relations for this purpose with the popular leaders and with Barillon, from which last he was to receive 100,000 crowns in case of success. Danby, having had secret information of his project, and knowing that he had documents which might be used to his injury, got an order of council for the seizure of his papers; Montague, however, had secured the most important one, and it was read before the house. This was a letter from Danby to him on the 25th of March, during the negotiations for peace, directing him to offer to Louis the king's good offices in procuring such a peace as would be for his advantage, on condition of receiving 6,000,000 of livres a year for a term of three years, as it was likely to be so long before parliament would be in the humor to grant supplies. Nothing could be more repugnant to Danby's feelings than

a business of this kind, but the love of place, or an erroneous sense of the duties of his office, induced him to give way; and the king, to satisfy him, wrote at the bottom, "This letter is writ by my order. C. R." When this circumstance is considered, when it is added that Montague himself appears to have suggested the project, and that he stipulated for reward with the French agent, and broke through all the principles of honor, few greater instances of political turpitude will perhaps be found. The house, however, heeded not any thing but their passions: they discerned another link of the chain of popish machinations, and they voted an impeachment of the lord treasurer, (21st.) for, 1. traitorously arrogating to himself regal power by treating with foreign courts without the knowledge of the council; 2. endeavoring to subvert the constitution by keeping up a standing army; 3. negotiating a peace in favor of France to the prejudice of England, that he might receive money from France for keeping up that army; 4. being popishly inclined, and having concealed the popish plot; 5. having wasted the royal treasure; 6. having obtained for himself grants from the crown. Though the words *treason* and *traitorously* were used liberally in these charges, the lords plainly saw that the treasurer's guilt, if any, did not go beyond a misdemeanor; and his defence of himself was able and cogent; they therefore refused to commit him. At the desire of the treasurer, the king then (30th) prorogued the parliament to the 4th of February, and during the prorogation it was dissolved, (Jan. 24, 1679.)

Thus, after a duration of nearly eighteen years, ended the second and last Long Parliament. It had been elected in the full intoxication of loyalty consequent on the restoration, and at first it seemed inclined to free the royal authority from all limitations whatever; but time had cooled its fervor. The jealousy on the subject of the public liberties, which has never been extinct, had revived; the protestant feeling, then characteristic of the nation, had been alarmed; and, instead of a submissive body of loyalists, it had become an assembly suspicious of the court, and not to be managed by intrigue or daunted by power.

The courts of law were meantime proceeding in the trials of those charged by Oates and Bedloe with being concerned in the plot. Space does not allow of our entering into the details; suffice it to say, that the witnesses against them were in general men of the worst character; that chief-justice Scroggs and his brethren on the bench acted with the

most flagrant partiality and injustice, always assuming the guilt of the accused, aiding the witnesses for the crown when embarrassed, explaining away their contradictions, and brow-beating, sneering at, and insulting those for the defence, and that consequently conviction was no proof whatever of guilt.

Coleman was the first tried, (Nov. 27 :) the witnesses against him were Oates and Bedloe, and his own letters. In the eyes of the court and jury, Oates's testimony was not invalidated by his not having even known his person when first confronted with him. Coleman was found guilty, and died (Dec. 3) asserting his innocence to the last.

Grove, Pickering, and a jesuit named Ireland were next brought to trial, (17th.) Though the last made it clear that he was in Staffordshire when Oates swore he was in London, it availed him not: "You have done, gentlemen," said Scroggs to the jury, "like very good subjects and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good protestants; and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them," alluding to Pickering's reward. These men also died asserting their innocence, (Jan. 14.)

Hill, Green, and Berry, persons employed at Somerset-house, were charged by Bedloe with the murder of Godfrey. As the law required two witnesses, one Miles Prance, a catholic silversmith, whom Bedloe had also charged, was treated with so much rigor in Newgate, and so worked on by promises and threats, that he was at last induced to confess his guilt, and appear as a witness against the other prisoners, (Feb. 10.) Bedloe's evidence and his contradicted each other in the grossest manner, but this was of no avail to the accused. The three were condemned and executed, protesting their innocence to the last. Berry, it is to be observed, died a protestant.

An auxiliary to Oates and Bedloe had appeared in the person of one Carstairs, a profligate Scot. He swore that, in an eating-house near Covent Garden, he heard Staley, a catholic banker, say in French to another person, that the king was a rogue, and that he himself would stab him if no one else would. It was probably at first only a project to frighten money out of the banker, for Carstairs and another waited on him next day, and offered to hush up the matter for 200*l*. Staley only laughed at the charge. They then resolved to go through with the business; and he was seized, brought to trial forthwith, found guilty on their evidence, and hanged, (Nov. 26.) When Burnet first heard of this business

he lost no time in informing the chancellor and attorney general of the infamy of Carstairs' character, but the latter took it ill of him to disparage, as he said, the king's evidence.*

At the elections for the new parliament, the court candidates were almost every where rejected. To express the slightest doubt of the plot deprived a man of all chance of a seat, and the new parliament therefore, it was expected, would prove still more unmanageable than the last. As a means of averting the storm which he saw preparing, the king commissioned the primate and some other prelates to make an attempt to bring back his brother to the protestant faith. But all their efforts were vain on the sullen, obstinate mind of the duke, and Charles then required him to quit the country for a time. To this James consented, provided the king gave him a written order for that purpose, and also a solemn promise not to sacrifice his rights in his absence to the duke of Monmouth. Charles gave the order in an affectionate letter, and then solemnly declared before the council that he had never given any contract of marriage, or married any woman but his queen. He subscribed this declaration, and ordered it to be enrolled in chancery. The duke then set out with his family for Brussels, (Mar. 4.)

As soon as the duke was gone, the parliament met, (6th.) Seymour, the former speaker, was re-chosen; the king rejected him, and proposed another; the commons insisted on *their* right, the king on *his*: the dispute was terminated by appointing a third person. Henceforth it became a principle, that the house should choose, but that the crown may reject the speaker presented to it.

The commons now prepared to proceed with the impeachment of Danby; but the king, having previously dismissed him from his office, summoned the two houses to his presence, and told them that what Danby had done had been by *his* orders, and he had therefore granted him a pardon, and would do so a dozen times if necessary, at the same time he had seen reason to exclude him from his presence and council. The commons, however, viewed this pardon as illegal, and resolved to proceed; the lords, fearful of opposing them, directed that the earl should be taken into custody. Danby concealed himself at Whitehall; the lords passed a bill for his banishment, but the commons rejected it and passed one

* Dr. Lingard [justly] adds, "And the timid divine shrunk from the frown of the barrister, and left the unfortunate man to his fate."

for his attainder unless he surrendered against a certain day the lords altered it; the commons were determined, and the lords had to give way again, and pass the bill of attainder. Danby then surrendered, (Apr. 16,) and was committed to the Tower. Some days later (25th) he gave in his answer, denying the charges and pleading the pardon he had received from the king. The commons acted with great and indecent violence; the peers vacillated; a prorogation took place, and the impeachment was never renewed.

At this time the king, acting under the advice of sir William Temple, made a completely new organization of his council. It was now to consist of thirty members, (instead of fifty, as before,) one half to be the great officers of state, the remainder the leading popular members in both houses, so chosen that the annual income of the members of the council should amount to 300,000*l.*, to balance that of the commons, which was estimated at 400,000*l.*; for it was then a maxim in politics, that influence invariably follows property. It was expected that the hostility of the popular leaders would thus be mitigated, and with this view Charles himself nominated Shaftesbury president of the council.

The hopes of the king, however, were deceived; the protestant spirit of the commons was not to be lulled, and Shaftesbury continued to direct their movements. A resolution minatory of the duke of York having been voted unanimously by the commons, (Apr. 27,) Charles, in order to divert the blow which he saw coming, proposed such limitations on the power of a popish successor as seemed to leave him without the means of doing mischief. But the commons took no notice of the proposal, and the committee which they had appointed to search for evidence against the duke having made their report, they proceeded (May 15) to bring in a bill for excluding him from the throne, and notwithstanding the efforts of the court party, the duke's friends, and the supporters of hereditary right, it was passed (21st) by a majority of seventy-nine.

The passing of this vote secretly determined the king to get rid of his house of commons without delay. There were several of their other measures which showed the spirit which actuated them. In their animosity to Danby, they had voted, that if any member of their house should without permission support the validity of his pardon, he should be accounted a betrayer of the liberties of Englishmen; and to diminish the influence of the crown in the house of peers, they maintained that the bishops had no right to sit and vote

in capital cases. Their arguments, however, were refuted, and it was decided that in such cases the prelates have a right to stay in court "till the question of guilty or not guilty were put." The commons had, moreover, appointed a committee, of which the chief object was to discover the pecuniary corruption of the late parliament. The king accordingly, without advising with his council, prorogued the parliament (27th) for ten weeks. This proceeding so disconcerted Shaftesbury, that he openly vowed he would have the heads of those who advised it.

One most meritorious act distinguishes this parliament, and does credit to Shaftesbury, by whose influence it was passed. Hitherto the operation of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* had been so ineffective, that the boasted security which it offered, mostly proved illusory. By the *Habeas Corpus* act now passed, it was made imperative on the judges to grant the writ when applied for; the practice of sending persons to a prison beyond sea was abolished, and it was directed that every prisoner should be indicted in the first term after his committal, and tried in the succeeding term.

During the recess, the public attention was occupied with more trials on account of the Plot. Five jesuits, named Whitebread, (the provincial of the order,) Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, were placed at the bar; the witnesses against them were Oates, Bedloe, Prance, and a man named Dugdale, who had been steward to lord Aston, a catholic nobleman. The evidence against the prisoners was of the usual kind; in their defence they impeached the veracity of the witnesses; they produced sixteen students from St Omers to prove that Oates was there at the time; he swore he was at the meeting of the jesuits in London. Against these he produced six or seven persons who swore that they had seen him in London at that time. The court gave credit to these last, and the prisoners were all found guilty. The next day (14th) Langhorn, an eminent lawyer, and the law-agent of the jesuits, was put on his trial. When he appeared in court, the crowd set up a hooting at him; his witnesses were insulted and beaten, and when the jury brought in their verdict of guilty, a shout of exultation was set up.

The jesuits were first executed, (20th;) they died solemnly asserting their innocence. Langhorn was respited for some time, in the hopes that he might be induced to make discoveries; but as he persisted in denying all knowledge of the plot, he shared the fate of the other victims, (July 14.)

Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and Corker, Marshal, and Rumby, Benedictine monks, were next put on their trial, (18th.) They had advantages, however, which the others had wanted. Though it was generally believed that the catholics held that it was lawful to lie for the good of their cause, the solemn protestations of their innocence made by those who were executed had produced a favorable impression on the minds of many; the cause of Wakeman, moreover, was in reality that of the queen, of whose innocence few could have a doubt. The king's feelings on this point were no secret, and Scroggs, now at length assuming the character of an impartial judge, treated Oates and Bedloe as they deserved. The jury acquitted the prisoners, and the two baffled informers had the audacity to declare that they would never more give evidence in a court where Scroggs presided, and actually exhibited articles against him to the council.

Seven or eight priests were executed in different parts of England on the old laws for exercising their spiritual functions. Two of them are said to have been upwards of eighty years of age. As this had been connived at for so long a time, they surely should have got notice and been allowed to quit the kingdom. But the spirit of fanaticism (whether political or religious) is wild, impetuous, and overwhelming; no mounds of justice or equity can withstand it until it has spent its force. Perhaps when we consider how universal and strong was the belief in the Plot, and how artful the modes adopted by some profligate politicians to exaggerate its atrocity,* we shall find here, as in the civil war, grounds for admiring the freedom from bloodthirst characteristic of the English people.

We must now turn to a people of a different character. In Scotland, as we have more than once observed, every act of injustice or atrocity assumes a deeper dye than in England.† The religious persecutions of the reign of Charles exemplify this position.

When episcopacy was reëstablished in Scotland, (1662,)

* Sir W. Temple says, respecting the execution of the priests, "Upon this point lord Halifax and I had so sharp a debate, that he told me, if I would not concur in points that were so necessary for the people's satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papist, affirming that the plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it was so or no."

† [It should be remarked that the author of this work is not himself an Englishman, but an Irishman. The above is not, therefore, the language of national prejudice.—J. T. S.]

an act of indemnity containing nearly one thousand exceptions was introduced, and Middleton and his friends looked forward to a copious harvest of confiscations. The speedy disgrace of that profligate minister, however, averted the storm for a season. The bishops meantime held their synods; in the north the clergy in general submitted, but those of the west resolved not to acknowledge their jurisdiction. They proposed to offer a kind of passive resistance; but Middleton, in one of his drunken orgies at Glasgow, made an act of council for displacing all ministers who did not obtain induction from the prelates. Not less than three hundred and fifty ministers were in consequence ejected in the beginning of the winter, and they and their families were turned out of their houses, their stipends for the last year remaining unpaid. A set of ignorant, vicious *curates* were brought up from the north to supply the vacant churches. But the people would not attend to them; they crowded every Sunday to the abode of their former pastor, and as that was generally too small to contain them, the *conventicles*, as they were named, began to be held in the open fields. To put an end to this practice, the council ordered the ejected clergy not to approach within twenty miles of their former parishes, and the people were forbidden under severe penalties to contribute to their support.

If Middleton was bad, his successor Lauderdale was still worse. The prelates now (1663) were dominant; severe acts were passed against the ejected clergy and their adherents, and a miniature inquisition, named an ecclesiastical commission, was appointed to enforce them. The jails were filled; numbers went over to Ulster; the lay commissioners at length in disgust refused to act, and the odious commission was suffered to expire. But a severer scourge succeeded, (1665.) A body of troops, commanded by sir James Turner, a dissolute, ferocious Englishman, was sent into the west, to punish the people for deserting their churches. The curates were accusers, the soldiers judges; enormous fines were the penalties, which were exacted with rigor, accompanied by every species of insolence and insult. Numbers of the gentry as well as peasantry fled from their habitations, and took shelter in the mountains and moors. At length an incident, similar to what caused a secession in ancient Rome, gave occasion to an insurrection. An indigent old man, being unable to pay the fines imposed on him, was bound and laid on the ground to be conveyed to prison. The sight exasperated the peasantry; they disarmed

the soldiers and released him, (Nov. 13, 1666.) Despair now made them resolve on resistance; others joined them; they advanced to Dumfries, (15th,) where they surprised and captured Turner; but on reading his instructions, and finding that, barbarous as he was, he had not acted up to them, they gave him his life. At Lanark, where their numbers amounted to two thousand, they renewed the covenant. They then advanced toward Edinburgh, and came within two miles of that city; but finding preparations made for defence, and that their friends within could not join them, as they had expected, they set out on their return home, their number being now reduced to eight or nine hundred. At the Pentland-hills they were overtaken by general Dalziel, (28th;) they drew up on the summit of a hill; their ministers preached and prayed to encourage them, and they sang the 78th Psalm. They repelled the first charge of the royal troops, but at sunset they broke and fled; the darkness befriended them, and not more than one hundred and thirty were taken; the slain did not exceed fifty. Cowardice is always cruel, and the two archbishops, who had been in the utmost consternation, now breathed nothing but vengeance: twenty of the captives were executed in Edinburgh as traitors; thirty-five were hung at their own doors in the country. At length an order came down from court to stop the slaughter. Archbishop Burnet, who was the bearer of this order, had the barbarity to keep it back till Maccaill, a young preacher, had been executed, after undergoing with undaunted resolution the horrid torture of the *boot*. Maccaill's last words were, "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars; farewell, kindred and friends; farewell, world and time; farewell, weak and frail body: welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Savior of the world; and welcome, God, the judge of all."

Dalziel and Drummond, two brutal soldiers who had long been in the Muscovite service, were sent to the west; Dalziel's threats to spit and roast men were justified by his deeds. Some persons were put to death on the highway without trial, others were tortured by having lighted matches fastened to their fingers; a son was executed for refusing to discover his father; a wife was tortured till she died for aiding her husband to escape. Rape, robbery, and murder desolated the unhappy country for the space of seven months. The clergy abetted all the excesses of the soldiery, whom they caressed as their friends and patrons, and they spoke of the present times as a golden age.

A change in the Scottish ministry (1667) brought some repose to the country; but with the return of Lauderdale to Scotland (1669) the persecution was renewed. The laws against conventicles acquired new vigor, and these in their turn assumed a more formidable appearance, as those who attended carried arms for their defence, and frequent affrays took place between them and the military. The Scottish law having a civil excommunication, similar to the *Interdictio aquæ et ignis* of the Roman law, named "Letters of Intercommuning," these were issued in great numbers against those who were known to frequent conventicles or absent themselves from church; among whom were not only ministers and gentlemen, but even ladies of distinction. These and the other severities drove many to adopt a vagrant life, and gradually to acquire the feelings and habits of outlaws.

Some years before, an attempt had been made on the life of Sharp. The assassin had escaped; but six years after, Sharp, observing a man to eye him frequently, thought he recognized the features of the person who had fired at him. The man was arrested; he proved to be a fanatic preacher named Mitchel. On the solemn promise of Sharp and the council that his life should be safe, he confessed the attempt on the archbishop. It was proposed to cut off his hand; but having got a hint from a friendly or humane judge not to confess in court unless his limbs were secured as well as his life, he baffled the vengeance of the primate. A pretext, however, was made for putting him to the torture, and he was then confined in the prison on the Bass-rock, where he languished for four years. His trial was then renewed at the instance of Sharp, who, with Lauderdale, Rothies, and Hatton, did not scruple to declare on oath that no promise of life had been made to him. A copy of the act of council was produced; but Lauderdale refused to allow the books in which it was registered (and where it still remains, a witness of their baseness and perjury) to be examined, and the court condemned the prisoner. Lauderdale would have respited him, but the primate was inexorable. "Nay, then," said Lauderdale scoffingly, "let him glorify God in the Grass-market;" and the prisoner was executed.

The great object of the king was to obtain a standing army, as the only sure step to arbitrary power. Lauderdale had, in compliance with this desire, raised an army in Scotland; but it was necessary to have a pretext for keeping it up, and there is strong reason to suspect that it was concerted at court to drive the Scottish fanatics into insurrection with

this view. Accordingly the landlords in the west were required to enter into bonds for the good conduct of all persons on their lands with respect to conventicles, etc., and on their refusal, Lauderdale declared the western counties in a state of revolt. Troops were therefore marched on all sides toward them, and by the express orders of the king a body of six thousand ferocious Highlanders were invited from their mountains, and in the middle of winter (1678) let loose on the unhappy counties to exercise all the atrocities of free quarters. Their ravages lasted for a space of three months, but failed to goad the people into rebellion.

At length the desired occasion was presented. One of the commissioners for suppressing conventicles, named Carmichael, had exercised great severities in Fife. Nine of those who had suffered lay in wait for him one day (May 3, 1679) on Magus-moor, near St. Andrew's, intending to fall on him while out hunting. But he had gotten information and retired to Cupar. When they were about to separate, a coach and six came in sight, and a boy cried out, "There goes the bishop!" The fanatics saw the hand of God in this event, and believing that Heaven had thus delivered the arch-persecutor into their hands, they mounted their horses, and led by John Balfour, a violent enthusiast, they crossed the moor and came up with the carriage, in which were only Sharp and his daughter. They fired into it, and as their shots did not take effect, they dragged their victim out; to his offers, remonstrances, and entreaties, they replied that they bore him no personal malice, but were only obeying the command of God. With their swords they barbarously slew him, and left his body on the road. They then retired to a neighboring cottage, where they passed several hours in prayer.

Sharp may be called the Laud of Scotland. Like him, he was regular in his conduct in private life, a tyrant and a persecutor in public. But Sharp was an apostate and a traitor to those who had trusted him, and he seems to have had little religion of any kind. No one, we should hope, who has read the preceding History, will suspect us of being the apologists of crime; but we cannot avoid discerning the justice of Heaven, which permits even the irregular punishment of offenders who are not amenable to earthly tribunals.

Rewards were offered for the murderers, and conventicles were declared to be treasonous. The assassins were now in the west, where, in conjunction with one Hamilton, a

preacher, they urged the people to resistance. On Friday the 29th of May, a party entered the burgh of Rutherglen and publicly burnt the acts restoring episcopacy. On the following Sunday, Graham of Claverhouse, with three troops of horse, attacked their conventicle at Drumclog by Loudon-hill, but was repulsed with the loss of thirty of his men. The troops abandoned Glasgow to the covenanters, whose numbers gradually swelled; but the time which should be devoted to action was employed in religious controversy, and those whose only hopes lay in union were split into parties.

When the news reached London, the duke of Monmouth was sent down as commander-in-chief. His first instructions were, to treat or to fight; but Lauderdale induced the king secretly to alter them, and to direct him not to treat, but to attack the rebels wherever they were found. Monmouth advanced from Edinburgh at the head of ten thousand men; he found (June 21) the whigs, to the number of four or five thousand, posted at Bothwell-bridge, near Hamilton, on the Clyde. They sent to treat, but were required to surrender at discretion. The bridge was defended for some time against the duke; but when his troops had crossed it, the insurgents broke and fled at the first discharge of cannon: four hundred were slain; twelve hundred surrendered; their lives were saved by the humanity of Monmouth, whose gentle and clement conduct in this expedition won the applause of even the fanatics themselves. On his return to court he became their advocate; but the influence of Lauderdale finally prevailed; the sanguinary and rapacious Claverhouse was let loose on the devoted country, and the court of justice almost ruined the gentry by unjust and enormous fines.

Soon after the return of Monmouth, the king, with the advice of Essex and Halifax, dissolved the parliament, (July 16.) The following month he was attacked by a fever at Windsor, and by the advice of the same ministers and some other members of the council, he recalled the duke from Brussels, (Aug. 23.) James came without delay, travelling under a feigned name. The king was convalescent when he arrived, and it was soon after deemed advisable that both James and Monmouth should quit the kingdom. They went to the Low Countries; but soon after, the duke of York returned, and got permission to reside in Scotland, whither he repaired without delay.

When the new parliament met, (Oct. 17,) it presented the same composition as the preceding one, and Shaftesbury.

whom the king had just deprived of his office in the council, looked forward to vengeance on the court by means of it. But to his dismay, the king prorogued it the very day it met; and successive prorogations prevented its reassembling for a twelvemonth. Charles, before he ventured on this step, had agreed with Louis for a pension of a million of livres a year for three years, and thus thought himself independent. But the treaty had not been signed, and Louis now wanted to add some more conditions. These Charles rejected, and he had now no alternative but to follow the advice of his brother and economize his income; and this he tried to do rather than meet his parliament.

Shaftesbury now tried various expedients to rouse the popular feeling. The old ceremony of burning the pope was performed in London (Nov. 17) with more than usual pomp and expense. Immediately after, Monmouth returned without permission; and though the king ordered him to depart, and deprived him of all his employments, he remained in defiance of him, and went on in his endeavors to gain the popular favor. A pamphlet called 'An Appeal from the Country to the City, etc.,' was also put forth, in which the claims of Monmouth were warmly advocated, and great stress was laid on the maxim that "the worst title makes the best king."

But the grand expedient was, to pour in petitions from all parts to the king to allow the parliament to sit at the end of the first prorogation. To stem this torrent, when it began to appear formidable, the king put forth a proclamation (Dec. 12) threatening with punishment all who should subscribe them in any manner contrary to the law of the land. The immediate effect was extraordinary; the dormant loyalty of the nation was awakened, and from all sides counter-addresses poured in, expressing the deepest respect for the royal prerogative, and *abhorrence* of the practices of those who sought to limit it. The two opposite parties were at first named 'Petitioners' and 'Abhorrrers;' but these soon gave place to the titles of Whigs and Tories, which have continued to designate the two rival parties in the state down to the present day. The popular party were called by their opponents Whigs, as being akin in their sentiments to the Scottish fanatics who were thus named; they retaliated by styling them Tories, as resembling the popish robbers of this name in Ireland.

The king was now emboldened to recall the duke of York to court, (Jan. 28, 1680.) Russell, Cavendish, Capel, and Powle forthwith tendered their resignation as members of

the council, which the king said he accepted "with all his heart," speaking no doubt most sincerely. The duke's influence immediately appeared. There had long been great talk of a *black box*, containing the king's marriage contract with Monmouth's mother, said to have been left by the late bishop of Durham in charge of his son-in-law sir Gilbert Gerard, and that many persons had seen and read the contract. All these persons were now examined before the privy-council, and they disclaimed all knowledge of the box or the contract. Two royal declarations were then published, in which the king solemnly affirmed that he had never been contracted or married to any one but the queen.

Shaftesbury's next measure was a bold one. Accompanied by the earl of Huntingdon, the lords Russell, Cavendish, and others, among whom was Titus Oates, he went (June 26) to Westminster-hall and presented the duke of York to the grand jury for recusancy. He was defeated by a stratagem of the chief-justice, who suddenly dismissed the jury: but his principal object was attained; he convinced his party that he was resolved to seek no compromise with the duke.

While these various political intrigues were going on, the lives of persons continued to be endangered; and at this time lord Castlemain and the countess of Powis, wife of one of the catholic lords in the Tower, were accused by a man named Dangerfield, and sir Thomas Gascoigne and others of the catholic gentry of Yorkshire by one Bolton.

Dangerfield, a man of infamous character, like most of the informers, had been in the last summer the author of what was called the Meal-tub Plot. This fellow, having become acquainted with one Mrs. Cellier, a catholic, who followed the profession of a midwife, conceived the idea of fabricating a plot of the presbyterians against the government. Mrs. Cellier, through lady Powis, introduced him to lord Peterborough, who brought him to the duke of York. That prince gave him twenty guineas, and he had forty from the king, with whom also he had an interview. At his instigation the revenue officers were sent to search for smuggled lace in the lodgings of colonel Mansel, who, he said, was to be quarter-master of the presbyterian army, and behind his bed they found a parcel of treasonable papers. As these were manifest forgeries, Dangerfield was committed to Newgate, and there he said that he had been bribed by the papists to forge the plot, and to assassinate the king and lord Shaftesbury. He asserted that documents corroboratory of his confession would be found hid in a *meal-tub* in Mrs

Cellier's house; and there they certainly were found. The juries, however, both on her trial and on that of lord Castlemain, refused to give credit to Dangerfield. The whole affair is, as usual, involved in mystery; the catholics may have endeavored to get up a counter-plot; the Monmouth party may have sought by means of a sham-plot to cast odium on the duke of York. All parties at this time, in their anxiety about ends, were but too indifferent as to means.

The party opposed to the duke of York was now greatly increased in strength. Two of the ministers, Godolphin and Sunderland, had joined it; and the duchess of Portsmouth, menaced with impeachment, had, through lord Howard of Eserick, entered into the league, on condition of all proceedings being dropped. She was employed to offer the king, over whom she had great influence, a large sum of money and the power of naming his successor.

When the time for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the opponents of the duke of York labored to impress on the king's mind the necessity of his return to Scotland. To this the duke was very adverse, as he knew that his presence encouraged his friends and kept his brother steady. He was, however, obliged to yield, and he departed, (Oct. 20,) the king having promised not to give up any of the rights of the crown, and to dissolve the parliament if it should attempt to impeach him. James, however, did not trust alone to the royal resolution; sooner than forego his right to the succession, he was prepared to rekindle the flames of civil war, and at the head of his partisans in the three kingdoms to bid the king defiance.* Louis, constant to his plan of weakening England, directed Barillon to encourage him by offers of assistance.

The day after the duke's departure, (21st,) the parliament met. No time was lost in proceeding to the grand question, the exclusion of the duke. Dangerfield appeared before them, (26th,) and his account of the duke's knowledge of his forging the plot and encouraging him to kill the king, found real or affected belief. Lord Russell then moved a resolution "to take into consideration how to suppress popery and to prevent a popish successor." The resolution was unanimously adopted. On the succeeding days, the deposition of Bedloe on his death-bed was read, and Dugdale, Prance, and another witness were heard, and the house voted (Nov. 2) that a bill

* "Il est persuadé que l'autorité royale ne se peut rétablir en Angle terre que par une guerre civile." Barillon, Aug. 19, 1680.

should be introduced to disable the duke of York from succeeding to the crown.

Besides the thick-and-thin supporters of the court and country parties, there was in the house a third party, more respectable perhaps than either, named the 'Party volant,' i. e. the independent members whose weight could incline the beam to either side. These united now with the whigs, and to intimidate the court party, the same tactics were resorted to as in the beginning of the parliament of 1640. They caused petitions against their returns to be presented; and having voted that it is the undoubted right of the subjects to petition the king to call a parliament, as if it followed by natural consequence that they have no right to petition for the reverse, they forthwith fell on the Abhorrrers. They expelled sir George Withers, and appointed a committee to inquire what other members had been guilty of a like offence. They frightened the recorder, sir George Jeffreys, into a resignation of his office, which they procured for sir George Treby. Their officers were sent all through England to take Abhorrrers into custody. The nation seemed to be once more menaced with the yoke of an arbitrary parliament; but Mr. Stawell, a gentleman of Exeter, having refused to submit to the serjeant-at-arms, they discovered that they were exceeding their powers, and they quietly receded from their pretensions.

The bill of exclusion was introduced on the 4th. It was supported by lord Russell and the other popular leaders; it was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, Laurence Hyde, Seymour, Temple, and others. The king sent a message intimating that he would not consent to alter the succession; but no notice was taken of it, and the bill passed (15th) by a large majority. It was carried to the lords (19th) by lord Russell. When he read out the title, those behind him gave a loud cheer. It was supported in the lords by Shaftesbury and Essex, and opposed by Halifax. The king canvassed for his brother: the bishops were true to the cause of the prerogative, and the bill was rejected by a majority, 63 to 30.* Shaftesbury then proposed, "as the only remaining chance for liberty and religion," a bill of divorce. But to this Charles was as adverse as ever; he canvassed against it also, and it was not proceeded with.

* Monmouth very indecorously voted openly for the bill, saying he knew no other way to preserve the life of the king from the malice of the duke of York. The king, in a loud whisper, likened this to the kiss of Judas.

The commons, to gratify their spleen, addressed the king to remove Halifax from his presence and councils; he replied, that he did not think they had given sufficient reasons for the adoption of that measure. They also impeached Seymour for malversation in his office of treasurer of the navy—his real offence was his vigorous opposition to the Exclusion-bill. Their next proceeding was of a more malignant character; they revived the impeachment against the venerable lord Stafford, one of the popish lords in the Tower.

The trial took place (Nov. 30) in Westminster-hall, which was fitted up for the occasion in the usual manner. The chancellor, Finch, earl of Nottingham, acted as lord high-steward; Maynard, Winnington, Treby, and other lawyers were the managers on the part of the commons. Oates, Dugdale, and a new witness named Turberville were the principal witnesses against the accused. The trial lasted five days.

The managers commenced by endeavoring to establish the truth of the plot in general, and then to show that the prisoner was concerned in it. Oates swore that he saw Ireland deliver him a commission to be paymaster-general of the catholic army; Dugdale, that lord Stafford had offered him 500*l.* to kill the king; Turberville, that he had made a similar offer to himself at Paris. Lord Stafford, though a man of very moderate abilities, aided by the power of truth, made an able defence, and showed that the testimony of the witnesses abounded in contradictions, and was not to be credited. On the last day, (Dec. 4,) the managers replied; and three days after, (7th,) the lords reassembled to give sentence, and out of eighty-six peers, fifty-five pronounced him guilty. When brought in and informed of the result, he said, "God's holy name be praised! I confess I am surprised at it; but God's holy will be done and your lordships'; I will not murmur at it." He requested to have liberty to see his wife, children, and friends during the short time he had to live. His request was granted, and it was added that they would intercede with his majesty to remit all the sentence except the beheading. He burst into tears. "My lords," said he, "it is not your justice, but your kindness, that makes me weep."

In the Tower he was visited, at his own desire, by the bishop of London and Dr. Burnet. He listened to their arguments on religious topics attentively, but said he had no time now for controversy, and they had the good sense

not to urge him. He denied all knowledge of any design against the life of the king; but he said he could discover many other things for which the duke would never forgive him. At his desire Burnet spoke to lord Essex, lord Russell, and sir William Jones, and they said that if he told what he knew of the designs of the papists, and "more particularly concerning the duke," they would endeavor to have him excused from confessing what related to himself. He said to Burnet, "What if I should name some who have now great credit, but had once engaged to serve their designs?" The other advised him to speak the whole truth.

Lord Stafford was immediately brought to the bar of the house of lords, (18th.) He related the various projects of the catholics for the security and advancement of their religion. As they conceived this could only be done by means of a toleration, he said that their last plan had been a coalition with the country party, which was approved of both by the duke and lord Shaftesbury. But when he named the last, he was ordered to withdraw; the house would hear him no more. He was remanded to the Tower, and that very day the order for his execution was issued to the sheriffs. These were Bethel and Cornish, two Independents, and creatures of Shaftesbury. They questioned, it is not known why, the validity of the writ, as it was the house of lords, not the king, that had sentenced him. The lords, when applied to, (21st,) said "the king's writ ought to be obeyed;" but not satisfied with this, the sheriffs caused the commons to be asked whether the king or even the lords can order the execution; and whether the king can remit a part, or if a part, why not the whole, of the sentence. The commons got over the difficulty by saying, that "the house was content that the sheriffs should execute William, late viscount Stafford, by severing his head from his body *only*." We fear, to the disgrace of our nature, that the mitigation of the sentence at the request of the peers, was the motive of these political and religious fanatics for questioning the undoubted right of the crown.*

Lord Stafford was beheaded (29th) on Tower-hill. When

* Echard says, that lord Russell was "one of those who, with the sheriffs, questioned the king's power in allowing that lord to be only beheaded;" and that, on a similar melancholy occasion, Charles said, "My lord Russell will now see that I have a power to change his sentence. Fox expresses no doubt of the truth of this charge against lord Russell, which he ascribes to "his fear of the king's establishing a precedent of pardoning in cases of impeachment."

he first appeared, a few groans and yells were raised; but the general conduct of the spectators was respectful, and most of them took off their hats. He spoke at some length in vindication of his innocence, and the generous populace cried out, "We believe you, my lord. God bless you, my lord!" He laid down his head, and one stroke terminated his existence.

Of lord Stafford's innocence there cannot, we think, be even the shade of a doubt on any impartial mind. But the whig party are perhaps unjustly loaded with the odium of his death; for its true cause seems to have been the prevalent delusion which darkened even the clearest understandings. The whigs were a minority in the house of lords, which condemned him. The chancellor, and the duke of Lauderdale, and other ministers of the crown voted him guilty, while Hollis and Halifax voted in his favor. Four of his own kinsmen, the Howards, voted against him; but another of them, lord Arundel, though at enmity with him, voted in the minority. As for the king, he showed the utmost indifference. The duke of York did perhaps all he could for the unfortunate nobleman.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES II. (CONTINUED.)

1681—1685.

THE proceedings of the commons in the present session strongly reminded men of the days of 1641. Thus they refused the king supplies unless he would assent to the exclusion-bill; they impeached four of the judges; they resolved that several persons, whom they named, ought to be removed from public employments; and that any member of their house who should accept a place, or the promise of one, should be expelled, etc. The king and his ministers became alarmed; a resolution was taken to prorogue the parliament, and it was finally dissolved, (Jan. 18, 1681,) and another summoned to meet two months thence at Oxford.

Oxford was selected from a recollection of the aid which the commons had derived from the city of London in 1641

A petition, signed by sixteen peers, against the holding of parliament in that city, was presented by lord Essex, but without effect. The king, to insure his independence of the commons, entered into a new treaty with Louis for a pension for a term of three years. To this he had been strongly urged by the duke of York, who on his part was making every preparation for an appeal to arms.

When the day for the meeting of parliament drew nigh, the king set out for Oxford, guarded by a troop of horse. Most of the members who repaired thither were armed, both themselves and their servants. Those of the city of London were followed by a train on horseback, with blue ribbons round their hats, inscribed with "No popery! no slavery!" The members returned to this parliament were in general those who had sat in the last.

The king, being now in no dread of want of money, addressed the two houses (Mar. 21) in a tone of authority. He spoke in severe terms of the conduct of the late parliament, and declared that, as he would never act arbitrarily himself, he would not suffer others to do so; he expressed his rooted dislike to the exclusion-bill, but added, that he would be "ready to hearken to any expedient by which the religion might be preserved, and the monarchy not destroyed," in case of a popish successor. One of the first measures of the commons, however, was to bring in again the exclusion-bill, but the debate on it was deferred for a few days, and meantime another matter occurred to occupy their attention.

There was an Irish catholic, named Fitzharris, who by means of his cousin, a Mrs. Wall, who was in the service of the duchess of Portsmouth, had become connected with the court. He devoted himself to the discovery of the designs of the country party, and his services were at one time rewarded by the king with a present of 250*l*. Probably with a view to a similar reward, Fitzharris resolved, in conjunction with one Everard, a Scotsman, to write a libel on the king and the duke of York. When it was written, Fitzharris hastened with a copy to his patroness, perhaps intending to denounce his coadjutor as the author; but the Scot had been too wily for him, having concealed sir William Waller, a magistrate, and two others, behind the hangings in the room where they were composing it. Fitzharris was therefore committed to Newgate; and now, seeing himself in real danger, he pretended that he could make important discoveries of the designs of the duke of York. The king, observ-

ing that the exclusionists were preparing to make use of him, had him removed to the Tower, and directed the attorney-general to indict him for treason. The commons, however, believing, or pretending, that this was a continuation of the popish plot, and that the object of the crown was to deprive them of the benefit of Fitzharris's revelations, determined on impeaching him before the lords. The peers, when the impeachment was brought up, decided not to entertain it; and the commons, in a fury, voted their so doing to be a denial of justice and a violation of the constitution.

That very day (26th) the debate on the 'exclusion-bill' came on, and one of the ministers proposed the 'expedient,' at which the king had hinted. This was, that the duke should only have the title of king, and be banished to a distance of five hundred miles from England, while the princess of Orange should administer the government as regent. After a long debate, the expedient was rejected, and it was resolved to proceed with the exclusion-bill. Two days after, (28th,) as they were engaged in the second reading, they were suddenly summoned to the house of lords. They found the king seated on the throne, and, after a brief address, he ordered the chancellor to dissolve the parliament. He then got into his carriage and hurried away to Windsor, leaving the opponents of the court filled with rage and dismay.

By this well-timed act of resolution and dexterity Charles completely overthrew the country party. Their conduct now appeared to most men to have been purely factious, and calculated to convert the monarchy into a republic. Loyal addresses poured in from all quarters; the pulpits every where resounded with declamations in favor of the duke, and against the non-conformists. The declaration which the king put forth, stating the causes which induced him to dissolve the two last parliaments, was, on the proposal of the primate, read out in all the churches.

The first proof which the court gave of its power was an order to the attorney-general to proceed with the trial of Fitzharris. He was found guilty, and executed at Tyburn, (July 1.) It would appear that he was dealt with by agents of the court to declare with his dying breath that he had been suborned by the recorder and sheriffs to make the depositions which he had made.

Fitzharris was a profligate scoundrel, and deserved his fate; but on the same day with him suffered a man of blameless and innocent life, sacrificed at the altar of the king's

pretended zeal for protestantism. This was Oliver Plunket, titular prelate of Armagh in Ireland, accused of a share in what was called the Irish plot for setting up popery in that country by means of a French army. The witnesses against him were mostly priests whom he had censured for their lewdness and profligacy. Though five weeks were given him to bring over his witnesses, various circumstances concurred to delay them, and he had nothing to oppose to the evidence against him but his simple assertion. With his last breath he solemnly declared his innocence, and no one, we believe, has ever doubted of it. We cannot conceive any thing more appalling than the conduct of the king in signing the warrant for the death of this upright prelate, with no other view than the retention of his present popularity, for he had now no Shaftesbury and his party to fear : he had completely stricken down his foes.

The very next day (2d) Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower. The witnesses against him were some of the scoundrels whom he had himself encouraged in the affair of the Irish plot. The court party lent all the aid in their power to crush this formidable intriguer, and the witnesses swore most manfully ; but the grand jury ignored the bill. The hall rang with shouts of applause, and bonfires and the ringing of bells succeeded, (Nov. 24.) It is true, that the sheriffs, who were of the country party, had been careful in selecting the jury, but it is equally true that the evidence was utterly incredible.

The greater part of the gang of informers had now veered round to the court. On the trial of one College, Turberville and Dugdale were arrayed against Oates and others of the crew. College, named the 'Protestant Joiner,' from his zeal and his trade, was charged with having gone armed to Oxford, in conjunction with others, with the design of seizing the person of the king. The London grand jury ignored the bill ; but that of Oxfordshire having found a true bill against him, he was taken to Oxford, tried, condemned, and executed, (Aug. 31.) It is almost needless to add that he was innocent.

The prince of Orange came over this summer and visited the king at Windsor, (July 24.) His objects were to induce his uncle to succor Holland and Flanders, and for that purpose to summon a parliament. He strongly, it is said, expressed his dislike of restrictions on the rights of the crown, but, with the king's permission, he undertook to confer on the subject with the popular leaders. What was the result

of the conferences is not known. The prince was, as usual, invited to dine with the city ; but the king, on being informed of it, summoned him down to Windsor, so that he was unable to take advantage of the invitation. After a short stay in England he returned to the Hague, (Aug. 5.)*

During the last year there had been an outbreak of religious fanaticism in Scotland, which gave occasion to the exercise of the usual barbarities on the part of the government. Cargill and Cameron, two of the ministers who had escaped to the continent after the affair of Bothwell-bridge, having returned, collected some of their followers, who, from the latter, have been named Cameronians. At Sanquhar (June 22) Cameron read, and then affixed to the market-cross, a declaration stating that Charles Stuart had, by his perjury and tyranny, forfeited all claim to their allegiance. About a month after, (July 20,) they and sixty or seventy of their followers were surprised by three troops of dragoons at Aiadsmoss, in Kyle. Cameron and his brother fell bravely fighting back to back ; seven more were slain, and sixteen made prisoners, all of whom, of course, were executed. Cargill, who had escaped, soon after, at a conventicle in the Torwood, solemnly excommunicated their principal persecutors by name, the king himself included. The persecution was redoubled, and both men and women were executed. Tyranny was met by enthusiasm ; and when the duke of York, on his return, offered their lives to the Cameronians, if on the scaffold they would cry, "God bless the king !" the very women refused to lose the crown of martyrdom by compliance.

After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, James obtained permission from his brother to hold one in Scotland. Its first act was to confirm all the laws in favor of the protestant religion, and against popery ; it next passed one asserting the unalterable right of succession to the crown. A test, to be taken by all persons, was then framed ; the confession of faith of the first reformers was adopted as the definition of the protestant religion. "A long, inconsistent oath," says Laing, "was prescribed, to adhere, according to this obsolete confession, to the protestant faith, yet, by the recognition of supremacy, to conform to whatever religion

* The prince told Burnet that the king said to him, "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent that he could not hold it four years to an end." Burnet, ii. 415, where see the note.

the king might appoint; to preserve the former presbyterian discipline, yet to attempt no alteration in the present episcopal form of the church; to abjure the doctrines and renounce the right of resistance, but at the same time, as a religious duty, incumbent by the confession on good subjects, to repress the tyranny and resist the oppression of kings."

No conscientious man of any party could take this oath in its literal sense. By dint, however, of explanations, the episcopal clergy, with the exception of eighty honest men, who valued their souls more than their livings, were induced to take this presbyterian engagement. The presbyterians mostly declined it, and the duke of Hamilton resigned his office rather than take it. The earl of Argyle subscribed it, with an explanation that he did not consider himself precluded from attempting any alteration "which he thought of advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty." This was accepted at the time; but he was called on to qualify a second time, and his explanation was then refused, and he was committed to the castle, (Nov. 9.) A charge was made against him of treason, perjury, and *leasing-making*; and, with the bare-faced iniquity characteristic of the Scottish state-trials in that century, a jury, of which the marquis of Montrose was foreman, pronounced him guilty of treason and leasing-making, (Dec. 12.) The king sent directing that judgment should follow, but execution be stayed. Argyle, however, saw reason to think that the duke and his party were resolved on his death, and he contrived to effect his escape, disguised as a page, in the train of his daughter-in-law, lady Sophia Lindsay. He made his way to London, where he remained concealed for some time, and then got over to Holland. Some members of the council had the fiendish barbarity to propose that lady Sophia Lindsay should be publicly whipped through the streets of Edinburgh! The duke, who had some of the feelings of a gentleman, replied that "they were not used to deal so cruelly with ladies in *his country*."

Laing truly observes, that "there was nothing similar to the corruption of the peers and jurors of Argyle, except the venal evidence allotted in England to the vilest of mankind." The objects really sought were the ruin of the head of the presbyterian party, and the division of his spoils among the duke's friends. The pretext employed was, the necessity of wresting from him his hereditary jurisdictions, but these he had already offered to surrender. They were now, together with those of Monmouth and Hamilton, who would not take the

test, parceled out among the creatures of the court. Ar gyle's estates were given to his eldest son.

An affair of no slight importance in the royal mind, the settling a pension on the duchess of Portsmouth, caused the duke of York to be invited to Newmarket early in the following year, (1682.) When that necessary matter was arranged, and he had obtained permission to reside in England, he returned to Scotland to settle the administration in that country. But the Gloucester frigate, which carried him, struck on the Lemon-and-ore bank, (May 6,) and was lost, with about two hundred persons. The duke, with some of his friends, escaped in the barge, and the generous sailors, though certain of their own death, gave a loud cheer when they saw him in safety.* He brought his family up to London, and resumed his residence at St. James's, (25th.)

In the plan of despotism which was now matured, there were two important points to be attained; the one was to be able always to have juries who, heedless of the evidence, would find a verdict for the crown; the other, in case it should be necessary to return to the use of parliaments, to possess the power of nominating a majority of the members. These were both to be compassed by obtaining the appointment of the officers of the corporations. It was resolved to begin with the city of London, whose zeal for liberty has always been conspicuous.

It had been the custom for the lord mayor to designate one of the sheriffs for the ensuing year by drinking to him at the Bridge-house feast, and this choice was always confirmed by the livery. This, however, was only a courtesy on their part, for by the charter the right lay in the citizens at large. The practice of this courtesy had for some years ceased, and since 1641, both the sheriffs had been chosen by the common-hall. Now, however, at the king's desire, it was renewed, and sir John Moore, the mayor, drank and sent the cup to Dudley North, brother to the chief-justice. On the day of election, the whig party proposed two citizens, named Papillon and Dubois, and demanded a poll. The lord mayor, insisting on his right to name one, refused, and adjourned the court; but the sheriffs most irregularly continued it, and commenced a poll, for which they were sent next day to the Tower. The contest was continued for some months, each

* James gave money to their widows and children. It was said, but with more malice than truth, that his chief care had been to save his dogs and priests.

party maintaining its claim. Though the popular candidates had immense majorities at the polls, the court nominees North and Rich, were finally sworn in; and at the next election for lord mayor, the court succeeded in having one of its party placed in office, so that it now had both mayor and sheriffs, and consequently juries, at its devotion. As a proof of its power and its vengeful spirit, Pilkington, one of the late sheriffs, being charged with saying, when he heard that the duke was returning, "He has already burnt the city, he is now coming to cut all our throats," was sentenced to pay 100,000*l.* damages. Sir Patience Ward, a former lord mayor, for having sworn that he did not hear Pilkington use those words, was sentenced to the pillory for perjury.

But a more deadly blow was soon after aimed at the city. A writ of inquiry, or *Quo warranto*, was issued against it as having forfeited its charter by illegally imposing a toll, and by making scandalous reflections on the king in the petition against the prorogation in 1679. The case was argued in the court of king's-bench. The advocates for the city showed, that a corporation never had been, and could not be, subject to forfeiture; that the acts with which the city was charged were both legal, but that, at all events, the persons who did them should be punished, and not the innocent corporation. But the judges were the mere tools of the crown, and judgment was given (June 12,) "that the franchise and liberty of the city of London should be taken and seized into the king's hands." On a petition of the common council, the king consented to leave them their revenues and form of government, provided they gave him a *veto* on the appointment of their mayor, sheriffs, and other principal officers. The city now was bridled in perpetuity, and what had succeeded in London was tried all over the kingdom; *Quo warrantos* were issued in abundance, and as there were few corporations which had not been guilty of some irregularities, most sought to make terms by voluntary surrenders of their charters. They obtained new ones, making them more oligarchic and more under the power of the court. This course of laying the foundation of despotism went on through the remainder of this and a great part of the succeeding reign.

The court had soon an opportunity of proving the effects of the influence it had acquired, for another conspiracy was at this time brought to light.

Ever since the dissolution of the last parliament, the leaders of the popular party had been in the habit of holding

consultations as to the best modes of resisting the government, in case, as seemed almost certain, it should aim at despotic authority. In contemplation of the necessity of an ultimate appeal to force, they had arranged the project of a simultaneous rising in London and in various parts of the kingdom; but this was little more than hypothetical, for lord Essex and lord Russell were men of too much prudence and virtue to have recourse to insurrection without a stringent necessity, and a chance nearly amounting to certainty. The impetuous Shaftesbury, maddened by disappointment, and fearful of the vengeance of the court, was urgent for immediate action; his party was, as he thought, strong in the city, where he boasted that he had ten thousand 'brisk boys,' as he called them, ready to fly to arms on the motion of his finger. He had of course several subordinate agents, the principal of whom were colonel Rumsey, a man who had served in the republican army, and afterwards in Portugal; Ferguson, a Scottish independent minister; West, a lawyer; and Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff to Bethel; but these men had little or no communication with the other popular leaders. Finding his proposals rejected, Shaftesbury in his rage and fear even ventured to think of a rising in the city alone; but at length, seeing no hope of success, he retired to Holland, in the latter end of the year, and he died at the Hague of gout in the stomach on the 21st of the following January, (1683.)

Delivered from the dangerous impetuosity of Shaftesbury, the friends of liberty resolved to proceed with deliberation and caution. To conduct their plans, a council of six was formed, consisting of the duke of Monmouth, lords Essex, Russell, and Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the great patriot. Howard was a man of no principle, but he was a bold talker, and he had gained on Essex, at whose persuasion Russell (who, though he was his first-cousin, disliked him extremely) consented to admit him into their association. The marquess of Winchester, Ford lord Grey, and others, though not in the council, were in the secret.

It was proposed, that in case of a rising, it should also extend to Scotland, where the barbarous proceedings of the government were driving the people half-frantic. An agreement was made with the earl of Argyll, who was in Holland, to supply him with 8000*l.* to enable him to purchase arms, and return and raise his clansmen. Several of the Scottish nobility and gentry having resolved to sell their es-

tates and seek a refuge from persecution in the New World, had sent agents up to London to treat with the patentees of the new colony of Carolina. With these men the council entered into communication, and they readily engaged in the project. Such was the state of the conspiracy in the summer of 1683, when it was discovered: nothing had been done, nothing even determined on; all was mere speculation.

The discovery was made in the following manner. Rumsey, West, and the other satellites of Shaftesbury used to hold meetings of their own, in which there was frequent talk of "lopping the two sparks," as West expressed it, that is, killing the king and duke. West spoke of doing it as they were going to or from the playhouse, as then he said "they would die in their calling." There was one Rumbold, an old officer of Cromwell's army, who had married a maltster's widow, and thus become master of a house called the Rye, near Hoddesden in Herts, close by which the king used to pass on his way to Newmarket. He happened to say how easy it would be for a man to shoot the king at that place. West caught at the idea, and hence the plot was named the Ryehouse-plot. In this case also, although there was a real conspiracy, nothing was actually determined, and things remained in this state till the month of June, when on the very day (12th) that judgment was given against the city, one Josiah Keeling, a sinking merchant, who was one of the confederates, resolved to turn informer. He went to Legge, now lord Dartmouth, who sent him to secretary Jenkins; and on the information which he gave, rewards were offered for nine of the conspirators; but they had been forewarned by Keeling's brother, and had concealed themselves. Two days after, West and Rumsey came in and surrendered; and on their information, together with that of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, Russell and Sidney were arrested and sent to the Tower. Lord Grey was arrested, but he contrived to escape from the messenger: the duke of Monmouth also escaped, but Howard was taken concealed in a chimney in his own house. To save his life, he discovered all that he said he knew, and on his information lord Essex and Hampden were arrested.

On the 13th of July, lord Russell was put on his trial. The moment he was arrested he looked on his life as lost, not so much from an idea that any thing could be proved against him, as from his knowledge of what witnesses were capable of swearing, and of the vengeful temper of the royal brothers. He had therefore turned his thoughts to another

world, and passed his hours reading the Scriptures. The duke of Monmouth had sent to assure him, that if it would be of any service to him, he would come in and run fortunes with him; but he replied, that it would not benefit him to have his friends to die with him. Lord Essex would not save himself by flight, lest it might prejudice the cause of lord Russell, and the very morning that his friend was put on his trial, this excellent nobleman terminated his existence. He was constitutionally melancholy, and the circumstance of his having been the means of putting it into lord Howard's power to injure lord Russell, had weighed heavily on his spirits. The evening before he sent to assure the earl of Bedford that he was more concerned for his son's condition than even the earl himself. His servant, on entering his room the next morning, found him lying with his throat cut. There is hardly a doubt of his having done the deed himself; but attempts were afterwards made to prove that he had been murdered. Lord Russell, the day before his own death, described him as "the worthiest, the justest, the sincerest, and most concerned for the public, of any man he ever knew."

Lord Russell was tried at the Old Bailey, before Pemberton, chief-justice of the common pleas, and a jury of citizens. His admirable wife, the glory of her sex,* suppressing all womanish fears and scruples, acted as his secretary on this occasion. The witnesses against him were Rumsey, Shepherd, and lord Howard. The first deposed to a meeting at Shepherd's, at which lord Russell was present, where there was a conversation about a rising at Taunton, and about seizing the guards at the Savoy and the Mews, in which the prisoner took a part. Shepherd deposed much to the same effect. Lord Howard was next examined; he stated the existence of the council of six, of which lord Russell was a member, and their communication with Argyle and the Scots; and he deposed to two meetings at which the prisoner was present, one being at lord Russell's own house.

Lord Russell, in his defence, acknowledged that he had been at Shepherd's, but accidentally, he said, having gone thither for the purpose of tasting some wines. Lord Anglesea swore that lord Howard said to the earl of Bedford in his presence, "I know nothing against your son or any

* She was the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, so distinguished for his attachment to the royal family.

body else of such a barbarous design, and therefore your lordship may be comforted in it." Mr. Howard and Dr. Burnet also proved that Howard had denied all knowledge of the plot. Howard was reëxamined, and he explained what lord Anglesea had heard, by saying it was his object at that time to outface the king for himself and his party. Pemberton treated the prisoner with much more moderation and decorum than was usual at that time, and his charge was such as might have produced an acquittal from an impartial jury; but the present one had been selected by North and Rich, and they found the prisoner guilty. On the following Saturday, (14th,) sentence of death by hanging, quartering, etc., was passed on him. The king afterwards commuted this sentence to decapitation, saying sarcastically, (if Echard may be credited,) "Lord Russell shall now find that I am possessed of that prerogative which in the case of lord Stafford he thought proper to deny me."

Lord Russell was now placed in Newgate, where he had the constant attendance of dean Tillotson and Dr. Burnet. Every effort was made to save his life; his father is said to have offered the king 100,000*l.* for his pardon; but the reply was, "he would not purchase his own and his subjects' blood at so easy a rate." Lord Dartmouth urged on the king the impolicy of provoking the resentment of so great and numerous a family as the Russells, and hinted that some regard was due to the daughter of Southampton and her children. But mercy, magnanimity, or gratitude had no place in the bosom of Charles; he answered, "All that is true, but it is as true that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine." Yielding to the entreaties of his wife and friends, lord Russell consented to petition the king for his life, and the duke of York for his intercession. To the former he denied having any thought against his life, or design to change the government; he excused his opposition to the last on the plea of principle. He offered to live any where the king should appoint, and engage never to meddle in the affairs of England. Both petitions were slighted.

The week which passed between the sentence and the death of this virtuous nobleman is a beautiful scene to contemplate. His own serene and cheerful piety, the zealous affection of his incomparable wife, and the sincere attachment of his friends, all combine to raise our estimate of the worth of our nature. He spoke to Burnet of his death as giving him less apprehension than the drawing of a tooth; it was only, he said, being gazed at by his friends and ene

mies, and a moment's pain. Lord Cavendish having sent to propose changing clothes with him, and remaining in the prison while he made his escape, he smiled, sent him his thanks, but said he would make no escape. He dined and supped as cheerfully as ever, and talked of the affairs of Europe in his usual easy manner. As Saturday was the day appointed for his execution, he received the sacrament on Friday morning from Tillotson, and Burnet afterwards preached two sermons before him. He said, "he could not pretend to such high joys and longings, (as the preacher had spoken of,) but an entire resignation of himself to the will of God, and a perfect serenity of his mind." After dinner he saw and took leave of his children; at supper he was so cheerful as to amaze Burnet. He had said to his wife, "Stay and sup with me; let us eat our last earthly food together." A little before she went away, he took her by the hand, and said, "This flesh you now feel, in a few hours must be cold." At ten o'clock she rose to depart; he kissed her four or five times; she controlled her feelings so as not to add to his distress, and they parted in silence. When she was gone; "Now," said he, "the bitterness of death is past;" and he continued for a long time dilating on her many virtues and perfections. Observing that it rained hard, he said, "Such a rain to-morrow will spoil a great show, which is a dull thing on a rainy day."

At twelve he went to bed, desiring to be called at four. He was asleep when his servant came, and he fell asleep again while he was preparing his things for him to dress. He prayed several times with Tillotson and Burnet, and also by himself. He wound up his watch, which he intended to give to the latter, and then said, "I have done with time, now eternity comes." As he came down, he met lord Cavendish, and took leave of him; but then turned back to urge on him the necessity of attending more to his religion. He rode in his own carriage to Lincoln's-Inn fields, where he was to die. Tillotson and Burnet observed that he was singing to himself; on their inquiry, he said it was the 119th Psalm, but he should sing better very soon. As they turned down Little Queen-street, he looked toward his own house, and a tear stood in his eye; he said, "I have often turned to the other hand with great comfort, but now turn to this with greater." He expressed his wonder at seeing so great a crowd assembled. He addressed the sheriff briefly, and delivered him a written speech, prayed by himself, then laid his head on the block, and at the second

stroke it was severed from his body. The paper which he gave the sheriff, and which contained the vindication of his conduct, had been already sent to the printer's, and in less than an hour it was sold through the city, to the great annoyance of the court.

On occasions like the present, there will always be found parties ready to seek the favor of the prevailing power, by the sacrifice of truth, justice, and all that is valuable to man. The university of Oxford now took the lead in the career of adulation. The very day on which the blood of Russell was shed, it passed a decree, in which, assuming the truth of the plot to assassinate that sacred person who was the "breath of their nostrils, the anointed of the Lord," they proceeded, "to the honor of the holy and undivided Trinity," etc., to decree twenty-four propositions, taken from the works of jesuits and protestants alike, to be "false, seditious, and impious, and most of them heretical and blasphemous, and destructive to all government in church and state." Among these atrocious doctrines are the following: All civil authority is derived originally from the people. There is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects; and if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs. The sovereignty of England is in the three estates, king, lords, and commons; the king has but a coördinate power, and may be overruled by the other two. It will hardly be believed that, ere five years were passed, this loyal university actually gave its plate to aid in dethroning an anointed of the Lord! This should teach learned bodies to use more caution in their public proceedings, and to be sure that the language which they speak be that of truth and soberness.*

Essex and Russell were now removed: the fate of Sidney was next to be decided. Jeffreys, infamous for brutality and cruelty, had lately been made chief-justice of the king's bench, and it was before him that Sidney was tried, (Nov. 21.) The only witness against him was lord Howard; but two were required by the law, and the records of legal iniquity will hardly furnish a parallel to the mode in which the deficiency was supplied. Among the prisoner's papers had been found a manuscript treatise on government, written

* Sir Walter Scott thus designates it, (Somers's Tracts, viii. 420.) — "The following piece of adulation and servility was presented to king Charles II., and afterwards burnt by the hangman by order of parliament."

some time before, and never published; it contained some of the doctrines lately condemned at Oxford, but which, even Hume says, were "such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace." This dumb evidence was pronounced by Jeffreys to be equivalent to two-and-twenty witnesses, and, under his direction, the jury found the prisoner guilty. When the sentence was passed, (26th,) Sidney exclaimed, "Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify my sufferings, and impute not my blood to the country or the city; let no inquisition be made for it; but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake." "I pray God," cried Jeffreys, losing his temper, "to work in you a temper fit to go to the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My lord," replied Sidney, stretching forth his arm, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now."

Sidney did not disdain to petition for mercy, but it was in the tone of one who only asked for justice, and Charles was not a man to be affected by an appeal of that nature. The execution took place on Tower-hill, (Dec. 7.) Sidney had neither friends nor ministers of religion with him. When asked if he would not address the people, he replied, that "he had made his peace with God, and had nothing to say to man."* He gave the sheriff a written speech, which concluded with thanks to God that "he died for that *good old cause* in which he was engaged from his youth, and for which God had so often and so wonderfully declared himself." He made a short prayer, and laid down his head, which was taken off at one blow.

The name of Algernon Sidney is invested with a lustre derived from the iniquity of his sentence and the heroism of his death but his character seems to us in reality not to be deserving of much eulogy. He was a determined republican, and, like most such, he was self-sufficient, arrogant, and impatient of contradiction. To set up his beloved republic, he cared little what mischief he produced, or whether the nation were inclined to it or not. He received money from the French king, the notorious enemy of liberty, and he abetted his designs on the Netherlands. A man of delicate honor, too, would, we think, have abstained from plot-

* He had had independent ministers with him in prison.

ting against the government of a prince who had pardoned and allowed him to return to his country.

The duke of Monmouth had lately been reconciled to the king by means of lord Halifax, who wished to employ him as a counterpoise to the duke of York. As a condition of pardon, he was obliged to acknowledge the truth of the conspiracy. He was required to write a letter to that effect to the king, and, after a hard struggle with himself, he did so; but, ashamed of his weakness, he obtained the paper back from his father, and he was in consequence forbidden the royal presence.

The court was now triumphant; the country party seemed annihilated, for the people in general, confounding the two plots, believed that they had conspired to murder the king. Loyal addresses, therefore, poured in once more from all parts: charters were every where surrendered. Jeffreys, who went the northern circuit this year, we are told by Roger North, "made them all, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him; and returned laden with surrenders, the spoils of towns." At the same time the king was careful to avoid, as much as possible, the suspicion of an inclination to popery, and chiefly with this view he had given, in the summer of the last year, his niece, the princess Anne, in marriage to prince George, the brother of the king of Denmark, whose only merit was the being a protestant.

The duke of York, in defiance of the test-act, was restored to his office of lord high admiral, and to a seat in the council; and his brother's indolence threw the direction of affairs very much into his hands; but his violence and impatience gave much uneasiness to the king, who was now only anxious for ease and repose, and he was overheard one day saying to the duke, "Brother, you may travel if you will; I am resolved to make myself easy for the rest of my life." There appears, in fact, to have been a complete change of measures projected. Monmouth came over from the Netherlands, and had a secret interview with his father, and it was proposed to send the duke of York back to Scotland, under the pretext of holding a parliament. What the result might have been is not to be known, for an event now occurred which altered all the existing relations.

The king, who was only in his fifty-fifth year, had naturally a robust constitution; though he had somewhat impaired it by early excesses, he was now regular in his living, and seemed likely to attain a good old age. On Sunday, how-

ever, the 1st of February, (1685,) he felt rather unwell, and next morning he fell down in a fit of apoplexy. Speedy remedies restored him, but he still languished, and on Wednesday his recovery was considered hopeless. From the first the queen and the duke of York had been most assiduous in their attendance on him; the primate and some of the other prelates were also constantly about him. On Thursday, Ken, bishop of Bath, announced to him his danger, which he heard with an air of resignation. The prelate then read the office for the visitation of the sick, and the king having expressed his repentance in a general way, he also read the form of absolution. He wished to administer the sacrament, but the king said it was time enough: the elements were brought and laid on a table in readiness, but the only reply the prelate could get was, "I will think of it." The duke of York then motioned the company to retire to the other end of the room, and in a whisper asked his brother if he should send for a catholic priest: "For God's sake, brother, do," he replied, "and please to lose no time; but," he added, "will you not expose yourself too much by doing it?" The duke was not a man to fear danger in such a cause. He went out, and father Huddleston being the only priest he could find, he brought him up the back stairs into the king's closet. All were then directed to withdraw, except the duke and the lords Bath and Feversham. The duke then brought in the priest, saying, "Sir, this worthy man once saved your body;* he now comes to save your soul." The king made his confession, chiefly bewailing his having so long deferred his conversion. He pronounced an Act of Contrition with great fervor, and continued making pious ejaculations, such as "Mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy!" till the host, which had been sent for, arrived. The priest, who had already given him extreme unction, then administered the eucharist, and withdrew by the way he came. The chamber-door was opened, and the secret transaction soon transpired!

The king passed an uneasy night. When the queen sent to excuse her absence, and to ask his pardon, "Alas, poor woman," he cried, "she beg my pardon! I beg hers, with all my heart. Take back that answer to her." He spoke in the kindest terms to his brother, wishing him a long and a prosperous reign. He had his children all brought to him,

* Huddleston had been chaplain at Moseley at the time of the king's escape after the battle of Worcester.

and gave them each his blessing. One of the courtly prelates then saying that the king, the Lord's anointed, was the common father of all his subjects, all present fell on their knees, and the dying monarch pronounced a blessing on them. He commended the duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth to his successor, and said to him, "Let not poor Nelly [Gwyn] starve." Before noon next day (6th) he breathed his last.

In person Charles was tall, his complexion was swarthy, his features harsh and repulsive; but his manners were the most gay and affable that could be conceived. He had much wit, and he conversed and told stories with considerable grace and humor. He hated pomp and parade, and found his chief delight in social intercourse. For his brothers, his sister, his mistresses, and his children he seems to have felt an affection, but only for them, for the selfishness of his character was such that he never attached himself to any friend. His ill qualities were numerous: he was a bad king and a bad man; careless of the national honor, hating liberty, insincere, mean, rapacious, ungrateful, vindictive, and remorseless: such was Charles II. The people, caught by his affability, and feeling the advantages of the peace which his base subserviency to France maintained, were partial to him. He was popular in his life, and his death was lamented.

CHAPTER XVII.

JAMES II.

1685—1688.

IMMEDIATELY on the demise of king Charles, the privy council assembled, and the new monarch addressed them, assuring them of his determination to follow the example of his late brother, "especially in that of his great clemency and tenderness to his people;" that "he would make it his endeavor to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is by law established;" and that "he would always take care to defend and support the church." Lord Rochester requested that this address, which had filled them all with joy, might be made public. The king said he had

no copy ; but one of the council wrote it down from memory, and the king, who had not expected this result, found it necessary to consent to its publication. He was forthwith proclaimed, amid the loud acclamations of the populace.

The king's speech gave great satisfaction to those who called themselves the loyal part of the nation. It was regarded as a security greater than any law. "We have now the word of a king, and a word never broken," was the common phrase. The pulpits resounded as usual ; loyal addresses poured in from all sides ; the university of Oxford promised obedience, "without limitations or restrictions ;" the London clergy, more sincere, said, "Our religion established by law is dearer to us than our lives ;" and this expression gave offence at court — a proof of what was the real feeling in the royal bosom.

The first act of the new monarch was an illegal, but not unjustifiable, stretch of power. He issued (9th) a proclamation, ordering the duties to continue to be levied on merchandise till the meeting of parliament, which he summoned for the 19th of May.

The funeral of the late king was private, (14th,) for the successor was unwilling, as he says himself, to communicate with the church of England in spiritual things, as he must have done had it been public.

James resolved to continue his brother's ministers. To the marquess of Halifax, who apprehended his displeasure, he said that he remembered only his opposition to the exclusion-bill ; and, chiefly owing to the representations of the French king, Sunderland and Godolphin, who had supported that bill, in like manner experienced no displeasure. The cabinet was thus constituted : Halifax president of the council, Rochester lord treasurer ; his brother Clarendon privy seal, Sunderland and Middleton secretaries ; Godolphin was made chamberlain to the queen. This last, with Rochester and Sunderland, alone possessed the royal confidence. There was also a secret council for catholic affairs, of which Sunderland alone of the ministers had knowledge. It consisted of the earls of Powis and Castlemain, the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Jermyn, lord Dover, Richard Talbot, an Irishman, and father Petre, a jesuit, brother to the late lord of that name.

The king was resolved to make no secret of his own or his brother's religion. With respect to the latter, he caused Huddleston to publish an account of the king's reconciliation, and he gave to the world two papers in favor of popery

found in the late king's strong box, and written by his own hand. For himself, on the second Sunday of his reign, he caused the folding-doors of the queen's private chapel to be thrown open while he was at mass, that his presence there might be seen. On Holy Thursday (Apr. 16) he was attended to the door of the chapel by his guards and the pensioners, and on Easter Sunday by the knights of the garter and several of the nobility—a proceeding which caused great uneasiness in the minds of zealous protestants. Their suspicions were further excited by a proclamation for the discharge of all recusants. They saw in this a manifest advance to the establishment of popery, which was in reality the object nearest to the king's heart. Meantime every effort was made to get Louis to continue the pension, in order that James might be independent of his parliament.

On the third of May the king and queen were crowned with the usual ceremonies, the only part omitted being the communion. The king of course solemnly swore to maintain the true profession of the Gospel, and the rights and privileges of the church and clergy. Like a true Stuart and pupil of the jesuits, he told Barillon that he did so, as these rights and privileges were those which had been granted by king Edward the Confessor, of whose being a catholic there was not the slightest doubt. During the whole ceremony he had been under apprehensions for his personal safety, though without any just cause.

On the 19th the parliament met. In consequence of the power which the surrender of charters had given to the crown, the returns had been so much to the royal satisfaction that James declared there were not forty members whom he would not have nominated himself. In his speech from the throne he repeated his address to the privy council; he then called on them to give him a revenue for life such as his brother had enjoyed, and hinting that nothing else would content him, he added, "The best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well;" he concluded by informing them of the news he had just received of the landing of Argyle in Scotland, and calling on them to give him his revenue as he desired it, and without delay.

In most respects the commons proved as dutiful as the king could have desired. By a unanimous vote, they settled on him for life the same revenue that the late king had enjoyed. They accompanied it with a declaration that they had implicit confidence in the king's promise to support the church, which, they added, was dearer to them than their lives. On

the intelligence of the landing of Monmouth, they made an additional grant of 400,000*l.*, and passed a bill for the security of the king's person, in which they enlarged the original statute of treason. In the midst of this exuberant loyalty, however, it was manifest that the parliament, with all its servility, was jealous on the subject of religion.

Immediately on the accession of James, the English and Scottish exiles began to consult on the mode of delivering their country from the yoke of popery and despotism which they were persuaded the new monarch would endeavor to impose on it. They met at Rotterdam, whither Argyle and Monmouth, who were at Brussels, repaired at their invitation, and it was arranged that these noblemen should simultaneously head expeditions to England and Scotland; to keep up the union between them, Argyle was to be attended by two Englishmen, Ayloff and Rumbold; and Monmouth by two Scots, Ferguson and Fletcher of Saltoun.

Argyle sailed the first, (May 2.) He stopped at the Orkney isles, where two of his party were captured, and the government thus got information of his strength and destination. He landed in his own country, (17th,) and forthwith issued two declarations, and sent the fiery cross, according to Highland usage, to summon his clansmen to arms. But the gentlemen of his name had been secured; the militia was raised and advancing on all sides; only two thousand five hundred men joined him, and instead of hastening to the western counties, he lingered in the hopes of being joined by more. His stores and arms, which he had placed in the castle of Ellengreg, fell into the hands of the royalists. When at length he descended into Lenox to pass the Clyde, he found bodies of armed men every where opposed to him. His army lost itself by night in a morass; the greater part of it sought safety in flight. Argyle, in the disguise of a peasant, was met and wounded, as he was crossing a stream, by five militia-men; as he fell he cried, "Alas unfortunate Argyle!" His captors would fain have concealed his rank, as they durst not release him; but he was recognized by their officer. He was led to Edinburgh, where he was treated with the same indignities as had formerly been the lot of Montrose. As the king had ordered him if taken to be put to death within three days, he was executed on his former iniquitous sentence, (30th.) He met his fate with piety and fortitude; embracing the instrument of death, he called it (in allusion to its name) the sweetest *maiden* he had ever kissed.

Various circumstances detained Monmouth so long, that it was the 11th of June when he landed at Lyme in Dorset. He was attended by lord Grey of Werk, and about eighty other exiles and their attendants. He forthwith raised his standard, and published a declaration styling James a usurper, and charging him with the burning of London and every atrocity which had been laid to the account of the papists, adding that of poisoning the late king. This declaration drew numbers of the people to his standard, and on the fourth day (15th) he marched from Lyme at the head of four thousand men. At Taunton (18th) he was received with acclamations and presented with a splendid stand of colors; and twenty young ladies in their best attire came to offer him a naked sword and a pocket Bible. He here caused himself to be proclaimed king, (20th;) and in proof of his royalty, touched for the king's-evil. He thence (21st) proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was also well received. The militia every where retired before him, and he proposed to cross the Avon near Bath and advance against Bristol. But it was now ascertained that the royal troops, under the earl of Feversham, were at hand; that project therefore was abandoned, and it was debated in his council whether to march for Salop and Cheshire, where he expected good support, or to direct their course into Wiltshire, where he was led to hope for powerful assistance. This last was preferred, and the army arrived (26th) at Philips-Norton on the confines of that county, where they had an encounter with a part of the royal forces, in which they had rather the advantage. They fell back, however, to Frome, and here Monmouth first learned the defeat of Argyle. He had been for some time desponding; for he saw that none of the nobility or gentry, without whose aid no civil movements have ever succeeded in England, had declared in his favor, and he therefore had begun to view his cause as hopeless. It was proposed that the army should be disbanded, and Monmouth and his friends should endeavor to escape by sea; but this course was vehemently opposed by lord Grey and others, and the army was led back to Bridgewater, (July 1.) As the royal forces were reported to be encamped at no great distance on the edge of a morass named Sedgemoor, it was resolved to try the effect of a nocturnal attack. The duke led out his forces, the horse being commanded by lord Grey, whose courage was very dubious. They reached the moor at about one in the morning, (6th,) but found themselves stopped by a deep drain in front of the royal camp. Grey, on coming to the

ditch and perceiving the troops to be on the alert, turned after a brief stand, and led his men off the field. The whole plan was now disconcerted; a firing was kept up till daylight, when Feversham ordered his infantry to cross the drain, while his horse took the insurgents in flank. The half-armed peasants made a gallant but ineffectual resistance, then broke and fled in all directions. Their loss was five hundred slain and fifteen hundred taken; the victors had three hundred killed and wounded.

Monmouth fled, it is not known at what time; his first thought was to get over to Wales; but Grey, who was his evil genius, dissuaded him from it, and with him and a German named Busse he directed his course toward the New Forest. As a reward had been set on his head, an active search was kept up for them. Early the next morning Grey was captured, and though Monmouth and Busse then escaped, the latter was taken the following morning, (8th;) and as he owned that he had parted only four hours before from the duke, an active search was made for him. In a couple of hours that unfortunate prince was found in a ditch, covered with fern and nettles. He was in the dress of a peasant, and in his pockets were some green peas, the only sustenance he appears to have had. Broken in mind and body, he wrote a most humble letter to the king, entreating a personal interview, and promising to make some important discovery. He was, therefore, the very evening he reached London, (13th,) led into the royal presence with his arms pinioned. He threw himself on his knees, confessed his guilt, casting the blame on others, and implored for mercy in the humblest terms, but made no discovery. James, reminding him of his early education, asked him if he would have a priest. "Is there then no hope?" said he. The king made no reply, but ordered him to be taken away to the Tower, where he was told to prepare for death on the second day. When Monmouth was gone, Grey was brought into the royal presence, and he behaved with more spirit than the unfortunate duke.

James is usually condemned for inhumanity on this occasion. It is said that he should not have seen Monmouth, if he was resolved not to pardon him; but there is no proof of this resolution; he saw the prisoner at his own desire, and was led to expect disclosures which he did not receive. Surely Monmouth, after his invasion, his declaration, and his assumption of the title of king, had no claims to mercy. As to his being the king's nephew, this was a dubious point,

and James appears to have always doubted his being his brother's son.

The next morning (14th) Monmouth was visited by his duchess, the heiress of Buccleugh, whom he had abandoned to live with lady Harriet Wentworth. The meeting was a cold one; her object was, for the sake of herself and children, to get him to declare that she was ignorant of his projects. On this subject he gave her ample satisfaction, and she then withdrew. He wrote again to the king and to the queen and the queen-dowager, (which last kind-hearted princess earnestly interceded for him,) and to others, but with no effect. The bishops Ken and Turner came to prepare him for death. When they were announced, he was overwhelmed with terror; but it passed away, and henceforth his mind was serene and composed. They found him in a religious frame of mind, in general; but on two points he proved immovable; he strenuously maintained the right of resistance to oppression, and he would not allow that there was any thing morally wrong in the connection between him and lady Harriet Wentworth, though she had borne him a child; *she*, he said, was his real, the duchess was only his legal wife; his love for her had weaned him from vice; both had prayed to God to root out their affection if displeasing to him, but it had only increased with time. The prelates therefore declined giving him the sacrament.

In the morning (15th)* they returned with Drs. Hooper and Tennison; but none could make any impression on his mind. The duchess and his children came to take their final leave of him; he was kinder than before; she sank to the ground and was carried away in a swoon. At ten o'clock he entered the carriage which was to convey him to Tower-hill. The concourse was immense; tears, sighs, and groans were succeeded by an awful silence. On the scaffold, the divines conscientiously, but cruelly, pressed him on the two above-named points: he was still inflexible. He made no speech, but gave a paper to the sheriff. He laid down his head, telling the executioner to do his work better than in the case of lord Russell. The man, unnerved, it would seem, by the charge, gave but a feeble stroke; the duke raised himself, and turned his head, as if to upbraid him; he struck twice more, and then flung down the axe, swearing that his heart failed him. The sheriff made him resume it, and at the fifth blow the head was severed; and thus perished, in his thirty-sixth year, James duke of Monmouth.

Vengeance, both military and judicial, was let loose on

the unfortunate adherents of Monmouth. Feversham hanged several of his prisoners without any trial; and colonel Kirke, who was left in command, is said to have acted with unusual barbarity.* The name of Kirke's Lambs, as his soldiers were called from the figure of a lamb which their colors bore, was long famous in the west. But these military atrocities sink into nothing when compared with 'Jeffreys' Campaign,' as the king loved to call it.

This unprincipled man, being joined in commission with four other judges, commenced operations at Winchester (Aug. 27) by the trial of Mrs. Lisle, the aged widow of one of the regicides. The charge against her was that of having given shelter to Nelthorpe and Hickes, two of the fugitives from Monmouth's army. Her defence was, that of Nelthorpe she knew nothing, and that she thought Hickes, who was a dissenting teacher, only fled from a warrant against him on that account. Jeffreys undertook himself to examine a peasant who had been their guide to her house, and he so terrified the poor rustic by his vehemence and scurrility, that he admitted sufficient to give reason to think that the prisoner knew of their having been in Monmouth's army. Jeffreys took care to conceal the fact that Hickes had not been convicted or outlawed, till when she could not legally be tried as the receiver of a traitor. The jury long hesitated, but were at length overawed into a verdict of Guilty. "Gentlemen," said the brutal judge, "had I been among you, and had she been my own mother, I should have found her guilty." Next morning he sentenced her to be burnt alive that afternoon, but the clergy of the cathedral obtained for her a respite of three days, during which applications were made to the king in her favor by noble ladies whom she had befriended in the days of her husband's power, and by lord Feversham, who was promised 1000*l.* for her pardon. It was also shown that her son had served in the army against

* Thus, it is said, he ordered prisoners to be hung while he and his officers drank the king's health, and when their feet quivered in the agonies of death, he said he would give them music to their dancing, and ordered the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound. Again, a maiden applied to him for the life of her brother; he granted it on condition of her complying with his desires; she consented, and passed the night with him; when she rose in the morning, the first object that met her eyes on looking out of the window, was the body of her brother hanging from a gibbet. At the sight she lost her reason. This tale, however, rests on very slender evidence, and is probably a fiction. It is the same as that of Rinsault in the Spectator, (No. 491.) See Mackintosh, Hist. of Revol. ch. i.

Monmouth; but all was in vain; the king, pleading, it is said, a promise to Jeffreys not to spare her, declared he would not give her a reprieve for a single day. He consented to change the sentence to beheading, and the venerable matron perished on the scaffold, (Sept. 2,) praying for the prince who could not pardon the performance of an act of humanity.

The commission thence proceeded to Dorchester, where eighty persons were executed; thence to Taunton and Wells; and the number of deaths in the county of Somerset is said to have been two hundred and forty at the least. The whole country presented a horrible and most un-English aspect; every where gibbets and the mangled limbs of men met the eye, and the stench that exhaled from them rendered the roads hateful to travellers. The trials were few; men, seeing no hopes of justice, confessed their guilt, as to do so offered the only chance of escape.

But blood alone did not satisfy Jeffreys; he filled his coffers by the sale of pardons. It was also the royal pleasure that the courtiers should improve their circumstances by the rebellion. Sunderland wrote to Jeffreys to say that one thousand prisoners were to be bestowed on certain courtiers, and one hundred on a favorite of the queen's, on their giving security that they should be slaves for ten years in the West India islands. Against this Jeffreys remonstrated, as they might, he said, be sold for 10*l.* or 15*l.* apiece. The young ladies who gave Monmouth his colors were excepted by name from the general pardon, that they might purchase separate ones, of which the profits were given to the maids of honor! and William Penn, the celebrated quaker, whose conduct in this reign does him little credit, was appointed their agent. The maids of honor, it appears, proved hard dealers in the article of mercy.

James received daily intelligence from Jeffreys of his proceedings, which he constantly spoke of to the foreign envoys and others as that judge's campaign; and during the hottest part of it he was amusing himself with horse-races at Winchester. He raised Jeffreys, on his return, to a peerage and the chancellorship; and when that savage judge had, through his habitual drunkenness, brought on a fit of illness, he was much concerned, and declared that his loss could not be easily supplied. Jeffreys is said to have declared on his death-bed that he had done nothing without orders, and that he had not been half bloody enough for him that sent

him. It is vain, therefore, to attempt to deny the king's appetite for blood.

Alderman Cornish, the former sheriff, was tried (Oct. 19) and found guilty for being concerned in the Ryehouse-plot, on the evidence of Rumsey, though this witness owned that his evidence now was contrary to what he had given on the trial of lord Russell. Cornish was executed, but his limbs and estate were restored to his family; and Rumsey was confined for life—a clear proof of the king's opinion of the value of his testimony.

On the same day with Cornish, two men, named Ring and Fernley, and a Mrs. Gaunt, were tried and condemned for harboring rebels. Ring had sheltered his near relation; Fernley, one Burton, who had been in the Ryehouse-plot and with Monmouth; Mrs. Gaunt, who had aided his escape before, visited him at Fernley's, and undertook to save him again; but he was taken, and, to save his life, he was base enough to appear against his benefactors. The benevolent Mrs. Gaunt was burnt alive at Tyburn. She settled the straw round her so as to produce a strong flame, and died amid the tears of the spectators.

Hampden was now tried a second time for his share in the Ryehouse-plot; but it had been secretly arranged that he was to be pardoned, on his pleading guilty and paying 6000*l.* to Jeffreys and father Petre. The drama between him and the judges was enacted to perfection. Lord Brandon was found guilty on the evidence of lord Grey and of Rumsey and one Saxton, but he was afterwards pardoned. Grey himself was pardoned, as his life-estate had been granted to lord Rochester. Wonderful to relate, lord Delamere was actually acquitted by a jury of thirty peers, the perjury of Saxton, the chief evidence against him, being apparent.

The suppression of the rebellion had elated James, and led him to think that nothing now could oppose his will. He had three objects in view as the means of establishing despotism; these were, the abolition of the Test, which would enable him to fill all offices with papists; the repeal of the *Habeas Corpus* act, which the late king and himself had often declared to be subversive of government, *i. e.* of despotism; to keep up the army, which now amounted to nearly twenty thousand men, and in which there were several catholic officers, as a permanent force. As he knew that Halifax was opposed to all these projects, he lost no time in dismissing him from the council.

When the parliament met (Nov. 9) James addressed them from the throne. Late events, he said, had shown that the militia was inadequate to the defence of the country, and that a permanent force was necessary; he had, therefore, increased the regular army, and he now called on them for the funds for maintaining it. He then noticed the employment of catholics. "And I will deal plainly with you," said he: "after having had the benefit of their services in such a time of need and danger, I will not expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion."

From this haughty tone it is plain that James reckoned on absolute submission, and that parliament would simply register his edict; but here, as on most occasions, his blind fatuity led him astray. The dread and the hatred of popery were implanted in every protestant bosom; and, in the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis, at this very time, they had had a specimen of popish good faith and tolerance. The commons, therefore, when voting a supply of 700,000*l.*, coupled with it a bill for the improvement of the militia; and, while offering to pass a bill of indemnity for the catholic officers, prayed that they might be discharged. The danger of a standing army and the employment of catholic officers was also strongly exposed in the house of peers by lords Halifax, Nottingham, Anglesea, Mordaunt, Compton, bishop of London, and others, and, in spite of the opposition of Jeffreys, it was resolved to take the king's speech into consideration; but James prorogued the parliament, and it met no more during his reign, except to be prorogued anew. It was fortunate for the country that James's bigotry led him to assail the test-act first, for in all probability this subservient assembly would have surrendered the *Habeas Corpus* without a struggle.

James was resolved, come what might, not to part with his army. The annual cost of it was 600,000*l.*; and, by frugality, by neglecting the navy, by putting off the payment of his brother's debts, and by other expedients, he could defray it without the aid of parliament. To put the chief commands into the hands of catholics was necessary for his ulterior projects, and to effect this he had recourse to the following plan.

It had from very ancient times been a part of the prerogative to grant dispensations from the penalties of particular laws. This had, as usual, been spoken of in exaggerated terms by courtiers and lawyers, even Coke saying that no

act of parliament can restrain it. Practice, however, had for many years confined it to merely trifling cases; but sir Edward Herbert, the present chief-justice, had formerly suggested to the king, when duke of York, that by means of it the test-act might be eluded; and James now resolved to bring it into action through a legal decision. Of Herbert himself he was sure, and, as he could dismiss the judges at his pleasure, he reckoned on the obedience of the others, but, on privately asking their opinions, he found four refractory; these he dismissed forthwith, and appointed others; and the bench being now adjusted, a sham action was brought for their decision. Sir Edward Hales, a recent convert, was appointed to the command of a regiment, and his coachman was directed to bring an action for the penalty of 500*l.* incurred by his holding a command without having qualified. Hales pleaded a dispensation under the great seal. The case was tried before the twelve judges, and eleven decided in favor of the dispensation, (June 21, 1686.) This decision was not, properly speaking, illegal, but it was highly unconstitutional; and, as it declared that no restraint could be placed on the monarch, and that acts of parliament were mere cobwebs, there being a power paramount to them, men plainly saw that there was no alternative between a tame submission to the overthrow of their religion and liberties and a bold effort to maintain them. In effect, this decision sealed the doom of the House of Stuart.

James little thought so; he had gained, he considered, a complete victory; the test-act and all other barriers against popery could no longer impede him; and the army, the council, and every department of the state might now be filled with catholics. He had even, as he conceived, the power of gradually making the church itself catholic. Early in this year, Obadiah Walker, master of University college, Oxford, and three of the fellows, had declared themselves catholics, as also had Sclater, the curate of Esher and Putney, and a royal dispensation allowed them still to enjoy the emoluments of their situations; Sclater, however, being enjoined to provide for the performance of divine service in his churches. Walker was allowed to have a catholic chapel in his college, and a press for printing catholic books of theology. But the spirit of Compton, bishop of London, gave occasion to a further mode of bridling the church, or rather of accelerating the downfall of the monarchy.

Compton, brother to the earl of Northampton, had, like

the reigning pontiff, been a soldier. He was a man of a bold spirit, and a zealous protestant. To punish his late opposition in parliament, the king struck him out of the list of the privy council, and deprived him of his office of dean of the chapel. This only increased his popularity and the suspicion of the king's designs, and the London pulpits thundered with controversy. The king, as head of the church, issued orders for the clergy to abstain from controversy in the pulpit. Few obeyed; it was therefore resolved to make an example. Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich and rector of St. Giles's, was fixed on, and Compton was ordered to suspend him, but he replied, that he must hear him first in his defence. It was now determined to make the bishop himself the victim.

The odious court of High Commission had been abolished in 1641. A part of the act of abolition was repealed at the Restoration, but a clause of it, prohibiting the erection of any similar court, had been retained. James, however, issued a commission, in nearly the very words of that of Elizabeth, to certain persons to act as a court of commissioners in ecclesiastical causes. These were the primate, chancellor, bishops of Durham and Rochester, the earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and chief-justice Herbert. Three were to form a *quorum*, of whom Jeffreys was always to be one. "God," said James to Barillon, "has permitted that all the laws made to establish protestantism now serve as a foundation for my measures to reestablish true religion."

Before this court Compton was summoned. He defended himself with much address. The primate Sancroft was not there to uphold the interests of the church, for he had timidly obtained leave to be absent on the plea of age and infirmity; but the earl and the bishop of Rochester and the chief-justice took the side of Compton, and even Jeffreys, who, in the midst of his excesses, clung to the protestant faith, supported them. The presence, however, and the influence of the king prevailed, and Compton was suspended by a commission, three fourths of whose members had declared in his favor. The people soon nicknamed the commission the '*Congregatio de propaganda Fide*.'

Of the royal advisers there were two classes, the protestant and the catholic. The former, headed by Rochester, seem to have been willing to aid the king in all his projects against liberty, but they were steadfast in their adherence to the church. The catholics were divided into two parties

most of the laymen; such as Bellasis and Powis, were for moderation; they saw the difficulties in the way of establishing their religion, and they would have been content with the repeal of the penal statutes; and security for their religion under a protestant successor. The queen herself was inclined to this party; but the king was under the influence of father Petre and the jesuits, and these, with the usual heat and imprudence of political churchmen, urged him on to extreme measures. Sunderland, an ambitious, unprincipled statesman, though still professing himself a protestant, allied himself closely with this party, in the hope of supplanting Rochester; and the influence of father Petre, when all other applications had failed, raised him to the post of president of the council, in the room of Halifax, with which he still retained his post of secretary.

But the protestant party had a supporter who they thought might counterbalance the queen and the priests. James, with all his zeal for his religion, and his anxiety to diffuse it, made no scruple of violating one of its most important precepts. His amours had always been notorious, and neither of his wives could boast of his fidelity. Arabella Churchill, maid of honor to his first duchess, had borne him two children. His present mistress, Catherine, daughter of the witty, profligate sir Charles Sedley, was a woman so devoid of personal attractions, that king Charles used to say his brother kept her by way of penance; but she had a coarse, roistering kind of humor, which pleased her lover, who was a man of no delicacy whatever, and she did not spare to employ it even on his religion and his priests. In the beginning of his reign he had been induced to break off his intercourse with her, but he afterwards renewed it, and, at the suggestion, it is said, of Rochester, created her countess of Dorchester. The queen, who was a woman of spirit, testified the utmost indignation, and, by Sunderland's advice, she assembled one day in her apartment the chancellor and himself, with the priests and the catholic nobles, and when the king entered it he was assailed by their united reproaches and remonstrances. He promised to separate from the countess, and he sent her orders to retire to the continent; but she asserted her rights as a freeborn Englishwoman, and appealed to Magna Charta. She at length consented to go to Ireland, where Rochester's brother, Clarendon, was lord lieutenant. She returned, however, within six months, and the king renewed his intercourse

with her ; but it was of no political effect, as the jesuits ' had got the advowson of his conscience.'

It might be supposed that the court of Rome would have zealously coöperated with James in his project of reëstablishing the catholic faith ; but so adverse were all things to this prince, that even there he found no support. The present pontiff, Innocent XI., who had been a soldier, was a man who knew or cared nothing for the disputes and differences of theology, but he was an able temporal prince and statesman ; he was on ill terms with Louis XIV. on account of that prince's insolence ; and he regarded with little complacency both the jesuits and the king of England, whom he looked on as partisans of Louis. James, on his accession, had sent Mr. Caryl as his private minister to Rome to solicit the purple for the queen's uncle, the title of bishop for one Dr. Leyburn, and the appointment of a nuncio to the court of St. James's. Caryl succeeded in the two last points ; and the count D'Adda came over in November, 1685, but did not assume any public character. The zeal of the king, however, was not to be restrained, and the following February he insisted on D'Adda's taking the title of nuncio, to which the papal court gave a reluctant consent. The nuncio, a prudent, clear-sighted man, viewed with concern the rate at which the king and his advisers were disposed to drive matters, and he gave the weight of his authority to the moderate catholic party.

James, being resolved to have a resident minister at the papal court, chose for this purpose, with his usual infelicity, the earl of Castlemain, the husband of the duchess of Cleveland, a man who owed his title to the infamy of his wife. Castlemain behaved at Rome with such indiscretion, that the nuncio was directed to make a formal complaint of his conduct. All the influence of James failed to procure a nominal bishopric for Petre, whom he is thought to have designed to place in the see of York, which he kept vacant. He was equally unsuccessful in his efforts to procure for him a cardinal's hat.

If the pontiff was more swayed by politics than religion, we may easily believe the same to have been the case with the courts of Madrid and Vienna ; and accordingly we find the Spanish and Imperial ministers coöperating with the Dutch, and opposing the French ambassador. James, who, to his misfortune, had some vague ideas of the dignity belonging to a king of England, and of the line of policy

which, as such, he should adopt, irritated Louis by vain assumptions of independence, at the very time that he was receiving his money and relying on him for aid in his projects.

To accustom the public eye to the view of popery, convents were established in various parts of London: that of the Carmelites was in the city, that of the Franciscans in Lincoln's-Inn-fields, while the Benedictines were at St. James's; and the jesuits opened a school at the Savoy. They all went about publicly in their habits, and London was gradually assuming the appearance of a catholic city. To awe the tumultuous, the army, of 15,000 men, was encamped on Hounslow-heath; and in the tent of lord Dunbarton, the second in command, mass was openly celebrated, and missionaries labored to convert the soldiers. A paper calling on them to adhere to their religion being circulated through the camp, Johnson, its author, the chaplain of the late lord Russell, was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to stand thrice in the pillory, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, which sentence "was executed with great rigor and cruelty," he being previously degraded from his sacred character.

In the laxity of principle which may be supposed to have prevailed in a court for five-and-twenty years the abode of profligacy and corruption, conversions, real or pretended, might be expected to be abundant; yet the failures of the king were numerous and mortifying. Lady Dorchester, as we have seen, stuck to her religion, reconciling it, like her royal paramour, with the breach of its duties. A priest came to convert secretary Middleton: "Your lordship believes the Trinity?" began he. "Who told you so? You are come here to prove your own opinions, not to ask about mine," was the reply; and the priest retired in confusion. Lord Mulgrave is said to have replied to a monk, "I have convinced myself, by much reflection, that God made man, but I cannot believe that man can make God." Colonel Kirke is reported to have told the king that he was preëngaged, having promised the emperor of Morocco to become a Mohammedan, if ever he changed. But the great object was to gain the princess Anne, and for this purpose the lure of the succession was held out to her; but, though of weak disposition, she was firm. The bishop of London had been her tutor; and lord and lady Churchill, who ruled her, were zealous for protestantism; and all the efforts made on her proved abortive. Lord Dartmouth, though sincerely attached

to James, refused to abandon his religion. When admiral Herbert, a man of loose life and laden with the royal favors, refused him, James said to Barillon, that he never could put confidence in any man, however attached to him, who affected the character of a zealous protestant.

The year 1686 closed with an act which convinced the people that the overthrow of their religion was the object really proposed by the king. This was the dismissal of Rochester from his office of treasurer, effected by the secret influence of Petre and Sunderland. The king was really attached to his brother-in-law, but he now told him that he must either go to mass or go out of office. Rochester's friends and the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors were desirous that he should keep office at any rate. A conference, it was agreed, should be held in his presence on the points in dispute between the two churches. At the end of it he desired a further delay to consider, but, as his object evidently was to gain time, the king consented to dismiss him. The treasury was then managed by a board, of which lord Bellasis, a catholic, was the head; and he, Powis, and Dover, were now members of the privy council. The king was also about to appoint father Petre to a seat in it, and he was only withheld from doing it by the entreaties of the queen.

A dismissal of protestants from office and a resignation of commissions in the army soon followed. The king, previous to the meeting of parliament, wishing to ascertain the opinions of the members who held offices, summoned them separately to his closet in order to confer with them. The result of these 'closetings,' as they were named, proved unsatisfactory, and they were either dismissed from their offices or they resigned. Their places were generally supplied with catholics.

It being now evident that a sufficient number of the members of the established church could not be induced to betray it, the king was advised to endeavor to gain the non-conformists; not but that there were even on the episcopal bench men who set little value on religion as compared with their interest; such were Crew of Durham, Cartwright, and Parker, to whom the king had lately given the sees of Chester and Oxford, knowing them to be men for his purpose, to whom may perhaps be added Sprat of Rochester, and one or two more. A declaration was issued accordingly, suspending the penal laws and forbidding the imposition of tests. Of this the dissenters took advantage, though dubious of the motives whence it proceeded; and many addresses of thanks were

presented from them at court. The king, in his self-delusion, congratulated himself on the success of this measure in weakening the church party, and he now thought he might venture to attack them in their strongholds, the universities.

As Oxford had so strongly asserted the doctrine of passive obedience, James commenced his attack on the church in that university. He appointed Massey, a fellow of Merton and a recent convert, to the deanery of Christ Church, and true to its principles, the university made no opposition. The king next made trial of Cambridge. He wrote (Feb. 7) to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Peachell, commanding him to admit to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths, a Benedictine monk, named Alban Francis, who was acting as a missionary in that neighborhood. Peachell refused, and he was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission; the university supported him, and it ended in the compromise of the appointment of a new vice-chancellor and the withdrawal of the claim of Francis. Shamed or emboldened by the example of Cambridge, Oxford soon began to shake off its slavish trammels. On the death of the president of Magdalen college, letters mandatory were sent, (Apr. 4,) recommending Mr. Anthony Farmer, a man of low, dissolute habits, but a recent proselyte. The fellows petitioned the king, but to no purpose; they then proceeded to the election, and chose Mr. Hough, (15th.) They were summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and the election was pronounced void. But Farmer was withdrawn, his character being too notorious, and they were directed to choose Parker, bishop of Oxford, (Aug. 14.) They still refused, and when the king came to Oxford the following month on his progress, he chid them severely and insisted on their obedience. Still they would not yield. A commission was then issued, appointing extraordinary visitors of their college, (Oct. 21,) and Hough and twenty-five of the fellows were expelled and declared incapable of holding any clerical preferment, (Dec. 10.) The king thus gained a victory, but, as Lingard justly observes, "he had no reason to be proud of it, for it betrayed the hollowness of his pretensions to good faith and sincerity, and earned him the enmity of the great body of the clergy, and of all who were devoted to the interests of the church."

In the summer (July 3) the king had given another intimation of his designs, by publicly receiving D'Adda as the papal nuncio — a measure to which the pope had yielded an unwilling consent. He now advanced a step further, and by the royal command (Nov. 11) father Petre took his seat

among the privy councillors, to the grief and dismay of the moderate catholics and the astonishment and vexation of the people.

The king had also dissolved the parliament, (July 2.) It was represented to him in vain, that in all points but that of religion this was a more compliant assembly than he could ever again expect to obtain; religion was with him the point, and he resolved to make the trial. In order to get a more complete control over the corporations, he appointed a board of seven 'Regulators,' all catholics except the chancellor, with powers to appoint and remove officers and freemen at their discretion. To obtain county members to his purpose, the lords lieutenant were directed to inquire of their deputies and the magistrates, whether, if elected to parliament, they would vote for the repeal of the test-act and the penal laws; whether they would support candidates who would promise to do so; and whether they would support the declaration. Loss of office was to be the penalty of non-compliance. This measure, however, did not succeed. Fourteen lords lieutenant were removed, and their places supplied with catholics; a like change was made among the sheriffs and in the magistracy; yet, after all, James saw that he could not have a parliament to his mind, and of the house of lords there was no hope. Sunderland, however, had conceived the then unknown project of *swamping* this house by a large creation. "O silly!" cried he to lord Churchill, when the opposition of the peers was spoken of; "why, your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords." This bold measure was not ventured on; the king seemed inclined, if he could not get a pliant house of commons, to continue to rule by prerogative.

The Scottish parliament had proved as uncomplying as the English on the subject of religion. The king had there in like manner issued a proclamation, granting toleration to sectaries, and suspending all laws against catholics, "by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power," — words which he did not yet venture to employ in England.

In Ireland the lord lieutenancy had been given to lord Clarendon, but the command of the forces was separated from it for the first time, and intrusted to Richard Talbot,* now earl of Tyrconnel, an Irish catholic of the English race, a man of some talent, but no judgment, rude and boisterous

* See above, p. 267, for his conduct with respect to the duchess of York.

in manners, with no control over his passions and appetites, handsome and showy in his person; he was in effect a genuine Anglo-Irishman of that day. Being in the confidence of the king, he treated the viceroy with insolence and contempt, and though the object for which he was sent was to raise the catholic interest, he could not refrain from insulting the native Irish by calling them the O's and Mac's. Having aided Sunderland in overthrowing the Hydes, he bullied him out of the chief government of Ireland, though he was known to be the enemy of the act of Settlement, and the devoted slave of Louis XIV. He was appointed lord deputy, (Feb. 1687,) and by the end of the year the catholics formed the majority in the privy council, the magistracy, the army, and the corporations. The chancellor and three fourths of the judges, and all the king's council but one, were of this persuasion. The protestants now began to emigrate in great numbers; the officers sold their commissions for little or nothing, and sought service with the prince of Orange. The object of the king was to make Ireland an asylum for the catholics, and for himself if needful; but Tyrconnel had a deeper design, and he proposed to the French envoy, Bonrepaux, that in case of the succession of the prince of Orange, Ireland should become an independent state under the protection of France. To this project Louis gave a most willing consent, but it was studiously concealed from James, and even from Barillon. Yet suspicion was afloat; and it was one of the objects of Dyckveldt, whom the prince of Orange sent over in the beginning of the year, to ascertain the king's designs with respect to Ireland.

James now fondly deemed that the overthrow of the protestant church was nearly certain. The steadfastness of his daughters in their religion had been to him a source of anxiety, as they might undo all his work; but an event now occurred which promised to relieve him from all apprehension. The queen, who had ceased from child-bearing for five years, announced that she was pregnant. This event, which the king and his friends ascribed to the efficacy of his prayers at St. Winifred's well, which he had lately visited, or to the prayers on earth and intercession in heaven of the late duchess of Modena, was hailed by the whole catholic party with transports of joy, and they even, as formerly in the case of queen Mary,* ventured to assign the sex of the embryo. The protestants, on the other hand, openly expressed their

* See vol. i. p. 428.

doubts, and hesitated not to assert that those whose interest it was to have a prince of Wales would be at no loss to procure one.

We now enter on the year 1688, a year ever memorable in the annals of England, and even in those of the world. To the royal view the whole political horizon seemed calm and unclouded. The king had triumphed in his contest with the church; in his late progress he had been greeted and cheered by bodies of the dissenters, whom he took for the nation; he had the prospect of the birth of a son to exclude his heretical daughters, and to go on with the good work of spreading the true faith; London was even already putting on the appearance of a catholic city; monks and friars in their appropriate habits were to be seen parading the streets; a papal nuncio sanctified the court by his presence; and Corker, a Benedictine, who had been tried for his life during the popish plot, being appointed envoy by the elector of Cologne, the king insisted that he and his attendant monks should come to court in the habit of their order—a piece of bigoted folly which the more sagacious Louis XIV. strongly condemned. Finally, James had filled Magdalen college with popish fellows; and on the death of bishop Parker, (Mar. 23,) Dr. Giffard, one of the four catholic prelates whom he had induced the pontiff to consecrate for England, was by the royal mandate chosen to succeed him.

But all this triumph and all this security was fallacious; the tempest was secretly brewing which was to level the fabric of despotism and superstition in the dust. The Tories, who had long been restrained by their notions of unlimited obedience, now alarmed for their religion by the queen's pregnancy, began to unite with the Whigs; several influential noblemen were in secret correspondence with the prince of Orange, and an armed resistance to the crown with his aid was contemplated.

In this state of the national feeling, the king made his final and fatal step. Having caused (Apr. 25) his declaration for liberty of conscience to be republished with additions, he, by the advice of Petre, it was said, afterwards (May 4) made an order of council that it should be read out in all the churches during the time of divine service, and the bishops were enjoined to distribute it for this purpose. The London clergy met and deliberated; several were inclined to submit or to try to gain time; but the more generous-spirited, being supported by a declaration of the leading non-conformists, calling on them to make a stand for religion and liberty,

prevailed. The learned Dr. Patrick had the courage to be the first to put his signature to a refusal to comply; it was then subscribed by eighty clergymen and forwarded to Lambeth, where, on the 12th, the primate, bishops Compton, Turner, and White, with Dr. Tennison and lord Clarendon, took it into consideration. It was resolved not to read the declaration, but to petition the king and to summon the other prelates to their aid. The call was quickly responded to by bishops Lloyd, Ken, and Trelawny, and on the 18th another meeting was held at Lambeth, at which Tillotson, Tennison, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sherlock, and Grove assisted; it was agreed to present without delay to the king a petition written by the primate, and signed by himself and bishops Lloyd, Ken, Trelawny, Turner, White, and Lake. As the primate had been forbidden the court, the six prelates went to Whitehall at ten o'clock that very night, and were admitted into the royal bed-chamber. They fell on their knees, and Lloyd presented the petition. The king, when he had read it, expressed his surprise, and said it was "a standard of rebellion," and, spite of their professions of unshaken loyalty, he dismissed them with the assurance that he would maintain the dispensing power which God had given him, adding, "I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal." That very night the petition was printed and distributed through the city, though the bishops had given their only copy to the king, and he had never let it out of his possession.

The next Sunday (20th) was the first day for the reading of the Declaration in the churches. It was read only in seven; the country clergy, countenanced in general by their diocesans, were equally disobedient, and out of a body of ten thousand, not more than two hundred complied. On the very 20th of May, the venerable Richard Baxter, the renowned non-conformist who had been so often persecuted by the church, praised from his pulpit the bishops for their resistance to that Declaration by virtue of which he was then able to preach publicly. It was thus plain that all hopes from the dissenters were vanished. The whole church party were firm to the prelates, and the king must now either yield at discretion or engage in a contest with all his protestant subjects.

In the council, Sunderland, the catholic lords, and even Jeffreys, were for moderation; but their opinions were overruled, and it was resolved to prosecute the bishops in the court of king's-bench. They were accordingly summoned

before the privy council, (June 8,) where, after some hesitation, they acknowledged their signatures; they were then required to enter into recognizances to appear at Westminster-hall; they declined, pleading their peerage; a warrant for their committal to the Tower was then made out. As they proceeded to the barges which were to convey them to that fortress, the people vented their feelings in tears and prayers, and earnestly implored their blessing. Both banks of the river were lined with spectators, who fell on their knees and prayed for them. At the Tower the officers and men of the guard asked their blessing; and the men every day drank their health in spite of the catholic lieutenant. The nobility of both sexes resorted daily to the Tower; a deputation of ten non-conformist ministers appeared there one day, and when reprimanded for it by the king, they replied, that they could not but adhere to the bishops as men constant to the protestant religion.

Had the king had the prudence to recede, an opportunity was afforded him within two days by the birth of the prince of Wales, (10th.) His moderate advisers urged him then to publish a general amnesty, which would include the bishops; but his priestly guides and his own obstinacy determined him to proceed. On the 15th the prelates were brought up by *Habeas Corpus* in order to plead. The people at their landing received them as before; in the court they were attended by twenty-nine peers, ready to be their securities. Their counsel claimed a delay for them till the next term; but the court decided that they should plead at once. They pleaded 'Not Guilty,' and were released on engaging to appear on the 29th. The popular joy burst forth in shouts and acclamations, and numbers again begged their blessings; when the primate landed at Lambeth, the soldiers there also fell on their knees to receive his blessing. Bonfires were lighted in the evening, and some catholics were insulted.

On the appointed day the bishops appeared in court, attended by a numerous troop of the nobility and gentry. Of the four judges, one, Allibone, was a catholic; two others, Wright (the chief) and Holloway, were the slaves of the court; one only, Powel, was impartial and honest; the king had taken pains to have a jury returned that he could rely on; and at court there was not a doubt felt of the result.

The speech of the attorney-general was timid, and there was great difficulty in proving the signatures; a question then arose, whether the petition which had been written in Surrey, and not proved to have been published in Middlesex,

could be tried in the latter county. At every failure of the crown lawyers, the audience set up a laugh or a shout, which the court was unable to repress. Wright began to sum up; but he was interrupted by Finch, one of the prisoners' counsel. Williams, the solicitor-general, then requested the court to wait for the appearance of a person of great quality. After a delay of an hour, lord Sunderland arrived in a chair, amid the hootings of the populace: he proved that the bishops came to him with a petition, and that he introduced them to the king. But now the counsel for the accused took new ground, and assumed a bolder tone; they arraigned the dispensing power; they maintained the right of the subject to petition. Wright and Allibone charged against Holloway and Powell in favor of the prisoners. The jury retired at seven in the evening; the obstinacy of Arnold, the king's brewer, one of their number, kept them in debate till the morning, when at nine o'clock they came into court and pronounced their verdict 'Not Guilty.' Instantly a peal of joy arose; it was taken up without; it spread over the city; it reached the camp at Hounslow, and was repeated by the soldiers. The king, who was dining with lord Feversham, on inquiring, was told it was for the acquittal of the bishops: "So much the worse for them," was his remark.

The birth of his son might seem a sufficient consolation to the king under this defeat; but here too his usual ill-fortune pursued him. If ever there was a prince about whose birth there would seem to be no possibility of doubt, it was this prince of Wales. His mother had long since spoken of her pregnancy; the birth took place in the morning, in the presence of the queen-dowager, most of the privy council, and several ladies of quality, many of whom were protestants — yet not one in a thousand of the protestants believed in its reality. Some maintained that the queen had never been pregnant; others, that she had miscarried at Easter, and that one child, or even two successive children, had been substituted for the abortion. The princess Anne remained incredulous; so did the able bishop Lloyd for many years. It was in fact a general delusion, from which neither reason nor good sense preserved men; it was most certainly no party fiction, though party might, and did, take advantage of it.

The birth of the prince seems to have decided the unprincipled lord Sunderland to make public at this time his apostasy from the protestant faith. He and Sheffield earl of

Mulgrave had been privately reconciled by father Petre a year before.

On the other hand, the birth of the prince decided those who were in communication with the prince of Orange. While the next heir was a protestant, the attempts of James might be borne with patience, as they could only continue for a few years; but now there was born a successor who would be nurtured in popery, and a popish regency under the queen would be formed in case of the king's demise. No time was therefore to be lost; an invitation to the prince to come to the relief of the country was drawn out and signed in cipher (June 30) by the earls of Shrewsbury, Danby, and Devonshire, lord Lumley, the bishop of London, admiral Russell, and colonel Sidney. The bearer of it to Holland is supposed to have been admiral Herbert, in the disguise of a common sailor.

The prince of Orange, by far the greatest man of his time, had for many years devoted all his thoughts and energies to the humbling of the power of Louis XIV. In 1686 he had succeeded in engaging the emperor, the kings of Spain and Sweden, and several of the German princes, to subscribe the 'League of Augsburg,' of which this was the real object. The following year, some of the Italian states, the pope himself included, joined the league, and the greater part of Europe was thus banded, under the prince of Orange, to check the ambition of Louis. The proper place of England was in this confederation; but the policy of her king withheld her from it: hence the prince aspired to the power of directing her councils and adding her means to the great cause of national independence.

The death of the elector of Cologne in the spring of this year proved most favorable to the designs of the prince, as it brought Louis and the confederacy into collision. This elector, who also held the bishoprics of Liege, Munster, and Hildesheim, had proved a most useful ally to Louis in 1672; and all the efforts of this monarch were directed to procure the election of the coadjutor, the cardinal of Furstemberg, who was his creature, and to whom he had given the bishopric of Strasburg, of which it was requisite that he should previously divest himself. The pope, however, out of hostility to Louis, refused to accept his resignation; and at the election, (July 9,) though Furstemberg had a majority of votes over his competitor, prince Clement of Bavaria, he did not obtain the requisite two thirds. The

appointment then fell to the pope, and he named Clement, who was only a youth of seventeen years of age. The candidates of the allies were equally successful at Liege, Munster, and Hildesheim, and both sides now began to prepare for war. This gave the prince of Orange an opportunity of making his preparations for the invasion of England, under color of providing for the defence of his own country and the empire. A large force was encamped near Nimeguen; cannon and ammunition were taken from the arsenals to be sent to it; soldiers and sailors were engaged; the Dutch navy was augmented, and the different fleets were placed in adjoining ports. These mighty preparations naturally awakened the suspicions of D'Avaux, the French minister at the Hague; but it was long before he could get certain information of their object. When at length he ascertained that they were destined for the invasion of England, and had informed his court, Louis lost no time in communicating it to James, making at the same time an offer of his aid; but that infatuated prince refused to give credit to it. Skelton, the English minister at Paris, then proposed to Louis that D'Avaux should declare to the States that there was an alliance between his master and James, and that Louis would regard as a breach of peace any attempt against his ally. This manœuvre disconcerted the friends of the prince of Orange; but James, instead of taking advantage of this, in his silly pride took offence, denied the alliance, recalled Skelton, and committed him to the Tower. Had he owned it, Louis would perhaps have made war on Holland, and thus have prevented the expedition of the prince; whereas he now declared war against the emperor alone, put his troops in motion, and laid siege to Philipsburg on the Upper Rhine, (Sept. 14.) All was now tranquil on the side of Holland; the prince found his motions unimpeded, and having arranged with his German allies for the defence of the republic during his absence, he lost no time in preparing for the invasion of England.

The eyes of James at length were opened to his danger, and he attempted to retrace his steps. Almost every day of the month of October was marked by some concession. He asked and graciously received the advice of the bishops; he restored the bishop of London and the president and fellows of Magdalen college; he gave the city of London and the towns and boroughs back their charters; recalled the writs he had issued for a parliament, etc. Meantime he was active in preparing the means of resistance; a fleet of

thirty-seven sail, with seventeen fire-ships, was stationed at the Gun-fleet under lord Dartmouth, whose fidelity was beyond suspicion; he called out the militia; gave commissions for raising regiments and companies; recalled troops from Scotland and Ireland; and the army, under the command of lord Feversham, now amounted to forty thousand men.

The prince of Orange had declarations prepared, addressed to the people of England and Scotland, stating the motives of his coming over, namely, to procure a free parliament; the redress of grievances; the security of the church; a comprehension for dissenters who desired it, and toleration for all others; and to inquire into the birth of the prince of Wales. He also wrote to his catholic allies, disclaiming all intention of injuring the king or his rightful heirs, and assuring them that he would employ all his influence to secure toleration for the catholics. The States issued a circular letter to the same effect.

The fleet collected for the invasion consisted of sixty men-of-war and seven hundred transports; the troops were 4500 horse and 11,000 foot. Marshal Schomberg and the counts of Nassau and Solms, with general Ginckel and other able Dutch officers; a band of eight hundred French refugees; the English exiles, such as lord Macclesfield, Dr. Burnet, and others, and those recently arrived, namely, the earl of Shrewsbury, who had raised 40,000*l.* for the expedition, the sons of the marquesses of Winchester and Halifax and of lord Danby, admirals Russell and Herbert, — all prepared to share the fortune of the prince.

The first full-moon after the equinox was the time appointed for sailing; but for the first half of October the wind blew tempestuously from the west. Public prayers to Heaven were made in all the churches; on the 13th the storm abated, and William then (15th) took a solemn leave of the States, commending to them the princess if any thing should happen to himself. The aged pensionary Fagel replied in their name. The whole audience were deeply affected; William alone remained apparently unmoved. A solemn fast was held on the 17th, and two days after (19th) the expedition sailed from Helvoetsluys; but during the night a storm came on and dispersed the fleet, and next day the ships were obliged to return to the different ports to repair and to lay in additional stores. At length the 'Protestant East-wind,' as it was termed, came, and the prince again put to sea, (Nov. 1.) He first sailed northwards, intending to land in

Yorkshire; but then changing his course he passed (3d) between Dover and Calais; wind and tide prevented lord Dartmouth from attacking; the people of the opposite coasts gazed with various emotions on the magnificent spectacle of a fleet extending twenty miles in length and laden with the fate of empires. On Monday the 5th the fleet safely anchored at Torbay in Devon.

The king had in the interim been making new efforts to sustain his sinking power. He caused a solemn investigation to be made into the birth of the prince of Wales, and the numerous depositions to be enrolled in chancery, in order that his title, in case of his own death, might be put beyond doubt. He dismissed from his council (Oct. 27) Sunderland, whose fidelity, after all the lengths he had gone, was now suspected, and not wholly without reason. Father Petre had already ceased to appear at the council-board. As the prince had stated in his declaration that "he had been invited by divers lords spiritual and temporal," the king called upon the prelates and peers in the capital to admit or deny the truth of this assertion. They all denied it; for none of them had signed the invitation but bishop Compton, who adroitly evaded the question by saying, "I am confident the rest of the bishops will as readily answer in the negative as myself." The king insisted on having their denial in writing, with an 'abhorrence' of the designs of the prince; but this they declined to give, (Nov. 6.) He then left them in anger, telling them that he would trust to his army.

The prince was now at Exeter, but hardly any one as yet had joined him, for the memory of 'Jeffreys' campaign' was still fresh in the minds of the people of Devon. He suspected that he was deceived, and he began to think of reëmbarking, being resolved on his return to Holland to publish the names of those who had invited him. At length sir Edward Seymour and some of the western gentry came in to him; and at the suggestion of Seymour, a bond of Association was drawn out, engaging the subscribers to support one another in defence of the laws and liberties of the three kingdoms, the protestant religion, and the prince of Orange. They were followed by lord Colchester, lord Wharton, Mr. Russell, and the earl of Abingdon. Soon after, (10th,) lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of horse that were stationed at Salisbury; but the far greater part of the officers and men proving loyal, he led but a small party to join the army of the prince

The ice was now broken; distrust spread through the whole army; the friends of the prince were emboldened; the lords Dauby and Lumley began to raise men in Yorkshire, lord Delamere in Cheshire, and lord Devonshire in Derbyshire.

James was strongly urged to seek an accommodation with the prince, but he still confided in the loyalty of his troops, and he resolved to put himself at their head. Father Petre, anxious, perhaps, for his own safety, pressed him to remain in London, as quitting it had been the ruin of his father. At his suggestion the infant prince was sent to Portsmouth, and he himself made his escape to France after the king's departure for the army.

James, on reaching Salisbury, reviewed the troops that were there, (20th.) He was to go the next day to Warminster, to inspect the division of general Kirke, but a violent bleeding of the nose came on him, which continued, with intervals, for three days. During this time a council of war was held, (22d.) Lord Churchill, the lieutenant-general, advised to remain at Salisbury; Feversham and his brother, the count de Roze, proposed to retire behind the Thames. This last course was approved of by the king; and that very night Churchill, the duke of Grafton, and others went over to the prince, and they were followed by several of their officers in the morning. It is even said that Churchill, Kirke, and some other officers had conspired to seize the king at Warminster, and deliver him up to the prince.

The king on his return to London stopped the first night (24th) at Andover. He invited prince George of Denmark to sup with him. After supper, that prince, the duke of Ormond, and two others mounted their horses and rode off to the prince of Orange. When James reached London, the first news that met him was that of the flight of his daughter Anne. He burst into tears: "God help me," he cried; "my very children have forsaken me." The princess had left her bed-chamber in the night (25th) with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley; the bishop of London and lord Dorset had a carriage ready for her, and she was conveyed to the bishop's house, and thence to Northampton. Disaffection now spread rapidly over the whole kingdom. Bristol, Hull, York, and other towns were occupied by the adherents of the prince. The university of Oxford sent him its adhesion and an offer of its plate!

The first act of the king was to hold a great council of the peers who were in London, and by their advice he issued writs for a parliament, and sent lords Halifax, Nottingham,

and Godolphin, as his commissioners, to treat with the prince; but some days elapsed before they were admitted to his presence, and meantime a spurious proclamation in his name, menacing all papists bearing arms or holding office, was circulated in London. James was now resolved on placing himself and his family under the protection of the king of France. He had his son brought back from Portsmouth, whence he could not now be conveyed, and, on a dark and stormy night, (Dec. 9,) the queen, with her babe and his nurse, crossed the river in an open boat to Lambeth; but the expected carriage was not there, and they had to stand for some time, only sheltered by an old wall from the torrents of rain. At length the coach arrived, and the queen proceeded to Gravesend, where she got on board a yacht which conveyed her to Calais.

The king had promised the queen to follow her in twenty-four hours. The letter which he received next day (10th) from his commissioners, stating the prince's terms, made no change in his resolution. He wrote to lord Feversham, dispensing with the further services of the troops; and he called for and burned the writs for a parliament, and then retired to rest. At one in the morning (11th) he rose, and telling lord Northumberland, who lay on a pallet in his chamber, not to open the door till the usual hour in the morning, he went down the back stairs, and, being joined by sir Edward Hales, got into a hackney-coach and drove to the horse-ferry, and there getting into a small boat, crossed over to Vauxhall, throwing the great seal into the river on his way. Horses were there ready for them, and at ten in the morning they reached Feversham, where they got on board a custom-house hoy which had been engaged for the purpose.

As soon as the news of the king's flight was known in London, the mob attacked the catholic chapels and the residences of the catholic ambassadors. Those who felt themselves to be obnoxious attempted to fly to the coast, but several were taken and committed to prison. Jeffreys was discovered at Wapping in the disguise of a common sailor. It was with difficulty that he was saved from the rage of the mob. At his own desire he was committed to the Tower, where he died shortly afterwards. The nuncio, disguised as a footman of the ambassador of Savoy, was seized at Gravesend, but the prince sent him a passport without delay.

The government meantime was exercised by a council of peers, with the lord mayor and aldermen. They sent a dec-

laration of adhesion to the prince, on condition of his procuring a free parliament; but their deliberations were soon disturbed by tidings of the detention of the king. The hoy, having stopped to get in more ballast, was boarded by three boats, and the crews, taking the king and his companions for jesuits, brought it back to Feversham. The king, being recognized, sent for lord Winchelsea, the lord lieutenant of the county, and he was placed at the house of the mayor, whence he wrote (14th) to the supreme council at London, who forthwith ordered lord Feversham to take two hundred of the guards for the protection of the royal person. James, on being joined by them, resolved to return to the capital. He sent lord Feversham to the prince, who was now at Windsor, to propose a personal conference; but the envoy was placed under arrest, on the pretext of his having come without a passport.

The king, on reaching London, (16th,) was received with every demonstration of popular joy: the crowds shouted, the bells were rung, and the bonfires were kindled, in the usual manner. Next day he held a court, met his council, and exercised other acts of sovereignty. But the prince and his council had decided that James should not remain at Whitehall; and the following evening (17th) count Solms came with a body of the Dutch guards, and, having occupied St. James's, led them to Whitehall. Lord Craven, who commanded the English guards, was preparing to resist; but the king, knowing opposition to be useless, repressed the ardor of the veteran of eighty, and the Dutch guards took the place of the English. A little before midnight the king went to rest, but he had not been long asleep when he was waked to receive the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, who were come with a message from the prince. He had them admitted. They told him it was the prince's wish that, for the safety of his person, he should go to Ham-house in Surrey, where he would be attended by his own guards, and that he must depart at ten in the morning, as the prince would arrive by noon. James objected to Ham, as damp and cold, and proposed Rochester. They departed, and returned at nine next morning (19th) with the requisite permission.

At noon the king took leave of the nobility, and entered the royal barge, and went down the river, followed by a party of the Dutch guards in boats. The assembled crowds viewed with mournful looks this final departure of their sovereign, a captive in the hands of foreigners. James slept that night

at Gravesend, and next day came to Rochester, where he remained for four days, deliberating on his further course. His friends in general urged him not to think of quitting the kingdom, as it was the very course his enemies seemed to wish him to adopt; for, though the front of the house in which he resided was guarded, the rear was neglected. He sent, offering to place himself in the hands of the prelates, if they would answer for his safety; but they declined so delicate a charge. He then resolved on flight, to which he was moreover urged by a letter from the queen; and, having written a declaration explanatory of his motives, and informed some friends of his design, he went to bed as usual, (22d.) After midnight he rose, and with his natural son the duke of Berwick and three other persons, he went out through the garden. A fishing-smack had been hired to convey him to France, but the weather was so rough that he could not reach it. He got on board the *Eagle* fire-ship, where he was received with all marks of respect by the crew, and next morning (24th) he embarked in the smack. On Christmas-day he landed at Ambleteuse in Picardy, and he hastened to join his queen at St. Germain. His reception by Louis was cordial and generous.

At two o'clock on the day of the king's departure from the capital, the prince of Orange came to St. James's. All classes crowded to do him homage. He summoned the lords spiritual and temporal to meet on the 21st, to consider the state of the nation. They came on the appointed day, to the number of about seventy: five lawyers, in the absence of the judges, were appointed to assist them. It was proposed that they should previously sign the Exeter Association: the temporal peers, with four exceptions, subscribed; the prelates all but Compton, refused. Next day (22d) they met in the house of peers, and, having chosen lord Halifax their speaker, issued an order for all papists, except householders and some others, to remove ten miles from London. On Christmas-day they resolved that the prince should be requested to take on him the administration of all public affairs till the 22d of January, and that he would issue letters for persons to be elected to meet as a convention on that day. The following day (26th) all those who had served in any of the parliaments of Charles II., and were in town, with the aldermen and fifty common-council-men, waited on the prince by invitation, and thence went to the house of commons, where next day (27th) they voted an address similar to that of the peers. The prince accepted the charge, and issued the let-

ters of summons for the convention. Next day, being Sunday, he received the sacrament according to the rights of the church of England.

On the 22d of January, 1689, the memorable convention met. A joint address of thanks and praying him to continue the administration of affairs was presented to the prince. After a few days' necessary delay, the commons entered on the great question of the state of the nation, (28th;) and it was resolved, "That king James II., having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." Next day (29th) it was resolved, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." It is remarkable that this is the very principle of the exclusion-bill which had brought such odium on its supporters.

In the lords this last vote was unanimously agreed to, but various questions arose on the former. The first was, supposing the throne vacant, whether they would have a regent or a king. It was decided in favor of the latter by a majority of only two. It was then carried, that there was an original contract between king and people. For the word 'abdicated' they substituted 'deserted'; and they struck out the clause declaring the throne to be vacant, as it was maintained that the crown devolved to the princess of Orange. To these amendments the commons refused to agree. Two conferences took place between committees of the houses, which terminated in the lords' giving way to the firmness of the commons, though their arguments were clearly superior on the principles of the constitution and of common sense; but the cogent motive was political necessity. The wholesome regard for the forms of the constitution certainly involved the whigs in apparent absurdity, for the word 'abdicated,' it was acknowledged, was used in an improper sense; 'deserted' was in truth no better, but it sounded softer; the proper word was 'forfeited,' but all parties shrank from employing it.

The throne being vacant, the next question was, by whom it should be filled. The young prince of Wales was passed over by common consent; for his birth should be previously inquired into; and should his legitimacy be proved, as there

was no doubt but that he would be brought up a catholic, it would be necessary to appoint a protestant regent, and then the strange sight might be presented of a succession of kings with the rights and title of the crown, and of regents exercising all its powers. The simple course seemed to be, to make the princess of Orange queen; but the prince signified his dislike of that, saying he could not hold any thing by apron-strings, and threatening to return to Holland; the princess had also strongly expressed her disapprobation of it. It was finally resolved (Feb. 12) that the prince and princess of Orange should be king and queen during their lives and that of the survivor, but the sole exercise of the royal power to be in the former; the succession to go to the heirs of the princess, and, in default of such issue, to the princess Anne and her heirs, and, in *their* default, to those of the prince of Orange.

The princess landed that very evening, and next day (13th) she and the prince, seated on a throne at Whitehall, received the two houses. A declaration of rights which had been agreed on having been read to them, lord Halifax, in the name of the two houses, made them a solemn tender of the crown. The prince made a brief reply, accepting the proffered crown, and declaring his resolution to support their religion, laws, and liberties, and to promote the welfare of the kingdom. King William and queen Mary were proclaimed that same day with the usual ceremonies.

Such was the Revolution of 1688, justly, we think, termed GLORIOUS. It terminated the struggle, which had continued from the reign of John, between the crown and people of England. We have seen the barons and commons lay various restraints on the despotism of the Plantagenets; but when the power of the barons had declined, the crown, relieved from the pressure, rose with renovated vigor in the line of Tudor. The Stuarts, with inferior ability, and thwarted by a more formidable opposition, sought to uphold the authority to which they had succeeded; the result was, a civil war, the shedding of royal blood on the scaffold, and a military despotism. Untaught by experience, the restored Stuarts labored to free their authority from all constitutional check, and, had they left the national religion un-

touched, they might have long, perhaps, continued to trample with impunity on the national liberties; but James in his folly attempted to overturn the church, and the nation rose and drove him from the throne. For, however men might seek to deceive themselves by specious terms, such was the real fact: James did not *abdicate*; he was *expelled*; and the house of Brunswick now occupies the throne by the *choice of the nation, and not by hereditary right*.* The line of succession was broken when William III. was placed on the throne; indefeasible right was at an end; but the monarchy, with its prerogative, remained uninjured.

It is this last circumstance that appears chiefly to cause our republican writers of the present day to vilify the Revolution, and pour forth their gall on its authors. They are angry that a democracy was not substituted for the ancient constitution of England, and they are therefore anxious to fix every possible stigma on the memory of king William and the other agents in effecting the change. A measure of policy, however, is not dependent for its moral quality on the characters of those who accomplish it; and we may freely grant that Danby and the other signers of the 'Invitation' were not men of immaculate virtue, and that there were instances of treachery and ingratitude; yet still these men merited well of their country, for the risk they ran, in case of failure, was tremendous; and it ill becomes those who are enjoying the benefit of their services to delight in heaping obloquy on their names.

* See note, vol. i. p. 57.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF STUART. — PART II.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

1689—1694.

THE new reign was commenced (Feb. 14) with a proclamation confirming all protestants in the offices which they held. The king then nominated the privy council and appointed to the offices of state; in both cases selecting from the ranks of whigs and tories, with a preponderance, however, of the former. Danby was made president of the council; Halifax, privy seal; Nottingham and Shrewsbury, secretaries of state. The treasury, admiralty, and chancery were put in commission.

Judging it inexpedient, under the present circumstances of the country, to risk the experiment of a new election, the king and council resolved to convert the convention into a parliament. This was effected by the simple expedient of the king's going in state to the house of peers, (18th,) and addressing both houses from the throne. A bill declaring the lords and commons assembled at Westminster to be the two houses of parliament was then passed, and the royal assent being given, (23d,) the convention became a parliament. In this act a new oath to be taken on the first of March was substituted for the old ones of allegiance and supremacy. It was refused by the primate and seven of his

suffragans;* and among the temporal peers, by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, and the lords Griffin and Stawell. Hence the party of which they were the heads derived the name of Nonjurors; their principle was a blind, stupid veneration for absolute power, and for the hereditary divine rights of princes—a principle, if followed out, utterly subversive of every kind of liberty.

The settlement of the revenue was an important question. The courtiers maintained that the revenue settled on the late king for life came of course to the present king; but the commons could only be induced to grant it for one year. They readily granted a sum of 600,000*l.* to remunerate the States for the expense they had been at; and on information of king James having landed in Ireland, they voted funds for an army and navy.

The coronation took place on the 11th of April; the bishop of London officiating in place of the nonjuring primate. Several titles and honors had previously been conferred. The marquess of Winchester was made duke of Bolton; lords Mordaunt and Churchill, earls of Monmouth and Marlborough; Henry Sidney, viscount Sidney; the king's Dutch favorite Bentinck, earl of Portland, etc. Shortly after, (24th,) the earl of Danby was created marquess of Carmarthen. The celebrated Dr. Burnet was also rewarded for his exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty by being raised to the see of Salisbury. The judicial bench was purified and filled with men of sound constitutional principles; Holt, Pollexfen, and Atkins being placed at the head of the three law-courts: Treby was made attorney, and Somers solicitor-general.

It was the earnest wish of the king and of the more liberal statesmen, to reward the dissenters for their meritorious conduct during the late crisis by removing all disqualifications under which they labored. It was first attempted to have the sacramental test omitted in the new oaths; but that failing, a bill was brought in to exempt them from the penalties of certain laws. This, named the 'Act of Toleration,' was passed: though the catholics were not included in it, they felt the benefit of it, and William always treated them with lenity. A bill of comprehension passed the lords, but

* Namely, Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of Norwich, Thomas of Worcester, and Frampton of Gloucester.

miscarried in the commons. The attainders of lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle, were reversed. Johnson's sentence was annulled, and he received 1000*l.* and a pension.

William's main object, as we have seen, was to engage England in the great confederacy lately formed against the French king. As Louis was now openly assisting king James, the commons presented an address (Apr. 26) assuring the king of their support in case he should think fit to engage in the war with France. William required no more; he declared war without delay, (May 7.)

We must now take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland at this time.

As Scotland had been the victim of a civil and religious despotism such as the Stuarts had never dared to exercise in England, the friends of William were necessarily the majority in that country. After the flight of James, such of the Scottish nobility and gentry as were in London presented an address to the prince, vesting in him the administration and the revenue, and requesting him to call a convention of the states of Scotland. With this request he of course complied; and when the convention met, (Mar. 14,) the whigs had a decided majority. It was voted, that king James "had forfeited [forfeited] the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." On the 11th of April William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, and three deputies were sent to London to administer to them the coronation-oath. The convention was converted into a parliament, as in England.

The adherents of the late king, foiled in the convention, resolved to appeal to force; the duke of Gordon, a catholic, refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor; and Graham of Claverhouse, (now viscount Dundee,) the ruthless persecutor of the Cameronians, fired with the idea of emulating the fame of Montrose, quitted Edinburgh with a party of fifty horse and directed his course toward the Highlands. General Mackay, who had been sent with five regiments from England, was despatched in pursuit of him. Dundee succeeded in drawing together a good body of Highlanders; he got possession of the castle of Blair in Athol; and James sent him from Ireland lavish promises and a corps of about three hundred men. Dundee had retired into Lochaber, when hearing that lord Murray was pressing the castle of Blair, and that Mackay was coming to his aid, he rapidly returned, drove off lord

Murray, and as Mackay was now coming through the pass of Killierankie, he resolved to give him battle in the plain between the pass and the castle, (May 26.) The superiority in numbers and discipline was greatly on the side of the troops of Mackay; but the Highlanders, in their usual manner, having discharged their muskets, fell on with their broadswords and targets, and speedily routed their opponents with the loss of fifteen hundred slain, five hundred and all their artillery taken. The victory on the part of Dundee was complete; but he lived not to improve it, as he received a wound in the action of which he died next day. There was no one to take his place; the clans gradually laid down their arms and took advantage of the pardon offered by king William. The duke of Gordon also submitted and delivered up the castle of Edinburgh, (June 13,) and the cause of James became hopeless in Scotland. The abolition of episcopacy and the reëstablishment of presbytery took place soon after; and thus finally terminated the struggle between the crown and the people on the subject of religion.

It was different in Ireland, where the whole power of the state was in the hands of the catholics. Tyrconnel had at first signified an inclination to submit to William, who had sent over general Hamilton, one of the officers of James's army, with proposals to him; but Hamilton proved a traitor, and advised against submission; and Tyrconnel, whose only object had been to gain time, had already sent to assure James of his fidelity. He also disarmed the protestants in Dublin, and he augmented his catholic army. It has always been the fate of the Irish protestants to have their interests postponed to those of party in England; and they were now neglected by William, by some, it is said, from Halifax's suggestion, that if Ireland submitted he would have no pretext for keeping up an army, on which his retention of England depended. But in truth William does not seem to have had an army to send at that time; he could not rely on the English troops, and he therefore could not venture to part with the Dutch.

James embraced a resolution worthy of a sovereign: having obtained from Louis a supply of arms, ammunition, and money, with some officers, and collected about twelve hundred of his own subjects, he hastened to Brest, and embarking in a French fleet of twenty-one sail, proceeded to Ireland. He landed in safety at Kinsale, (Mar. 12.) At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel, who gave him an account

of the state of affairs. He described the army as numerous, but ill-armed; and the protestants as being in possession of Ulster alone. On the 24th the king made his solemn entrance into Dublin amid the acclamations of the catholics. He was met by a procession of popish prelates and priests in their habits, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He forthwith removed all the protestant members of the council. He issued proclamations; by one raising the value of the current coin; by another summoning a parliament for the 7th of May; and having created Tyrconnel a duke, he set out for his army in the north.

The only towns that offered resistance were Londonderry and Enniskillen. The people of the former had shut their gates against lord Antrim's regiment, and bidden defiance to the lord lieutenant. They sent to England for assistance, and two regiments under colonels Cunningham and Richards arrived in Lough Foyle; but on the intelligence of the approach of king James, these officers, agreeing with Lundy, the governor, that the place was not tenable, reëmbarked their troops. An officer was sent to negotiate with Hamilton, who commanded the Irish army, and he agreed that the king's troops should halt within four miles of the town; James, however, on arriving, set this agreement at naught; but he was obliged to retire with disorder. The cowardly governor refused to act, and he stole out of the place in disguise to escape the indignation of the people. They appointed in his room major Baker and a clergyman named George Walker, who had raised a regiment for the protestant cause. Their works were slight, their cannon few and bad, and they had no engineer; the men had never seen service, their stock of provisions was small, and they were besieged by a large army well supplied and commanded by able officers; yet the brave protestants dreamt not of surrender.

On the 20th of April the batteries began to play on the town; the attacks of the besiegers were gallantly repelled; but the want of provisions soon began to be felt. General Kirke now arrived in the lough with troops and supplies; but the enemy had placed a boom across the river and raised batteries, which prevented him from sailing up. He sent to the governors, urging them to hold out, and promising to make a diversion in their favor.

The king at this time went up to Dublin to hold his parliament, leaving the command with the French general Rosen. This officer, inured to his master's barbarous deal-

ings with his own subjects as well as foreigners, and incensed at the gallant resistance of the besieged, sent out parties of dragoons, and collecting all the protestants, men, women, and children, within a circuit of thirty miles, to the number of four thousand, drove them under the walls of Derry, there to perish if the garrison did not surrender. The king, who had given protections to most of these people, sent orders to the general to desist; but his mandate was unheeded; the threat of the garrison to hang all their prisoners was of more avail; and after three days' starvation, the poor people were permitted to return to their homes, which had meantime been plundered by the papists. Several hundreds of them died of fatigue and hunger.

Famine was now raging in the town; horses, dogs, cats, rats and mice, and even starch, tallow, and salted hides, were the only food of the garrison, and these were nearly exhausted, when Kirke, who had retired, reappeared in Lough Foyle. He ordered two transports and a frigate to sail up the river; the batteries from both banks thundered on them, while the garrison gazed with anxiety from their walls. The Mountjoy transport ran against the boom and broke it, but the shock drove her aground; the enemy attempted to board her; she fired a broadside and righted. The three vessels then sailed up to the town, and that very night (July 31) the besieging army retired, having lost between eight and nine thousand men before the heroic town. The besieged had lost three thousand — nearly the half of their original number. The Enniskilliners showed equal courage, and defeated the papists wherever they encountered them.

The houses of parliament which met in Dublin were filled with popish members, the protestants not exceeding half-a-dozen in either house. James, in his speech, made his usual parade of respect for the rights of conscience; and in a subsequent declaration, he expatiated on his regard and favor to his protestant subjects. One of his earliest measures, however, was to give his assent to an act for robbing them of their properties. A bill was introduced into the lower house for repealing the Act of Settlement; it was received with shouts of joy, passed at once, and transmitted to the lords. Here the protestant bishop of Meath fully exposed its iniquity, as it made no allowance for improvements, gave no time for the removal of cattle or corn, made no provisions for widows, paid no regard to the rights of *bona fide* purchasers, etc. In England such considerations of equity would have been attended to; in Ireland there has always

been a magnanimous contempt for truth, justice, and humanity, when the purposes of party are to be served. Fitton, the popish chancellor, a man who had actually been convicted of forgery, paid little heed to the arguments of the prelate. The bill passed; in vain the purchasers under the Act of Settlement petitioned the king; he replied, "that he would not do evil that good might come of it;" yet he gave his assent to the bill.

The preamble of the bill declared the Irish innocent of rebellion in 1641, and it vested in the king the real estates of all who did not acknowledge him, or who aided or corresponded with those who had rebelled against him since the 1st of August, 1688, that is to say, of nearly every Irish protestant who could write. This was followed by an act of attainder against between two and three thousand persons, by name, of all orders and sexes from the peer to the yeoman, of whom, as Nagle, the speaker of the commons, said to the king on presenting the bill, "many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame." By a clause in the act, the king was even deprived of the power of pardoning any of the proscribed after the 1st of November. Meantime the act was carefully concealed from its victims, being kept close in the custody of the chancellor.

As a further means of robbing the protestants, a base coinage of brass, bell-metal, tin, and pewter, was issued, at the rates of coin of the precious metals, and ordered to be taken in all kinds of payments. When the protestants attempted to get rid of the base metal thus forced on them, by purchasing with it corn, hides, etc., the king fixed his price on these articles, seized them to his own use, and paid for them in his bell-metal coin. Yet the catholics after all were the chief losers, for they happened to be the principal holders of the base money when James fled from Ireland.

To ruin the protestant clergy, the catholics were directed to pay their tithes to their own priests. As livings became vacant, they were filled with popish incumbents. The fellows of Trinity college having refused to admit a papist named Green into their body, they were all expelled, and their plate and other property were seized. A respectable catholic named Moore was made provost, and he saved the library from the soldiery. Even the protestant worship was suppressed, for an order was issued forbidding more than five protestants to meet together for any purpose on pain of death.

While James was thus exemplifying his notions of religious liberty, William was preparing the means of recovering Ireland. A force consisting of eighteen regiments of foot and five of horse having been levied, the command was given to duke Schomberg. But various delays occurred, and it was late in the summer (Aug. 13) when the duke landed at Bangor in Down, with a body of ten thousand men, leaving the remainder to follow. He invested Carrickfergus, which surrendered after a siege of a few days. The enemy continually retired before him, and he reached Dundalk on his way to Dublin. As he had not yet got over his artillery, and he was weak in cavalry, he did not deem it prudent to proceed. He fortified his camp, but the site he had chosen was damp and unhealthy, being surrounded by mountains and bogs. Disease soon spread its ravages among his troops; king James advanced up to the camp at the head of his army, but the cautious marshal would not accept the offer of battle, and the king drew off. At length, after losing one half of his men by disease, Schomberg placed his army in winter-quarters in the northern towns.

This year was marked by only one naval engagement. Louis had sent a squadron, under count Chateau-Renault, to convey some transports with supplies to Ireland. Herbert, who had been sent to intercept them, having been driven by stress of weather into Millford-haven, they got safe into Bantry-bay. When Herbert found them there, (May 1,) he stood in to attack them, though he was much inferior in force. The French weighed and stood out; Herbert tried in vain to get the weather-gage, and after a running fight of some hours, he bore away, leaving the honor of the day to the French.* On his return to Portsmouth, as the crews were discontented with their want of success, king William came down, dined aboard the admiral's ship, knighted captains Ashby and Shovel, and gave the men ten shillings each. Herbert was soon after created earl of Torrington.

In the spring, (1690,) having received supplies, and a reinforcement of 7000 Danish troops, and his men being now in good health, Schomberg besieged and took (May 12) the fort of Charlemont. James had received 6000 French troops, under count Lausun, in exchange for as many Irish, but they embarrassed more than they served him, and he remained

* When D'Avaux, the French ambassador, told James that the French had defeated the English, he peevishly replied, *C'est bien la première fois donc.*

inactive. William, meantime, aware of the importance of reducing Ireland, had resolved to conduct the war there in person. He landed at Carrickfergus, (June 14,) and declaring that "he was not come to let the grass grow under his feet," summoned all his troops to his standard. On reviewing them at Loughbrickland, he found himself at the head of 36,000 effective men. He moved southwards without delay: James, who had left Dublin for his army, (16th,) advanced to Dundalk, but not thinking that post tenable, he fell back and took a position near Oldbridge, on the right bank of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, with a bog on his left and the pass of Duleek in his rear. His army is said to have numbered 33,000 men.* On the morning of the last day of June, the English army reached the Boyne. William rode out to reconnoitre the enemy; he was recognized, and two pieces of cannon were secretly planted behind a hedge opposite an eminence where he had sat down to rest. As he was mounting his horse, they were fired, and one of the balls, having touched the bank of the river, rose and grazed his right shoulder, tearing his coat and flesh. His attendants gathered round him, a cry of joy rose in the Irish camp, the news of his death flew to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the firing of cannon and lighting of bonfires testified the exultation of Louis.

The armies cannonaded each other during the remainder of the day. At nine o'clock William held a council, and gave his orders for the battle next day; at twelve he rode by torchlight through the camp; the word given was WESTMINSTER; each soldier was directed to wear a green bough in his hat, as the enemy was observed to wear white paper. The army was to pass the river in three divisions; the right, led by young Schomberg and general Douglas, at the ford of Slane; the centre, under Schomberg himself, in front of the camp; and the left, under the king, lower down toward Drogheda.

Early next morning (Tuesday, July 1) the right division set out for Slane, where it forced the passage, and passing the bog, drove off the troops opposed to it. The centre crossed unopposed; on the further bank they met a vigorous resistance, but they finally forced the enemy to fall back to the village of Donore, where James stood a spectator of the battle. William, meantime, had crossed at the head of his

* He says himself, (Life, ii. 393,) it was not more than 20,000, while he makes that of William from 40,000 to 50,000.

cavalry; the Irish horse, led by Hamilton, fought gallantly, but they were broken at length, and their commander made a prisoner.* Lausun now urged James to remain no longer, but to retire with all speed to Dublin before he was surrounded. He forthwith quitted the field; his army then poured through the pass of Duleek, and forming on the other side, retreated in good order. Their loss had been fifteen hundred men; that of the victors was only a third of that number, among whom were duke Schomberg, and Walker, the brave governor of Derry.

James stopped only one night in Dublin; he fled to Duncannon, where, finding a French vessel, he got on board, and landed safely at Brest, (10th.)

William reached Dublin on the third day after his victory, (4th.) He issued a proclamation promising pardon to all the inferior people engaged in the war, but excepting the leaders. He then advanced southwards and reduced Waterford; but hearing of a victory gained by the French fleet, and a descent on the coast of England, he returned to Dublin, deeming his presence necessary in England. Finding, however, the danger not to be so great as he had apprehended, he resolved to remain and finish the war. He advanced and laid siege to Limerick, (Aug. 9,) but his artillery was intercepted on its way from Dublin, and destroyed by general Sarsefield, and an attempt to storm (27th) having failed with great loss, he raised the siege, and retiring to Waterford, embarked for England, (Sept. 5,) leaving the command with count Solms and general Ginckel. The earl of Marlborough, who had commanded the British troops in the Netherlands this year, having proposed the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, landed at the former place (21st) with 5000 men, and being joined by the prince of Wurtemberg with an equal number of his Danes, he in the space of twenty-three days obliged both places to surrender. The French troops in Ireland now returned home, leaving the Irish to their fate.

We now return to England to notice the state of affairs there for the last twelvemonth.

The parliament which had been prorogued having met again, (Oct. 19,) the king in his speech pressed on them the necessity of a supply for carrying on the war; he also strongly

* William asked Hamilton if he thought the Irish would fight any more. "Upon my honor," said he, "I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse." "Honor!" said William; "*your* honor!" This Hamilton is said to be the author of 'The Memoirs of the Count de Grammont.'

urged the passing of a bill of indemnity. They readily voted a supply of two millions; but the whigs, with the natural jealousy of power, wishing to keep the lash over the heads of their rivals the tories, threw every possible obstruction in the way of the indemnity; impeachments were menaced against those who had turned papists; a committee was appointed to inquire who were the advisers, etc., in the murders of Russell, Sidney, and others; and as Halifax, who had been then in the ministry, saw that he was aimed at, he retired from office and joined the tories. A bill was brought in for restoring corporations, by a clause of which all who had acted or concurred in the surrender of charters were to be excluded from office for seven years. As there could be no doubt of the object of this clause, the tories put forth their whole strength, and having gained the court to their side, the clause was defeated in the commons, and the bill itself was lost in the lords.

The refusal of the whigs to grant him a revenue for life had greatly alienated the mind of the king from them. He was in fact so disgusted with the ungenerous treatment, as he conceived it, that he met with, that he seriously meditated a return to Holland, leaving the queen to reign in England. From this he was diverted by the entreaties of Carmarthen and Shrewsbury; and the tories having promised him lavish supplies if he would dissolve the parliament, he resolved on that measure, and on conducting the Irish war in person. He therefore prorogued the parliament, (Jan. 27, 1690,) and a few days after, (Feb. 6,) he issued a proclamation dissolving it, and summoning a new one to meet on the 20th of March.

In the new parliament the tories had the preponderance; but the whigs were, notwithstanding, very formidable. This appeared in the settlement of the revenue, as, though the hereditary excise was given to the king for life, the customs were granted only for four years. The great struggle of parties took place on a bill brought into the lords by the whigs for recognizing their majesties as the *rightful and lawful* sovereigns of these realms, and declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. This was obviously contrary to the principles and professions of the tories; they caused the words *rightful and lawful* to be omitted as superfluous, and they would only consent that the laws of the late parliament should be valid for the time to come. The bill was committed, but the declaratory clause was lost on the report. A vigorous protest of some of the leading whigs caused it to be restored. The tories now

protested in their turn, but the whigs caused the protest to be expunged from the journals. The bill passed the commons without opposition, as the influence of the crown was exerted in its favor. As the tories were thus instrumental in putting the last hand to the settlement of the crown, they had no excuse for ever again opposing it.

A bill requiring every person holding any office to *abjure* the late king and his title, was rejected by the commons at the express desire of the king. An act was passed for investing the queen with the administration during the absence of the king, and one for reversing the judgment against the city of London, and finally the bill of indemnity which contained the names of thirty excepted persons, none of whom, however, were ever molested in consequence of it. The session was then closed, (May 21,) and the king soon after set out for Ireland.

The situation of the queen was by no means an easy one. Her mind was distracted with anxiety for the fate of both her father and her husband in Ireland; the Jacobites, as the adherents of James were now called, were preparing an insurrection in England and Scotland, and the French were ready to assist them; she had to hold the balance between the two parties in her cabinet. Her difficulties, however, gave occasion to the display of the nobler parts of her character, and she acquired by her firmness, mildness, and prudence, the applause of all.

As it was known that a fleet was getting ready at Brest, lord Torrington proceeded to St. Helens, and took the command of the combined English and Dutch fleets. On the 20th of June, the French fleet of seventy-eight ships-of-war appeared off Plymouth. Though Torrington had but fifty-six sail, orders were sent to him to fight the French. The hostile squadrons engaged (30th) off Beachey-head; the action lasted from nine till five in the afternoon, when a calm came on. As the Dutch had suffered severely, Torrington retired during the night; next day the French pursued them as far as Rye, and then retired. The loss of the English was two, that of the Dutch six ships. Torrington, having brought his fleet into the Thames, repaired to London, where he was deprived of his command and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he was never again employed.

As an invasion was apprehended, the queen issued commissions for raising troops, directed a camp to be formed at Torbay, and caused several suspected persons to be ar-

rested. But the French, after burning the fishing-village of Tingmouth, returned to Brest, and the news of the victory at the Boyne soon dispelled all alarm.

On the return of the king, the greatest harmony prevailed between him and his parliament. They granted four millions for the war, and William, having put an end to the session, embarked at Gravesend (Jan. 16, 1691) in order to be present at a congress of the allies at the Hague. All there proceeded to his wishes, it being unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with vigor. He staid a few weeks in Holland, and then returned to England, (Apr. 13.)

A conspiracy in favor of James had been discovered before the king left England. About the end of December, a boat-owner of Barking in Essex having informed lord Carmarthen that one of his boats had been engaged to convey some persons to France, it was boarded at Gravesend, and lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and a Mr. Elliot, were found in it. A parcel of papers of a suspicious nature were taken on the person of Ashton. Preston and Ashton were both tried and found guilty; the latter was executed, (Jan. 28;) he died a protestant. Preston obtained a pardon by revealing all he knew. Lord Clarendon was committed to the Tower; bishop Turner, lord Preston's brother Graham, and Penn the quaker, being implicated, went out of the way.

It was now beyond doubt that there was a very extensive conspiracy organized for bringing back the late king. Un-
taught by the experience of his whole reign, and of his late doings in Ireland, men were so infatuated as to suppose that he could be content to reign the king of a protestant people. Preston and Ashton were to propose to him to make the majority of his council, even in France, protestant; to assure him that though he might live a catholic, he must reign as a protestant, giving all offices of state to those of this religion and seeking nothing but liberty of conscience for his own. They were also to require that the French force, which they wished him to bring over, should be so moderate as to give no alarm for the liberties of the nation. A wilder project than this never was conceived, yet in a memorandum of lord Preston's were found the names of Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Devonshire, and other whig lords, as if they were participators in it. It is certain that Halifax, Godolphin, and Marlborough were at this time in communication with the Jacobite agents, though the second was actually at the head of the treasury, and the last had lately done James all the injury he could

n Ireland. But Marlborough did not find his ambition sufficiently gratified, and he thought it probable that James might be restored. He resolved in that case to secure his pardon, and therefore pretending the greatest remorse for his base ingratitude, he gave an exact account of the numbers and condition of the army and navy, and of the plans of king William as far as he knew them; he promised, if the king desired it, to bring over the troops that were in Flanders, but thought it better that he and the rest of the king's friends in parliament should strive to have the foreign troops sent away, in which case the English should be brought back, and the king's restoration might then be easily effected.

William now resolved to keep measures no longer with the nonjuring prelates, for they had refused to perform their functions, even if excused from their oaths. He therefore proceeded to fill up the vacant sees. Tillotson (a name with which that of Sancroft will ill bear comparison) was selected for Canterbury. The names of Cumberland, Fowler, Patrick, Beveridge, and others, do equal honor to the discernment of the king and his advisers. As Sancroft and his brethren gave the most decisive proof of their sincerity, we must respect them as honest men; but at the same time it is difficult not to feel contempt for those who were willing to sacrifice the civil (and consequently the religious) liberties of their country on the altar of their false god, Passive Obedience. If too; as they maintained, this was the principle of Christianity, that perfect law of liberty, they should have submitted with the meekness of martyrs, and not poured through the press, from the pens of themselves and their adherents, a continued stream of virulent pamphlets against their opponents.

On the 2d of May king William, attended among others by the earl of Marlborough, sailed for Holland, in order to take the field in person against the French. We deem it necessary here to remind our readers, that owing to our narrow limits, our plan has been to be as brief as possible on foreign affairs; for England is henceforth so mixed up in the affairs of the continent, that to relate in detail those in which she is concerned, would be to write the history of Europe. We will therefore aim at nothing more than to explain the origin and termination of the various general wars, and occasionally to notice more circumstantially the events, in which the English were immediate partakers.

The war was carried on simultaneously in Flanders, on the Rhine, in Savoy and Piedmont, but no battle of any note

signalized this campaign. At the end of it William returned to England, (Oct. 19,) where the cheering intelligence of the complete reduction of Ireland awaited him.

Owing to the want of the needful supplies, Ginckel had not been able to take the field till the month of June. He then advanced to lay siege to Athlone, a strong town in the centre of the kingdom, on the river Shannon. Like many of the towns in Ireland, it consisted of two parts, an English and an Irish town; the latter was beyond the river, and at a distance of two miles from it the Irish army, commanded by the French general St. Ruth, lay encamped.

When the English army approached, (June 18,) the Irish sent to oppose them retired into the town, and when the assault was given to the English town, (20th,) they fled after a brief resistance into the Irish town, breaking an arch of the bridge behind them. Two attempts to cover the broken arch with wooden work failed, and it was confidently expected that the English would be obliged to retire. It only remained to attempt to pass by a deep, stony ford between the towns. Accordingly, a body of two thousand men, led by Mackay, plunged into the river, (30th;) the batteries on both sides thundered; the troops boldly advanced under the fire, gained the shore, and mounted the breach which had been effected; the rest of the army pressed on over the bridge or by pontoons; the Irish fled to their camp, and within half an hour from the entrance of the troops into the river, the Irish town was won. The castle made no resistance.

On the 10th Ginckel marched from Athlone to engage the Irish army. He found them (12th) posted on Kilcommoden-hill, with a bog in their front in which there were only two passes; the one on their left, at the village and old castle of Aghrim, the other on their right; the slope of the hill down to the bog was intersected by hedges and ditches. Their force is said to have amounted to 25,000, that of the English only to 18,000 men.

It was noon when the English advanced to the attack. The pass on the Irish right was first attempted, and at length gained. About five o'clock, an attack was made on the enemy's right wing, and when St. Ruth had drawn off part of his cavalry from the left to its support, the English cavalry under general Tollemache pressed forward to gain the pass at Aghrim. At the same time a part of the infantry of the centre plunged into the bog in front, and floundering through, gained the opposite side. But instead of halting as directed

for the cavalry to join them from the right, they began to ascend the hill. Horse and foot now charged them; they were driven back with loss. "Now," cried St. Ruth, "will I drive the English to the very walls of Dublin." But Tolemache pressed forward on one side, and Mackay at the other; St. Ruth came down the hill, and was advancing at the head of a body of horse against the former, when a cannon ball struck him. His death spread dismay through the army; the order of battle had not been communicated to Sarsfield, the second in command; and he was uncertain how to act. The English pressed on vigorously, and the Irish broke and fled. In the battle and pursuit 7000 men were slain, and only 450 taken; the loss of the victors did not exceed 700 killed, and 1000 wounded.

Galway surrendered (20th) on honorable terms, and Ginckel now prepared to end the war by the reduction of Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish. On his coming before the town (Aug. 25) the batteries were opened in the usual manner; but though breaches were effected, the strength of the garrison was too great to allow him to hazard an assault. The general saw that the town must be invested on all sides in order to insure success. An English fleet was in the river; the town was closed in on the Limerick side, but it freely communicated with Clare by Thomond-bridge. A bridge of tin-boats was therefore secretly constructed, and a body of troops got over to the Clare side; but those not proving sufficient, Ginckel himself led over a larger body, (Sept. 22,) and after a furious conflict the works which covered Thomond-bridge were carried. Next day the garrison proposed a cessation, in order to adjust the terms of surrender. The terms which they required were extravagant; but Ginckel, who knew how much it was for his master's interest to have the war concluded, agreed to give very favorable ones. The Irish were to exercise their religion as in the time of Charles II.; all included in the capitulation were to enjoy their estates and follow their professions as in the same reign; their gentry were to have the use of arms, and no oaths were to be required but that of allegiance; all persons wishing to retire to the continent should be conveyed thither, with their families and effects, at the expense of the government. These articles were drawn up and signed, (Oct. 3,) and the war in Ireland, after having inflicted three years of calamity on the country, was at length terminated. Sarsfield and about 12,000 men passed over to France, and were taken into the pay of the French monarch.

A barbarous deed enacted in the Highlands of Scotland opens the occurrences of the following year, (1692.) An order had been issued for the Highlanders to submit and take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January. The chiefs all obeyed; the last was M'Donald of Glenco, and the snows and other impediments prevented him from reaching Inverary, the county-town, till the day was passed. The sheriff, however, administered the oath, and certified the cause of delay. But the earl of Breadalbane was M'Donald's bitter enemy, and the Dalrymples of Stair, the president and secretary, thirsted for blood. Both the oath and certificate were suppressed, and William was assured that Glenco was the great obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands. An order, countersigned by the king, was obtained "to extirpate that sect of thieves," and Dalrymple forthwith wrote to the commander-in-chief ample directions how to perpetrate the massacre in the most barbarous manner.

A detachment from Fort-William, under Campbell of Glenlyon, to whose niece one of Glenco's sons was married, came to the Glen, where they were hospitably received and quartered among the inhabitants. In about a fortnight, (Feb 12,) orders to fall on and massacre all the men of the clan in the night arrived. Glenlyon passed that evening at cards at his nephew's, and all were to dine at Glenco's the next day. But that night, when the people of the vale were buried in sleep, the massacre began. The young M'Donalds, overhearing the discourse of the soldiers, suspected danger and made their escape, but they were unable to warn their father, and at break of day the old man was shot in his bed; his wife was stripped naked, and she died the next day of terror. Of the men of the glen, two hundred in number, thirty-eight were massacred; the remainder, hearing the shots, fled to the hills; for a storm providentially came on and hindered the march of the troops, that were to have seized the passes to prevent their escape. The houses were all burnt to the ground, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the women and children stripped naked, and left to perish in the snow.

Of Scottish barbarity and ferocity we have seen abundant instances, and certainly the great offenders here were those two detestable men, Breadalbane and Dalrymple: but the king himself was not guiltless; he should have inquired more accurately before he signed such an order. Judging, however, by his general character, there can be little doubt that he was deceived, and that he thought he was only sanctioning a wholesome act of severity. Political necessity

will perhaps account for, though not justify, his not punishing the authors of the massacre.

A great outcry at this deed was raised all over Europe by James and his adherents, which certainly came with a good grace from the party which had to boast of Jeffreys' campaign, and the torturings and massacres of the Cameronians!

Early in the spring (Mar. 5) the king returned to Holland to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The exiled monarch meantime had made his arrangements for the invasion of England. The Jacobites and catholics secretly enlisted men and formed regiments; the princess Anne had lately written to implore her father's forgiveness, which he regarded as a proof of the inclination of the church party; Marlborough continued to give him assurances of his fidelity; and even Russell, out of pride and pique, became a traitor to the cause of the revolution. Louis gave James some troops, which, with the regiments from Ireland and the Scotch and English exiles, forming a force of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, were encamped at La Hogue, where a large fleet was assembled to convey them to England. At the same time James published a declaration, offering pardon and indemnity to his subjects, (with, however, a long list of exceptions,) and promising to protect the church.

The queen, on intelligence of these preparations, caused Marlborough and other suspected persons to be arrested; a camp was formed near Portsmouth, and Russell, who commanded the fleet, was ordered to put to sea. As reports were very prevalent of disaffection in the navy, lord Nottingham, by the queen's direction, wrote to the admiral to say that she gave no credit to them; and a most loyal address from the officers was the result of the royal magnanimity.

Russell, when joined by the squadrons of admirals Delaval and Carter, and by the ships of Holland, found himself at the head of a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line. The count de Tourville, who commanded the French fleet, had only sixty-three ships; but Louis had sent him positive orders to fight, reckoning that the Dutch would not have joined so soon. The engagement commenced off cape Barfleur, (May 19,) and lasted from ten o'clock till four, when a dense fog came on. About six it cleared off, and the French were seen towing away their ships; the English gave chase. Carter, with part of the blue squadron, came up with them; he engaged them for half an hour, till he received a mortal wound; and the French got off with the loss of four ships. The chase was kept up the two following days. On the morn

ing of the 22d, part of the French fleet being seen near the Race of Alderney, chase was again given, and Tourville's own ship, the *Soleil Royal*, of 120 guns, and two others, were driven ashore near Cherbourg, where they were burnt by Delaval; a part made their escape through the Race to St. Malo; eighteen ran aground at La Hogue; vice-admiral Rooke immediately manned his boats to attack them, and, despite of the cannon which thundered from all sides, the brave British tars succeeded in burning thirteen sail of the line and a number of transports. James, who from his camp beheld this frustration of all his hopes, could not, it is said, refrain from exclaiming repeatedly, "See my brave English!" He dismissed his troops for the present to their quarters, and returned himself to St. Germain. The correspondence was still kept up with Marlborough and Russell, who professed to be as zealous as ever in his service.

The principal events of the war in Flanders this campaign were the taking of Namur by the French, (June 5.) and the battle of Steenkirk (July 24) between king William and marshal Luxemburg. The latter, deceived by one of his spies, suffered himself to be surprised; but the ill conduct of count Solms in not supporting the van of the allies, and the arrival of marshal Boufflers with a large body of French dragoons, caused the beam finally to turn against the allies. They retired, with the loss of three thousand slain (among whom were generals Mackay and Lanier) and an equal number wounded and taken. The loss of the French was not inferior.

Shortly after, a plot to assassinate king William was discovered: the agents in it were, the Jacobite colonel Parker, Grandval a captain of French dragoons, and a M. Dumont. King James is said to have both known and approved of it. It was, however, fortunately discovered, and Grandval, who had been inveigled into the quarters of the allies, was executed by sentence of a court-martial.

Fortune was every where favorable to the French the following year, (1693.) They reduced the strong towns of Huy (July 23) and Charleroy, (Oct. 11.) In the battle of Neer-Winden, or Landen, (July 29,) the honor of the day remained with them, but their loss was equal to that of the allies. The loss of a part of the rich Smyrna fleet was, however, more severely felt in England than that of the battle of Landen. Louis had made incredible efforts to renew his navy, and when sir George Rooke was sent to the Straits to convoy the great Smyrna fleet of England and her allies,

consisting of 400 vessels, he fell in with a French fleet of eighty ships of the line off Cape St. Vincent. There was now no escaping. Two Dutch men-of-war were taken, and a Dutch and an English ship burnt; forty of the merchantmen were captured, and fifty sunk. The total loss was estimated at a million sterling.

In the commencement of this year one of the Jacobite agents, a priest named Cary, came over to James with eight proposals from some of the English nobility, on his agreeing to which they undertook to restore him. James sent them to Louis; and, by his advice, he assented to them; and a declaration based on them having been drawn up by those lords, James published it, (April 17.) In this he promised pardon and indemnity to all who would not oppose him; engaged to protect and defend the church of England, and secure to its members all their churches, colleges, rights, immunities, etc.; pledged himself not to dispense with the test, and to leave the dispensing power in other matters to be regulated by parliament; to assent to bills for the frequent meeting of parliament, and the freedom of elections, etc., and to reëstablish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James owns that in this document he put a force on his nature, which he excuses by the necessity of the case. He consulted both English and French divines about the promise to protect and defend the church; the former thought he could not in conscience do it, the latter (including Bossuet) that he could; but the king says that these last finally coincided with the others in thinking that he could only promise to maintain the protestants in their possessions, benefices, etc.

This declaration did no service whatever to the cause of James. Those who proposed it became doubtful of his sincerity when they saw him so readily agree to it; the leading Jacobites* were offended at it, saying, that if he came in on these terms it would be the ruin of himself and his loyal subjects; they therefore sent him word "that, if he considered the preamble and the very terms of it, he was not bound to stand by it, or to put it out *verbatim* as it was worded," with more to that purpose. Marlborough wrote

* James (Life, ii. 514) names the nonjuring bishops of Norwich (Lloyd,) Bath, (Ken,) Ely, (Turner,) and Peterborough, (White,) the marquess of Worcester, and earl of Clarendon. "A decisive proof," observes Hallam, "how little that party cared for civil liberty; and how little would have satisfied them at the revolution if James had put the church out of danger."

pretty much to the same effect; and indeed James owns that he did not consider himself bound by it.

The machinations of the court of St. Germain were continued through the following year, (1694.) Russell, Marlborough, and Godolphin were as profuse as ever of their professions of devotion, yet James observes that they performed nothing. He very properly judged that they regarded only their own interest; and he even seems to have suspected that Russell was only deluding him. It is much to be regretted that the name of lord Shrewsbury should be mixed up in these traitorous intrigues. It is a curious fact, but one for which there seems to be sufficient authority, that William made use of his knowledge of Shrewsbury's communications with the Jacobite agents to oblige him to accept the post of secretary of state. Shrewsbury was a man of honor, and William had no reason ever to regret his magnanimity.

On the 6th of May the king sailed for Holland. He had previously made several promotions in the peerage. The earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Devonshire were created dukes of the same name; the marquess of Carmarthen duke of Leeds, and the earl of Clare duke of Newcastle; the earl of Mulgrave marquess of Normanby, and lord Sidney earl of Romney.

No action of importance took place in this campaign. The allies recovered Huy, and the advantage in general was on their side. William returned to England in the beginning of November.

Early in the month of June a combined fleet of thirty sail under lord Berkeley, with 6000 troops on board, commanded by general Tollemache, had sailed with the intention of destroying the fleet and harbor of Brest. The fleet, however, had already sailed for the Mediterranean, and they found all due preparations made to receive them. Their attempts to silence the guns of the castle and forts having proved unavailing, Tollemache made a desperate effort to land his troops. In this attempt he received a mortal wound, and seven hundred of his men were slain or taken; it was then found necessary to abandon the enterprise. Tollemache declared that "he felt no regret at losing his life in the performance of his duty, but that it was a great grief to him to have been betrayed;" and betrayed he certainly was. On the 2d of May Marlborough had written to king James an account of the strength and destination of the expedition, and Godolphin, one of William's ministers, is said to have done the same; yet, ere the fleet sailed, Marlborough

through Shrewsbury, had offered his services to William, "with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable."

After the failure on Brest, Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre, and damaged Calais and Dunkirk. Russell meantime rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and his wintering by the king's express command, against his own will, with his fleet of sixty sail, at Cadiz, insured the preponderance of England both in that sea and on the ocean.

Shortly after the return of the king, the excellent archbishop of Canterbury died, (Nov. 22.) Sancroft, his non-juring predecessor, had paid the debt of nature just a year before him. Both were emphatically good men, though differing in opinion. It is greatly to Sancroft's honor that he never engaged in any of the intrigues against the government; but, giving allegiance for protection, he lived and died a peaceful subject. Dr. Tennison succeeded Tillotson in the primacy.

Shortly after the death of the primate, that of the queen plunged the nation into affliction. She was attacked by the small-pox, (Dec. 21,) and being improperly treated by Dr. Ratcliffe, she was carried off in about a week, (23th,) in the thirty-third year of her age. She bore her illness with the greatest piety and resignation, and died in the sincere profession of the protestant faith. Her character was every way amiable, and no one could have better sustained the difficult part she was called on to act in the drama of the world, where the most sacred duties came into collision.* By her husband she was loved with an intensity of which his nature was hardly thought to be capable, and his grief at her loss was so great as to cause apprehensions for his health. The obsequies of the queen were celebrated with great magnificence, (Mar. 5,) and her remains were deposited in Westminster-abbey.†

* Hallam beautifully applies to her Virgil's well-known line,

"Intelix utcunque ferent ea facta minores."

† A Jacobite divine had the brutality to preach at this time on the text, "Go, now, see this accursed woman, and bury her, for she is a king's daughter."

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM III.

1695—1701.

THE princess Anne, a weak woman, entirely guided by lord and lady Marlborough, had been for some time on ill terms with the king and queen. When the latter was on her death-bed, the princess sent expressing her desire to see her; but the physicians objected, and the queen sent her her forgiveness. Lord Sunderland, who was now in favor with William, seized the occasion of his grief to effect a reconciliation between him and the princess; Anne therefore wrote to him; she was then received at court, and the king gave her St. James's for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the late queen's jewels.

The most important bill passed this session was that for triennial parliaments, by which it was enacted that every parliament should determine within three years from the time of its meeting. The king had twice refused his assent to a similar bill, but he now thought it expedient to yield.

Charges of bribery and corruption were made against various persons. Sir John Trevor, the speaker of the house of commons, was expelled for having received a bribe of 1000 guineas from the city of London. It having appeared that the East India Company had employed an unprecedented sum in secret-service money during the last year, their governor was called on to account for it, and it proved to have been spent, for the purpose of procuring the renewal of their charter, in bribes to influential persons. On the information which was elicited, the commons impeached the duke of Leeds; but an important witness having gone out of the way, and a prorogation having taken place, the matter fell to the ground. The stigma of course adhered to the duke's character, and his name does not appear in the regency which the king appointed when departing for the continent.

The great event of the campaign of 1695 was the taking of Namur by king William in person, (Aug. 29,) after a siege of seven weeks, in face of a French army of one hundred thousand men. The intelligence diffused joy all over England, and the king was received on his return (Oct. 11) as a glorious conqueror.

William's first act was to dissolve the parliament and summon a new one to meet on the 22d of November. He then visited Newmarket, and made a progress through the midland counties in order to increase his popularity. In the new parliament the whig interest preponderated. A bill for regulating trials for treason, which had failed before, was now brought in by the tories, and it was passed unanimously. It enacted that the accused should have a copy of the indictment and of the panel of the jury, and the aid of counsel; that every overt act should be proved by two witnesses; that the prisoner should be enabled to compel his witnesses to appear, and be allowed to challenge peremptorily thirty-five of the jury, etc. As the silver coinage was in such a wretched state that a golden guinea was worth thirty shillings, a new coinage was resolved on, and was carried into effect by the chancellor of the exchequer, aided by sir Isaac Newton, the master of the mint. A third measure caused much annoyance to the king. His Dutch favorite, Bentinck earl of Portland, who was somewhat rapacious, had begged and obtained three royal lordships in Denbighshire. The gentry of the county petitioned against the grant; the commons addressed the king to recall it, and William complied with their wishes; but he forthwith conferred on the favorite manors and honors in no less than five several counties.

The discovery of a nefarious plot against the life of the king soon drew the whole attention of parliament and the nation. One captain Fisher called on lord Portland (Feb. 11, 1696,) and informed him of a plot for seizing the king and invading the kingdom; he afterwards (13th) gave the particulars of the conspiracy to sir William Turnbull the secretary. The attempt on the king, who was in the habit of going on Saturdays to hunt in Richmond-park, was to be made in the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham-green. He was therefore urged not to hunt on that day; but he laughed at the idea of the plot, and declared his resolution of taking his sport as usual. On Friday evening, however, (14th,) an officer named Prendergast came to lord Portland, and advised him to persuade the king to stay at home the next day, or else he would be assassinated. He gave the same details as Fisher had done; but both refused to name any of the parties. He said he was an Irishman and a catholic, but that though his religion was accused of sanctioning such deeds, the thought of it had filled him with horror. Portland went to the king that very night; and William, now thinking there was something in the matter,

put off his hunting for that week. Next day a third witness, named De la Rue, gave exactly similar information, and he and Prendergast, being examined personally by the king, were prevailed on to name the conspirators. These had deferred their project to the following Saturday, (22d,) when, finding that the king did not go to Richmond, they suspected that the plot was discovered, and thought of providing for their safety. That night, however, several of them were arrested in their beds, and next day a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for each of the persons who had escaped.

On Monday (24th) the king went in person and informed both houses of the discovery of the plot. They made in return a most loyal and affectionate address, empowered him to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act, and drew up a form of association, binding themselves to the support of his person and government against the late king James and his adherents, and to revenge his death on his enemies, and to maintain the Act of Settlement. All the members of both houses signed this bond. As some of the Tories scrupled at the words *rightful and lawful king*, a slight change was made to content them.

The plot seems to have been as follows. King James had sent sir George Barclay, a Scottish catholic officer of his guards, over to England with a commission authorizing and commanding all his loving subjects to rise in arms and make war on the prince of Orange and his adherents. About two-and-twenty officers and men of James's guards came over to aid in the project, which was communicated to several of the king's friends in England. Various places were proposed for making the attempt, and the above-mentioned lane was finally fixed on. Meantime a French fleet and army were to be assembled at Dunkirk and Calais, of which James himself was to take the command. The principal persons charged with this conspiracy were the earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, sirs George Barclay, John Fenwick, John Freind and William Perkins, major Lowick, captains Charnock, Knightley, and Porter, with messieurs Rookwood, Cooke, Goodman, Cranbourne, and others. Of these, Porter, Goodman, and some others were admitted as witnesses; and on their evidence, with that of Fisher, Prendergast, and De la Rue, Freind, Perkins, Charnock, Lowick, King, Cranbourne, and Rookwood, were found guilty and executed. Cooke and Knightley were also found guilty; but the former was banished, the latter pardoned.

At the execution of Freind and Perkins, the celebrated Jeremy Collier and two other nonjuring divines gave them absolution in sight of the people with a solemn imposition of hands. For this they were indicted, but not punished. The two archbishops and twelve of the bishops (all that were in town) published a declaration strongly censuring their conduct, as the dying persons had made no confession and expressed no abhorrence of the crime for which they suffered.

King James, who had come to Calais, after remaining there some weeks, returned disconsolate to St. Germain. He utterly denied all knowledge of the assassination plot; but there seems to be sufficient evidence of his having sanctioned this and other attempts on the life of king William.

Sir John Fenwick was arrested at New Romney, on his way to France, (June 11.) He instantly wrote a letter in pencil to his lady, saying that nothing could save him but the endeavors of her nephew lord Carlisle and others with the king and his friends, or the bribing some of the jury to starve out the rest. This letter was intercepted, and on Fenwick's assertion of his innocence before the lords justices it was produced to his utter dismay. When he heard that the grand jury had found the bill against him, he prayed for a delay, offering to tell all he knew, provided he got a pardon and was not required to appear as a witness. The king, when this proposal was transmitted to him in Flanders, refused to accede to it. Fenwick then threw himself on his mercy, and wrote him an account of the plots of the Jacobites, in which he mentioned the secret dealings of lords Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Bath, and admiral Russell with the court of St. Germain; but the duke of Devonshire told him, "that the king was acquainted with most of those things before." An order therefore was issued to bring him to trial unless he made fuller discoveries. Fenwick then took to tampering with the witnesses Porter and Goodman; the former betrayed the intrigue to government, but the latter was induced to go to France. As he could not now be convicted by law, his enemies took another course. Admiral Russell, with the king's permission, (Nov. 6,) laid before the house the informations of Fenwick against himself and others, and desired that they might be read in order to give him an opportunity of justifying himself. Fenwick was brought to the bar and examined; but as he had had his information only at second-hand, he could not prove his assertions, and he thought it the wiser course not to repeat them. His papers

therefore were voted to be false and scandalous, and it was resolved to bring in a bill to attain him. The bill was founded on Porter's evidence, supported by the production of Goodman's examination before the privy council, and by the evidence of two of the grand jury as to what he had sworn before them; proof was also given of his having been tampered with by lady Mary Fenwick. The bill was vigorously opposed in all its stages; but it finally passed the commons by a majority of 33. In the lords the divisions were still closer, the majority being only seven. In the minority voted the dukes of Leeds and Devonshire and lords Pembroke, Sunderland, Bath, and Godolphin; the duke of Shrewsbury was absent; Marlborough voted in the majority, revenge proving stronger than his toryism. A vigorous protest signed by forty-one peers, including eight prelates, was entered, in which it was justly said, that Fenwick was "so inconsiderable a man as to the endangering the peace of the government, that there needs no necessity of proceeding against him in this extraordinary manner." One of the most strenuous supporters of the bill, we are sorry to say, was bishop Burnet. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower-hill, (Jan. 28, 1697.)

In the course of the proceedings against Fenwick, a circumstance came to light which covered lord Monmouth with disgrace. Finding himself not named in Fenwick's discoveries, he wrote a paper of instructions for him to found his defence on, so as to implicate Godolphin and the others; and on Fenwick's not doing so, he came and spoke for two hours in favor of the attainer. Fenwick then on a reëxamination told the whole story, and Monmouth was committed to the Tower and deprived of his employments. The king, however, did not wish to drive him to extremity; he sent bishop Burnet to soften him, and made up his losses secretly.*

Before the king left England this year he raised to the peerage the celebrated John Somers, who had been for some time lord keeper, and made him chancellor. Admiral Russell was created earl of Orford, and lord Sunderland was now made lord chamberlain.

The war had languished of late, and in the course of this year it was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick, (Sept. 20.)

* Monmouth was afterwards the celebrated earl of Peterborough. Speaker Onslow says of him on this occasion, "I wonder any man of honor could keep him company after such an attempt. He was of the worst principles of any man of that, or perhaps of any age; yet from some glittering in his character he hath some admirers."

Louis gave up all his late conquests except Strasburg, and he acknowledged William as king of England. James published manifestos in assertion of his rights; but they were unheeded. It appears that Louis had proposed to William to have the crown settled on the prince of Wales after his death, and that the latter, who had no affection for the princess Anne, seemed inclined to consent. But the princess had a sure ally in the bigotry of her father and his queen. The idea of their son being reared a protestant, as in such case he must be, filled them both with horror, and they rejected the proposal without hesitation.

The peace was on the whole an honorable one, considering that all the advantages of the war had been on the side of France; it was also absolutely necessary from the exhausted state of the English finances. But William knew that it was likely to be little more than a truce, and in his speech to the parliament (Dec. 2) he gave it as his opinion, "that for the present England cannot be safe without a land force." The necessity, however, of reduction and economy was strongly felt, the war having caused a debt of seventeen millions, and a dread of standing armies as the instruments of despotism pervaded the minds of most people, not considering that in the mutiny-bill and the necessity of annual votes of supply, they had abundant security against those dangers. It was therefore voted that all the troops raised since 1680 should be disbanded, and it was finally resolved (18th) that ten thousand men should be the force for the ensuing year. To gild the pill for the monarch, and prove that they were not wanting in gratitude and affection to him, they voted (20th) that a sum of 700,000*l.* should be granted him *for life* for the support of the civil list. The king, however, neglected the former vote, and when he was next going to Holland, he left sealed orders with the regency to keep up a force of sixteen thousand men.

During the king's absence a new parliament was elected. The members were mostly men of Revolution principles, attached to the government, but not very courteous to the king. When, on his return from the continent, the parliament met, in the speech from the throne (Dec. 9) he hinted his opinion of the necessity of a large land force. But the commons, irritated at his neglect of the vote of their predecessors on this point, forthwith resolved that it should not exceed seven thousand men, and these to be his majesty's natural-born subjects. As this last clause went to deprive the king of his Dutch guards, to which he was so much at-

tached, and of the brave regiments of French protestants, the insult, coupled with ingratitude, (as he deemed it,) sank deep into his mind. He seriously resolved to abandon the government and retire to Holland, and he had actually written the speech which he intended to make on that occasion, when he was diverted from his purpose. He therefore gave his assent to the bill, (Feb. 1, 1699.) Ere, however, he dismissed his guards, he made a final appeal to the good feelings of the commons. He sent them (Mar. 18) a message in his own hand-writing, to say that all the necessary preparations were now made, and that he would send them away immediately, "unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable, and the guards departed. We feel it impossible to approve of this conduct of the commons; though it was termed national feeling, it showed more of party spirit. They should have recollected, that had it not been for these troops, who won the battle of the Boyne, *they* would probably have had no power over them or any other troops.

In the following session the commons proceeded a step further in making the king feel their power. The lands of those who had fought on the side of James in Ireland were forfeited, and, in a legal sense, were at the disposal of the crown; yet still in all equity they should be applied to the public service. But William, who was of a generous temper, and who never could divest himself of the idea that as king he was entitled to all the prerogative exercised by his predecessors, had granted them away to the extent of a million of acres, chiefly to his mistress, Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, (for in this respect William, though possessing so excellent a wife, had thought fit to imitate his uncles rather than his grandfather,) to the insatiable Portland, to Ginckel earl of Athlone, to Sidney lord Romney, and to another Dutch favorite, Keppel, who had been page, then private secretary to the king, and who now had eclipsed Portland in his favor, and had been created earl of Albemarle. Still he had only exercised a lawful prerogative, and the commons were not justified in the act of resumption which they passed, and still less in tacking its provisions to a money-bill to prevent the lords from altering them.

The king was tolerant in his own temper, and he was pledged to the emperor and his catholic allies to indulge his catholic subjects. But the commons now, on the resort of

priests to England and their usual imprudence, brought in a terrific bill to check the growth of popery. By this act any one informing against a priest exercising his functions was to receive 100*l.* reward, and the priest to be imprisoned for life; every person professing the popish religion must, after attaining the age of eighteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, or become incapable of inheriting or purchasing lands, and during his life his next of kin being a protestant was to enjoy them. The lords and the king gave no opposition to the will of the commons; but the spirit of liberty and equity rendered the barbarous enactment of none effect, and no properties were lost by it.

The earl of Sunderland, foreseeing the coming storm, had already resigned his office of chamberlain, much against the wishes of the king. Lord Orford, fearing the commons, followed his example; the duke of Leeds was dismissed from his post of president of the council. The tories had persuaded the favorites Albemarle, and Villiers lord Jersey, that it would be for the king's advantage to employ them instead of the whigs. The king himself seems to have thought that course necessary, and in compliance with the wishes of the tories, he consented to take the great seal from lord Somers, the leader of the whig party. William wished him to resign it of his own accord, but this Somers declined doing, as it might appear to be the result of fear or guilt. The earl of Jersey was then sent (Apr. 7) to demand it; he delivered it up, and it was committed to sir Nathan Wright. The duke of Shrewsbury immediately resigned.

When the king returned from the continent this year, he modeled the ministry to the content of the tories. Godolphin was set again over the treasury, lord Grey of Werk, now earl of Tankerville, was made privy seal, and Rochester lord lieutenant of Ireland; and to diminish the power of the whigs in the commons, their leader in that house, Charles Montague, was raised to the peerage under the title of baron of Halifax. The ministers having advised a dissolution, a new parliament was summoned, and when it met, (Feb. 10, 1701,) Mr. Robert Harley, a man who, though of a presbyterian family and connections, had constantly acted with the tories, was chosen speaker.

The two great measures which were to occupy the attention of the parliament were the succession and the partition treaty.

Of all the children which the princess Anne had borne,

only one had survived. This was William duke of Gloucester, born in 1689. When this young prince had attained his ninth year, the king assigned him a peculiar establishment, and appointed the earl of Marlborough to be his governor, and bishop Burnet his preceptor. But the prince, having over-exerted himself on his birth-day, (July 24, 1700,) took a fever, of which he died. The next heir to the crown was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, youngest child of Charles I., but her religion excluding her, the nearest protestant to the throne was Sophia, dowager-electress of Hanover, daughter of the queen of Bohemia, the sister of that monarch. In the speech from the throne, the subject was pressed on the attention of parliament, and no time was lost in preparing a bill for the purpose.

The 'Act of Settlement' now passed, limiting the succession of the crown to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body being protestants. It further provided, that no foreigner should hold any place of trust, civil or military, or take any grant from the crown; that the nation should not be obliged to engage in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England; that the sovereign should join in communion with the church of England, and not go out of the country without the consent of parliament; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment; that no person holding an office or pension under the crown should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that judges' commissions should be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries be ascertained; that all business properly belonging to the privy council should be transacted there, all the resolutions be signed by the councillors present, etc.

The regard for liberty shown in this important bill certainly does honor to the tories. Some of the articles seemed, no doubt, to reflect on the king, but recent experience had shown their necessity, and future experience proved their utility. There was, however, one fatal omission in the bill; the foreign prince coming to the throne should have been required to surrender his former dominions.

The affair of the treaty of partition was much more intricate. Charles II. of Spain was childless; the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, and the king of France had all married daughters of Spain. Louis's queen, it is true, had at her marriage solemnly renounced her right of succession, but the ambition of Louis, it was well known, would not be

held in by so slender a cord ; and if he could add the Spanish dominions to his own, his power, it was feared, would be irresistible. In 1698, William, having seen, from the temper of parliament, how little chance there was of prevailing on the English nation to engage in a war, resolved, if he could not avert the evil entirely, to diminish it as much as possible. Louis, too, was, or pretended to be, satisfied to be secured in a part rather than have to fight for the whole. Accordingly, when William returned to Holland that year, a secret treaty was concluded between the kings of England and France, and the states of Holland, for partitioning the Spanish dominions, by which the dauphin was to have Naples and all the other Italian dominions of the crown of Spain, except the duchy of Milan, which was to go to the emperor's second son, Charles. The dauphin was also to have the province of Guipuscoa, in the north of Spain ; but the crown of Spain, with all its other dominions, was to go to the electoral prince of Bavaria. The death of this young prince having frustrated this arrangement, a new one was concluded, (Mar. 15, 1700.) By this the archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, while the dauphin should have Guipuscoa and all the Italian dominions, but Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine. The object proposed by William and the States was, to preserve the balance of power as much as possible ; but it was certainly a bold step thus to parcel out the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the crown or people of Spain. Accordingly, the pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and through the arts of the French ambassador and his party, the king, when on his death-bed, (Nov. 1,) was induced to make a will leaving all his dominions to Philip, the second son of the dauphin. Louis, after an affected hesitation, allowed his grandson to accept the splendid bequest. He then used all his arts to obtain the acquiescence of the king of England and the States, but finding them unavailing, he had recourse to stronger measures. By what was called the Barrier treaty, Namur, Antwerp, and some other places in the Netherlands were garrisoned by Dutch troops ; and by a secret and rapid march, the French in one night surprised and captured all these garrisons, which amounted to 12,000 men. The States, to free their soldiers, and urged by the clamor of a large faction at home, and the terror of the French arms now at their doors, acknowledged Philip, and king William found it necessary to follow their example, (Apr. 17, 1701.)

It is asserted that Louis scattered his gold with no sparing hand among the members of the English parliament, in order to avert the danger of a war. Be this as it may, his game was played effectually in that assembly. The peers (Mar. 21) presented an address condemnatory of "that fatal treaty" of partition, and the commons, after a furious debate, in which Mr. Howe termed it a "*felonious treaty*," made a still stronger address, and then proceeded to impeach the earls of Portland and Oxford, and the lords Somers and Halifax, for their share in it. Disputes, however, arising between the two houses, the commons refused to go on with the impeachments, under the pretext that they could not expect justice, and the lords then acquitted the accused peers.

The war-spirit, however, was on the increase in the country, and the king on his return to the continent was party (Sept. 7) to a second Grand Alliance with the emperor and the States for procuring the Netherlands and the Italian dominions of the crown of Spain for the emperor, and for preventing the union of France and Spain under one government. Just at this time, an event occurred which roused the indignation of the whole English nation against Louis. King James died, (16th,) and Louis, who had promised the dying monarch to recognize his son as king of England, performed that promise under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, in opposition to his wisest ministers. William immediately ordered his ambassador to quit the court of France without taking leave, and the French secretary of legation to depart from England. The city of London made an address, expressive of their indignation at the conduct of the court of France, and their resolution to stand by the king in the defence of his person and just rights; and similar addresses soon poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

The current had evidently set in against the timid anti-national policy of the tories, and the sagacious Sunderland, when consulted by the king, strongly advised him to discard his tory ministers and bring in the whigs. William wrote to lord Somers, their acknowledged leader, for his advice, and that statesman urged him to dissolve the parliament, and to rely on the present temper of the nation. Accordingly, the king, soon after his return, acted in conformity with that counsel.

When the new parliament met, (Dec. 30,) the tories

proved stronger in it than had been anticipated, but many of them were of that moderate party which was headed by Harley, whose election to the office of speaker was carried by a majority of either four or fourteen. The speech from the throne, the composition of Somers, was a most able piece, showing the danger of England and of Europe, and calling on the parliament to act with vigor and unanimity. The two houses responded to the royal call; they voted 90,000 men for the land and sea service; a bill was passed for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, and another obliging all persons employed in church and state to *abjure* him, and swear to William as rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement, (1702.)

The nation had not been so united or the king so popular at any time since the Revolution; but William was not fated to enjoy the happy results. He felt his constitution to be so greatly broken, that he had told lord Portland this winter, in confidence, that he could not expect to live another summer. Toward the end of February, (21st,) as he was riding through Bushy-park, on his way to Hampton-court, he put his horse to the gallop on the level sod; but the animal stumbled and fell, and the king's collar-bone was broken. It was set immediately, and he was brought back to Kensington. For some days he seemed in no danger whatever; but one day, (Mar. 3,) after walking for some time in the gallery, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep. He awoke with a shivering fit. A fever ensued; he grew worse daily, on Sunday (7th) he received the sacrament from archbishop Tennison, and at eight o'clock next morning (8th) he breathed his last, in the fifty-second year of his age. A black ribbon with a ring, containing some of his late queen's hair, was found tied round his left arm — a proof of his sincere affection for that estimable woman.

William was slender in person and delicate in constitution. His countenance was grave and manly, his nose aquiline, his eye bright, his forehead large. He had a strong sense of religion, and was generally correct in his conduct. His manner was dry and unpleasant, and those who had been used to the affability of Charles found his court intolerable; and his retiring to Holland every summer, and usual residence at Hampton-court for the sake of privacy and hunting, tended very much to alienate the minds of the public. He was an able though not successful general; the great object of his life was the abasement of

the power of France; it was only with a view to this that he sought the throne of England; and he is the last monarch of superior talents who has occupied that throne. In fine, he was the greatest prince of his age.

CHAPTER III.

ANNE.

1702—1714.

THE new queen was in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She had always been remarkably firm in her attachment to the protestant religion, and her inclination was strong to the tory party. This, however, was much controlled by the great influence exercised over her mind by lady Marlborough, who was a whig,* which led to a hope that the high-tory party would not be dominant during her reign. When waited on by the privy council the day of William's death, she spoke with great respect of that monarch, and announced her intention of treading in his steps. She renewed this declaration in her speech to the parliament, and her resolution was communicated without loss of time to the States-general, who had been overwhelmed with affliction at the news of the king's demise.

King William, with that noble spirit of patriotism which distinguished him, though aware of the treachery of Marlborough to himself, had destined him to the command of the English troops in the approaching war, for of his military and diplomatic talents he had the highest opinion. For this reason he had confided to him the task of negotiating the Grand Alliance, and Marlborough's conduct of it had fully justified his anticipations. The queen now declared him captain-general of all the forces of Great Britain, and appointed him her ambassador at the Hague, whither he repaired without delay (28th) to assure the States of the intentions of his royal mistress, and to arrange the plan of the ensuing campaign.

* In her familiar intercourse with lord and lady Marlborough, the queen called herself, and was called by them, Mrs. Morley, and they were Mr. and Mrs. Freeman

The commons settled on the queen for life the revenue of 700,000*l.* a year enjoyed by the late king, 100,000*l.* of which she assured them she would annually devote to the national service. The oath of abjuration was taken by all persons without any difficulty.

In forming her ministry queen Anne gave the preference to the tories. Godolphin was made, treasurer, Nottingham and sir Charles Hedges secretaries, Normanby privy seal, and sir Nathan Wright chancellor; while of the whigs the duke of Somerset was president of the council, and the duke of Devonshire lord steward. Anne made her husband, prince George, generalissimo of all her forces by sea and land and lord high admiral. Seymour, Howe, Harcourt, and other tories also got employments.

On the very same day, (May 15,) as had been previously arranged, war was declared against France at London, Vienna, and the Hague. In the beginning of July Marlborough took the command of the allied army in Flanders. He forthwith crossed the Meuse and advanced to Hamont. The caution of the Dutch field-deputies restraining him from action, no battle was fought in Flanders this campaign; but by the capture of Venloo and other places on the Meuse, and finally of Liege, the navigation of that river was completely opened. With this last acquisition the campaign closed.

It had been the plan of king William to send an expedition against Cadiz. The queen's ministry, in pursuance of that design, fitted out a fleet of thirty ships of the line, which, joined with twenty Dutch men-of-war, with frigates and transports, and carrying a body of 14,000 men, was destined for that service. The supreme command was given to the duke of Ormond; sir George Rooke commanded the fleet under him. On the 23d of August the expedition arrived off Cadiz; but, instead of landing at once, three days were spent in debates and discussions about the place of landing and other matters which should have been arranged long before. By this delay time was given to Villadarias, the captain-general of Andalusia, to store the city with provisions and to place a boom across the mouth of the harbor. The English commanders resolved to reduce the forts on the main land, instead of debarking in the isle of Leon; they therefore landed in the Bay of Bulls, and advanced to Rota, which was given up by the governor; they thence moved to Port St. Mary's, a wealthy town; they found it deserted, and they fell at once to the work of plunder and destruction, not even sparing the churches

By this conduct they completely alienated the minds of the Andalusians from themselves and their cause; and seeing but slender hopes of any final success, they resolved to abandon the enterprise. They departed, (Sept. 30,) as Stanhope, one of those in command, expressed it, "with a great deal of plunder and of infamy." The naval and military commanders charged each other with the blame of the failure.

Fortune, however, seemed resolved to save them from the popular indignation at home. They learned on the coast of Portugal that the great Cadiz plate-fleet had put into Vigo-bay, in Galicia, and they resolved to attempt its capture. On reaching that bay (Oct. 22) they found the entrance defended by a boom and two ruinous old towers; while the convoying ships of war, of which ten were French, lay moored along the shore, and the peasantry were all in arms. Ormond landed with 2000 men, and reduced the towers; the English ships broke the boom; but while the ships-of-war gave them occupation, the galleons ran farther up the gulf to try to save their cargoes; the English, however, soon overtook them. The crews then began to fling the cargoes into the sea, and to burn the galleons, but six of them and seven ships-of-war were captured. The total loss of the Spaniards exceeded eight millions of dollars, of which the captors did not get more than one half.

Admiral Benbow, a brave and able seaman, but rude and rough in his manners, was at this time in the West Indies with a squadron of ten ships. He fell in (Aug. 19) with a French squadron of equal force, under M. de Casse. A running fight was maintained for several days; but Benbow found that the greater part of his captains neglected his orders, and would not come into action. His right leg being broken by a chain-shot, (24th,) and his captains still continuing refractory, he gave up the chase and bore for Jamaica, where he ordered a court-martial to be held on six of them; and two, Kirby and Wade, were sentenced to be shot, which sentence was executed at Plymouth, when they were sent home. Benbow died of his wounds at Kingston.

During the summer the parliament was dissolved, and a new one summoned. When it met (Oct. 20) it proved tory and high-church. In its address to the queen it reflected on the memory of the late king, saying, for example, that Marlborough had *retrieved* the ancient glory and honor of the English nation. It was proposed to substitute the word *maintained* for that invidious term, but the proposal was rejected by a large majority. They also talked of the church

being *restored* to its due rights and privileges. As the dissenters all belonged to the whig party, the commons now opened a battery on them, which long continued in operation. This was the bill for preventing occasional conformity: for many of the dissenters, viewing the different sects of protestants as merely different forms of the common Christianity, made no scruple to conform to the church of England, by taking the test and receiving the sacrament in it, as a qualification for office, but still adhered to their own sect. The pride of the church party had also been wounded by the imprudent vanity and insolence of sir Humphrey Edwin the lord mayor of London, in 1697, who went to the meeting-house of Pinners'-hall with all the insignia of his civic dignity. The bill now brought in enacted penalties against persons in office who should frequent dissenters' meeting-houses. It passed the commons by a large majority, but the lords made sundry amendments in it, which the commons would not admit, and it thus was lost for this session.

At the desire of the queen, an annual income of 100,000*l.* was voted to her consort in case of his surviving her. The earl of Marlborough having been created a duke for his services in the late campaign, the queen informed the house of commons that she had granted him 5000*l.* a year out of the post-office revenue for his life, and that she wished an act to be passed for continuing it to his heirs; but the commons were indignant at the proposal, asserting, with truth, that he had been abundantly remunerated for his services; and the duke prudently requested the queen to recall her message.

We will now briefly narrate in continuity the events of the War of the Succession, by land and sea, in which the troops and fleets of the queen of England were engaged. Our narrative shall extend over a space of eight years.

The campaign of 1703 was opened by the capture of the city of Bonn, in the electorate of Cologne; the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Guelder were also reduced; but the energy of Marlborough was so cramped by the caution and dilatoriness of the Dutch, that he could venture on no action of importance. In this year the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy joined the confederacy, and the archduke Charles assumed the title of king of Spain. He came to England in the close of the year, and, having partaken of the Christmas festivities of the court, was conveyed by sir George Rooke with a powerful squadron, to Lisbon.

The year 1704 opened with gloomy prospects for the con-

federates. The emperor, pressed by the Hungarians, who were in rebellion, on one side, and by the Bavarians and French on the other, and totally unprovided with troops, was expecting every day to be besieged in his capital. Marlborough, who saw that, if the emperor was forced to yield, the confederation was at an end, resolved to make a bold effort to relieve him. He secretly arranged his plans with prince Eugene of Savoy, the imperial general, and then, pretending to his own government and the States that his object merely was to act on the Moselle, he induced the latter to be content with the protection of their own troops, and allow him to open the campaign where he proposed. It is not in our power here to display the masterly arrangements and proceedings of this consummate warrior. Being joined by an imperial army under the prince of Baden, he forced the lines of the Bavarians at Schellenburg, on the Danube, (July 2,) with great slaughter; and, having occupied the town of Donawerth, he transported his army over the river. The elector retired under the walls of Augsburg; and the country was wasted far and wide. Being joined, however, by a French army from the Rhine, under marshal Tallard, the elector recrossed the Danube, in order to attack prince Eugene, who had arrived with 18,000 men at Donawerth. Marlborough, therefore, joined the prince without delay. The allies were advancing up the river to take a position at Hochstadt, when they discovered that the enemy was making out a camp between Lutzingen and Blenheim. The allied generals resolved to attack them at once; and next morning (Aug. 13) at two o'clock they put their troops in motion. At seven the enemy, who was not aware of their approach, descried the heads of their columns, and began to prepare to engage them. The Gallo-Bavarian army amounted to about 56,000 men; that of the allies to about 52,000.

At one o'clock the battle began, with an attack on Blenheim by the English under lord Cutts, and a simultaneous attack on the enemy's left by the troops under the prince of Anhalt. The contest was desperate, especially on the right; but ere night the allies had won a most splendid victory. The ¹²³³ of the French, in killed, drowned, taken, and deserters, was 40,000 men; among the prisoners was marshal Tallard and 1200 of his officers. The allies had 4500 killed and 7500 wounded. The victory would have been still more complete but for the misconduct of the imperial troops, which enabled the elector to retire in good order, and with little loss.

Ulm and several other places were reduced; the allied army recrossed the Rhine; and the campaign was terminated with the sieges of Landau, Treves, and Traerbach. In December the duke returned to England; he received the thanks of the queen and the two houses; the royal manor and honor of Woodstock was conferred on him and his heirs, and the queen gave orders for a splendid mansion, to be named Blenheim-castle, to be erected on it at the cost of the crown.

Sir George Rooke had sailed from Lisbon, carrying a corps of 5000 troops, under the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, for an attempt on Barcelona; but their strength not proving sufficient, they abandoned the enterprise; and on their way back they attacked and captured the strong fortress of Gibraltar, of which Rooke took possession in the name of the queen of England. He then fought an indecisive action with a French fleet off Malaga.

The campaign of 1705 in Flanders produced no great battle, owing to the opposition of the Dutch field-deputies. Its most important event was the forcing of the French lines, extending from Namur to Antwerp, defended by 70,000 men, and strong by nature as well as art. This exploit was performed in a masterly manner, and without any loss. Marlborough came up with the French army on the banks of the river Dyle, but, when he would attack it, the Dutch deputies interposed and prevented him. Toward winter he visited the new emperor, Joseph, at Vienna, by whom he was created a prince of the empire, and the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred on him. He there arranged the terms of a new alliance between the emperor and the maritime powers.

On the 3d of June lord Peterborough sailed from Portsmouth with a land force of about 5000 men. His instructions were, to aid the duke of Savoy, or to attack one of the Spanish ports, and make a vigorous push in Spain. At Lisbon he was joined by the archduke Charles, and at Gibraltar by the prince of Darmstadt. They touched at Altea, in Valencia, where they found the people zealous in their favor. Peterborough then formed the daring project of making a dash for Madrid, which was only fifty leagues distant, but the archduke and Darmstadt insisted on proceeding to Barcelona. The want of money was another obstacle, and Peterborough gave way. When they came to Barcelona (Aug. 16) they found the fortifications of that town strong and in good repair, and the garrison as numerous as their own force. Peterborough and most of the officers were

against making any attempt, but the archduke and Darmstadt were as obstinate as ever. To gratify them, the troops were landed, and lay for three weeks inactive before the town. Dissension prevailed among the commanders, and there seemed no course but to reëmbark the troops, when Peterborough, (Sept. 13,) by a fortunate and well-conducted piece of temerity, made himself master of the strong fort of Montjuich, which commands the city. Numbers of the Miquelets, or armed peasantry, now flocked to the standard of Charles, and the siege was carried on with vigor. At length a breach was effected; but ere the assault was given the soldiers forced the brave old viceroy, Velasco, to propose terms. An honorable treaty was concluded, (Oct. 9;) but several of the Miquelets had stolen into the town, and they and the discontented townsmen appeared in arms early next morning, with the resolution of massacring the viceroy and his friends. Peterborough, on hearing the tumult, rode to one of the gates of the city and demanded admittance. The gate was opened to him. His first act was to save a noble lady from the pursuit of the Miquelets. He suppressed the riot, enabled the viceroy to escape to Alicant, and then withdrew from the town till the term of the treaty should have expired. The viceroy, however, had left orders for an immediate surrender. All Catalonia now rose in favor of Charles, and its example was followed by Valencia.

Wearied by the opposition of the Dutch generals and field-deputies, and disgusted with the slowness and indecision of the Imperialists, Marlborough planned for the campaign of 1706 the leading an army in person into Italy to coöperate with prince Eugene, while a British army should land on the coast of Saintonge to endeavor to raise the Huguenots of the south of France. But the French having been successful on the Upper Rhine, the States became alarmed, and they implored Marlborough to retain the command in the Netherlands, offering to free him from the control of the deputies. He complied with their wishes, and prepared to open the campaign by the siege of Namur. The French court sent positive orders to marshal Villeroy to risk a battle in defence of that town. He therefore advanced to the village of Ramillies beyond Tirlemont, where, on Whitsunday, (May 23,) he was attacked by the allied army of 69,000 men, his own force being about 62,000. The action commenced after one o'clock, and lasted till the evening; the French sustained a total defeat, losing 13,000 men in killed, wounded, and taken, besides 2000 who afterwards deserted, eighty stand of col-

ors, and nearly all their artillery and baggage; the loss of the allies was 1000 killed and 2500 wounded. The immediate consequence of this glorious victory was the submission of the states of Brabant to king Charles, and the surrender of Brussels, Ghent, Oudenarde, Antwerp, and the other towns of that province. Dendermond, Ostend, and Aeth stood each a siege, and the campaign closed with the capture of this last.

In Spain this year Barcelona was invested by land and sea by the French and Spaniards under Philip in person, while its small garrison of not more than 2000 men was animated by the presence of Charles. The enthusiasm almost peculiar to the Spaniards was manifested in the defence; monks and women appeared in arms, and Peterborough, advancing from Valencia, carried on a guerilla warfare (for which no man was better adapted) in the enemy's rear. The city, however, would have been reduced but for the arrival of an English fleet with troops, at the sight of which the blockading squadron retired to Toulon, and the garrison being now reinforced, the besieging army marched off with all speed to Roussillon. In the mean time the Anglo-Portuguese army under the earl of Galway and the marquess Das Minas had entered Spain, and, on hearing of the relief of Barcelona, they advanced and occupied Madrid. But instead of pressing at once on Philip, who was at Burgos, they loitered for a month in the capital. Charles in like manner staid at Barcelona, and then went to Zaragoza instead of Madrid. The national antipathy between Castilians and Aragonese revived; the former showed themselves enthusiastic for Philip; and the allies, unable to get back into Portugal, had to retire into Valencia, pursued by the duke of Berwick. Philip then returned to Madrid.

After the misfortunes of the last campaign Louis had made proposals for a treaty, first to the States alone and then to them and Marlborough, offering to cede to Charles either Spain and the Indies or the Italian dominions, with a barrier to the Dutch and compensation to the duke of Savoy. His offers, however, were rejected, and Marlborough again took the field, (1707.) But the campaign proved utterly inactive, as the duke of Vendôme, the French general, would give no opportunity for fighting. In Spain the allied forces under Galway and Das Minas (contrary to the opinion of Peterborough, who advised a defensive system) advanced into the kingdom of Murcia to engage the duke of Berwick. They found him (Apr. 25) encamped on the *Vega* or plain of

Almanza: his army, which had been reinforced from France, amounted to about 25,000 men; while that of the allies did not exceed 17,000. His superiority in cavalry was very great; his troops were fresh, while theirs were fatigued with a morning's march. The battle commenced at three in the afternoon; the contest was for some time most obstinate, but Galway and Das Minas both being wounded and obliged to leave the field, the allies were finally routed. They left 4000 men dead on the spot; nearly all the remaining infantry were obliged to surrender; the generals fled to Catalonia with about 3500 cavalry. Valencia and Aragon were speedily reduced to the obedience of Philip, and the campaign closed with the siege and capture of Lerida.

In the month of July the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had entered Provence with an army of 30,000 men, and laid siege to Toulon, while a British fleet under sir Cloudesley Shovel attacked it from the sea. The defence of the garrison, however, was gallant; and as a large army was said to be hastening to its relief, the duke raised the siege and retired. As admiral Shovel was returning to England his fleet ran on the rocks westward of Scilly. His own ship, the *Association*, foundered, and himself and all his crew perished; the same was the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*.

In the spring of 1708 Louis, encouraged by intelligence of the discontent which prevailed in England, and still more in Scotland, fitted out a fleet at Dunkirk, in which the son of James II., now called the Chevalier de St. George, and in England the Pretender, embarked and sailed for Scotland. But sir George Byng was at the Firth of Forth with an English squadron, and they found it impossible to effect a landing. After being beaten about by storms for a month, they got back in a shattered condition to Dunkirk.

The French army in the Netherlands was commanded by the king's grandson, the duke of Burgundy, aided by the duke of Vendôme. They surprised Ghent and Bruges and laid siege to Oudenarde. At the approach of Marlborough to its relief they retired; but he brought them to action at no great distance from that town, (July 11.) The battle did not commence till evening, and the coming on of night saved the French from a rout which might have ended the war. They lost 3000 men killed and 7000 taken; the loss of the allies was about 2000. After this victory Marlborough invested (Aug. 13) Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, a city of remarkable strength and largely garrisoned.

soned. Every possible effort for its relief was made by the French generals; but at length the town, (Oct. 25,) and finally the citadel, (Dec. 10,) was forced to surrender. Ghent was then besieged and recovered, and the campaign, regarded as one of the ablest during the war, terminated. The taking of the islands of Sardinia and Minorca gave some lustre to the cause of the allies in the south.

The losses which France had sustained now made Louis sincerely anxious for peace, and he was willing to surrender all the Spanish dominions except Naples, give the Dutch a sufficient barrier, etc. The allies, however, insisted on the cession of the Spanish dominions without exception, and even on Louis's aiding to drive his grandson out of Spain. These terms he rejected as an insult; he addressed a manifesto to his subjects; and, exhausted as they were by famine and taxation, the eminent loyalty of the people enabled him to renew the war with augmented vigor.

The fortune of war was, however, still adverse to France. The first act of the drama was the investment of Tournay by the allies, and its surrender after a gallant defence, (Sept. 3.) Prince Eugène and Marlborough then prepared to invest Mons; marshal Villars hastened to its relief; he posted his army between two woods near Malplaquet, and fortified his camp with redoubts and entrenchments. Here, however, he was attacked (Sept. 11) by the allies. The armies were nearly equal in number, each being about 90,000 men; the action was the most desperately contested during the war; the honor of the day remained to the allies with a list of 20,000 killed and wounded, while the French retired with the loss of 14,000. The siege and capture of Mons terminated the campaign. In Spain fortune was adverse to the allies; they lost the town of Alicant, and they were defeated on the plain of Gudiña.

Negotiations for peace were resumed in 1710, and a congress sat at the little town of Gertruydenburg. Louis seemed to be most moderate; but his sincerity was doubted, and the conference was broken off. The taking of Douay and some other towns alone signalized the campaign in the Netherlands; but events of greater importance took place in Spain.

The army of Charles was commanded by the English general Stanhope and the Austrian marshal Staremberg; that of Philip by the marquess of Villadarias. The former entered Aragon, while the latter invaded Catalonia; as it was on its return, the allies wished to cut it off from Lerida, and

on the evening of the 27th of July, their cavalry, led by Stanhope in person, engaged and routed, near the village of Almenara, a superior body of the Spanish cavalry. Night saved the Spanish army from a total rout. They retired to Lerida and thence to Zaragoza, whither they were followed by the allies, who passed the Ebro unopposed. The rival monarchs were present with their armies; that of Philip counted 25,000, that of Charles 23,000 men. A battle was fought under the walls of that ancient city, (Aug. 20,) which ended in the total defeat of the Spaniards, who lost 5000 slain and wounded, 4000 prisoners, and all their colors and artillery. The loss of the victors was only 1500 men. Philip fled to Madrid and thence to Valladolid, and Charles soon after entered the capital, but he found it nearly deserted. The fidelity of the Castilians to his rival was invincible, and their efforts soon placed him at the head of another army, of which the duke of Vendôme took the command. As Catalonia was menaced by the French, the allies resolved to return thither; on account of the difficulty of procuring supplies they were obliged to march in separate divisions, and Vendôme, having with his entire army surrounded Stanhope, who had about 5000 English troops, in the town of Brihuega, forced him to surrender, (Dec. 9,) after a most gallant defence. Next day Vendôme gave battle on the plain of Villa Viciosa to Staremburg, who was advancing to the relief of Stanhope. The honor of the day remained with the German; but he was so harassed by the partisans in his retreat that he did not bring more than 7000 men back to Barcelona. The war in Spain was now virtually at an end; it was plain that the Castilian spirit was not to be subdued; and the succession of Charles to the imperial throne soon altered the relations of Europe.

We now return to the domestic affairs of England during the time of the war.

Since the accession of James I., the necessity of a closer union between the two British kingdoms had been apparent to judicious statesmen. The Act of Security passed by the Scottish parliament in 1704 proved the danger of delaying that measure any longer; for by this it was enacted, that on the death of the queen without issue, the Estates should appoint a successor of the royal line and a protestant; but that it should not be the same person who would succeed to the throne of England, unless the independence of the Scottish nation and parliament, and the religion, trade, and liberty of the people, had previously been secured against

English influence. The queen gave her assent to this act by the advice of Godolphin, whose object is said to have been to frighten the English into a union of the kingdoms by the terror of a separation of the two British crowns. If such was his plan, it was eminently successful. The act was regarded in England as almost a declaration of war. A bill rapidly passed both houses, empowering the queen to appoint commissioners for a union of the kingdoms, declaring the Scots aliens if they did not accede to a treaty or adopt the Hanoverian succession within a year; prohibiting the importation of their cattle and linens; and appointing cruisers to prevent their trade with France. An address was made to the queen to put the towns of Carlisle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull in a state of defence; troops were marched to the borders; and the six northern counties were called on to arm for their defence.

In the Scottish parliament there were three parties; the court party, headed by the duke of Queensbury; the Jacobites, whose chief was the duke of Hamilton; and the country party, who, though zealous for the independence of the kingdom, were attached to the protestant succession. In this party there were various shades of opinion; it contained royalists and republicans, of which last class Fletcher of Saltoun was by far the most eminent. This man was the perfect model of those who with pure motives seek to convert a monarchy into a republic. He was "brave as the sword he wore," of unstained honor, of strict probity, of ardent patriotism, of simple and nervous eloquence, of extensive reading and knowledge of mankind; but he was stern and obstinate, impatient of contradiction, chimerical in his projects, and enthusiastic in his spirit; in a word, a man who would dictate but not concede, and who would meliorate on his own principles or not at all. A portion of the country party, comprising the marquess of Tweeddale, lord Belhaven, and other late ministers of the crown, formed what was termed the *Squadron Volante*, and sought to trim the balance between the two parties of court and opposition.

An act for a treaty of union with England was by good management carried in the Scottish parliament, (1705,) and the queen was empowered to appoint commissioners for arranging it. The parliament was then adjourned, and the commissioners selected by the queen held their conferences at the Cockpit in Westminster, (1706.)

The Scots proposed a federal, instead of an incorporating union; but the English insisting on this last, they readily

gave way, and the following terms of union were agreed on. The succession of the united kingdom to remain to the princess Sophia and the heirs of her body being protestants; in the parliament of Great Britain, the number of peers for Scotland to be sixteen, elected for every parliament out of the Scottish peerage; of commons, forty-five, two thirds for counties and one third for boroughs; the same duties of excise and customs to be levied in both parts of the united kingdom; and when England raised two millions by a land tax, Scotland was to raise 48,000*l.*, etc. etc.

The number of representatives allotted to Scotland was loudly exclaimed against; and it was argued, that as its population was a sixth of that of England, its representatives should in justice form a sixth instead of a twelfth part of the legislature as proposed: but it was replied, that mere number was not to be the only basis; that the burdens borne were also to be taken into computation; and that the Scots had insisted on not paying more than a fortieth of the land-tax. It was also intimated that on this point the English ministry were resolved not to yield, and prospects of English peerages were held out to the Scottish nobles. The great hope of carrying the union, however, rested on what was termed the *Equivalent*, a sum of 398,000*l.* which England was to pay for the customs and excise of Scotland in as far as they were appropriated toward the discharge of its national debt. This was to go to the payment of arrears of salaries, etc., to the compensation of the shareholders in a company which had been formed in Scotland for colonizing the Isthmus of Darien, and which had met with the fate due to so wild a project. In short, the Equivalent was to form a specious fund of bribery.

The Scottish parliament met on the 13th of October: the duke of Queensbury, a man of the highest rank and most conciliating manners, prudent and resolute, sat as the royal commissioner. The treaty was read, and then printed and published. Forthwith a storm of indignation burst forth over the whole kingdom; each class saw danger to its own peculiar interests; all fired at the thought of the loss of national independence. Addresses against it were poured in from all parts; tumults arose in Edinburgh; the Cameronians of the west were preparing to take up arms and dissolve the parliament by force. Two thirds of the nation, in fact, were decidedly opposed to the union.

The court party argued in favor of the union from the injurious ascendancy which England had long possessed over

Scotland and for which it was the only remedy likely to be efficacious, as history proved that federal unions were only sources of discord; a share in the trade of England would thus be obtained; it was, in fine, the part of prudence to submit cheerfully to what was inevitable; the union would be like the marriage of a maiden chaste and prudent, but conscious of her weakness, to a man noble and powerful, thus preserving her identity and honor under another name.

The country party argued from the aversion of the nation; they denied the right of parliament to alienate what was only a trust; they drew highly-colored pictures of the ruin and degradation which must inevitably overwhelm Scotland. They appealed to the interests, the passions, the imagination. In prophetic vision lord Belhaven saw the barons, whose ancestors had exacted tribute throughout England, walking like attorneys in the court of requests, and English excisemen receiving more homage than had been given to *their* ancestors: he saw the tradesmen eating saltless pottage, and drinking water instead of ale; the daughters of the gentry petitioning for husbands, their sons for employment; "But above all," cried he, "I see our ancient mother Caledonia, like Cæsar, sitting in the midst of our senate, looking mournfully around, covering herself with her royal garment, and breathing out her last words, *And thou too, my son!* while she attends the fatal blow from our hands."

The force of reason, the force of argument, but, above all, the force of the Equivalent, prevailed against all the efforts of mistaken patriotism. The *Squadron Volante* was gained to the court; Hamilton proved false to his party; and the act of ratification was passed by the large majority of 110. By a separate act the presbyterian form of church government was secured. To gratify the poor nobility so numerous in Scotland, the privilege of freedom from personal arrest was accorded to the Scottish peerage. The act of union, when transmitted to England, after encountering some opposition from the high tories in the house of peers, received the approbation of the English legislature, and, (May 1, 1707,) the two kingdoms were incorporated into one, to be called GREAT BRITAIN.

During this time the struggle of parties went on in the English parliament and cabinet. The tories twice renewed their efforts to carry their bill against occasional conformity, even attempting to tack it to the bill for the land-tax. In the cabinet, Marlborough and Godolphin were thwarted by them in their views respecting the mode of conducting the

war They contrived, however, to get rid of Rochester in 1703; and in the following year they were equally successful with respect to Nottingham, Jersey, and sir Edward Seymour. The duchess was most anxious to effect a union between Marlborough and the whigs, but, great as her influence was over him, she did not succeed. Harley became secretary in place of Nottingham; and Henry St. John, a young man of great promise, was made secretary-at-war. The attempts of the tories to depreciate his glorious victory at Blenheim tended greatly to alienate Marlborough from that party; and the result of the elections for a new parliament in 1705, which gave a clear majority to the whigs in the commons, led him and Godolphin to contemplate a union with that party. Even previous to the meeting of parliament the whig influence had been sufficient to cause the dismissal of the duke of Buckingham (late marquess of Normanby) from the privy seal, and the appointment of the duke of Newcastle; and the transfer of the great seal from sir Nathan Wright to Mr. William Cowper. The contest for the office of speaker was between Mr. Smith of the whig and Mr. Bromley of the tory party: the former was supported by the court, and carried it by a majority of forty-three. The speech from the throne accorded with the views of the whigs, and the addresses of the two houses reëchoed it.

The first attack of the tories on their rivals was a motion in the lords (Nov. 15) to address the queen to invite the presumptive heiress of the crown to reside in England. By this they hoped to reduce the whigs to a disagreeable dilemma; for, if they supported it, they would offend the queen; if they opposed it, they would injure themselves both with the house of Hanover and with the nation. They, however, manfully opposed it, and brought in a bill for the appointment of a regency to act in case of the queen's demise, and another for naturalizing the whole of the electoral family. These bills were carried, after much opposition to the former from the tories; and the dislike of the queen to the whigs was now evidently diminished. As much had been said during the debate of the danger of the church, lord Halifax moved to appoint a day for inquiry into these dangers. When the day came, an angry debate took place; but both houses concurred, by large majorities, in a resolution that the church was in a most safe and flourishing condition.

The strength of the tory party was weakened by division, while the whigs acted in one compact body, under the

direction of the *junto*, as it was named, which was composed of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland; this last, the son of James's minister, and son-in-law of Marlborough, but the devoted admirer of Somers. The bias of the queen, the general, and the treasurer was to the tories; but the first had been offended by their late conduct, and the two last saw that it was only from the whigs that they could expect support in their foreign policy. The *junto* felt their power, and insisted on a larger share for their party in the profits and influence of office. They required that sir Charles Hedges should be dismissed and Sunderland made secretary in his place; but it was the policy of the queen to give sway to neither party; and she had, moreover, a personal dislike to Sunderland. The policy of her two great ministers had been the same as hers, but they saw the necessity of giving way; yet it cost them a year's labor and the threat of resignation to overcome the reluctance of the queen.

They had, however, been secretly thwarted in the whole affair by their colleague Harley, and a bed-chamber influence of which they were not aware. The duchess had a cousin who was married to a Mr. Hill, an eminent Turkey merchant, who became a bankrupt; his family fell of course into great poverty, and the duchess kindly provided for his children. She placed Abigail, one of the daughters, about the person of the queen as bed-chamber-woman, reckoning that she would always adhere to the interests of her patroness. But Mrs. Hill soon found that she might aspire higher. The queen, weak and yielding as she was, gradually became weary of the domineering temper of the duchess, and she poured her complaints into the ear of her obsequious attendant, who it was soon observed, was fast rising in favor and influence. It happened that Mrs. Hill was related to Harley on the father's as to the duchess on the mother's side; and, as her politics were tory, that wily statesman entered into a close alliance with her, and by her means influenced the queen. The duchess's friends warned her in vain of the way in which her power was undermined. At length the private marriage of Mrs. Hill with Mr. Masham, an officer of the royal household, celebrated in the presence of only the queen and Dr. Arbuthnot, opened her eyes. Godolphin about the same time obtained convincing proofs of Harley's secret machinations.

The policy of Marlborough and Godolphin in joining neither party had the usual fate; both were alienated from

them. The ill success of the war in 1707 afforded topics of attack to the discontented. The two ministers saw more strongly than ever the necessity of conciliating the whigs; and they received further proofs of Harley's treachery. The whigs having given them the strongest assurances of their support, they waited on the queen, and told her that they could serve her no longer unless Harley were dismissed. She remained firm. On the next meeting of the cabinet-council the two ministers were absent. Harley was proceeding to business, when the duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could deliberate without the general and treasurer. The looks of the others expressed their assent; Harley was disconcerted; the queen broke up the council in anger and alarm. The commons and the city gave signs of their discontent. Still the queen was unmoved; but Harley himself saw the difficulties of his situation, and resigned. St. John and the attorney-general, sir Simon Harcourt, followed his example, and their places were given to Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and sir James Montague, brother of lord Halifax. This last appointment was long resisted by the queen; and all the influence of Marlborough and Godolphin failed to procure a seat in the cabinet, though without office, for Somers. The queen, in fact, disliked the whigs more than ever, and was still secretly actuated by Harley; and *they* showed themselves as factious as the Tories had been; for, bent on coming into office, they resolved to annoy both the queen and Marlborough by an attack on the admiralty, that is, on *her* husband and on *his* brother, admiral Churchill, by whom the prince was guided. Marlborough had consented to give up his brother, when the opportune death of the prince (Oct. 28) removed all difficulties. Lord Pembroke was made lord high admiral, and was succeeded by Somers as president of the council; and Wharton became lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Nothing, however, would content the whigs short of the possession of all offices of emolument and influence; and the condition of the general and treasurer, between them and the queen, was far from enviable. To add to their embarrassments, the desire of peace was becoming general. The apparent willingness of Louis to contend, weighed with many; the pressure of taxation with others; and the want of French wines and other foreign luxuries rendered numbers pacific; and Marlborough was charged with desiring to prolong the war from selfish motives.

Orford having replaced Pembroke at the admiralty, the

ministry may be regarded as whig from the close of the year 1708, when a new parliament met, and sir Richard Onslow, a whig, was chosen speaker. In its second session, (1709,) the violence of party zeal hurried it into a measure which eventually overthrew the ministry.

There was a clergyman, named Sacheverell, a preacher at St. Savior's, Southwark, one of those men of little talent and less learning, but of a restless and ambitious temper, such as may be found at times among the clergy. This man took on him to be a champion of high-church doctrines; and, in a sermon preached before the lord mayor and aldermen on the 5th of November, he asserted the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience, in the most unqualified terms; attacked the dissenters and the toleration; styled the moderate bishops "perfidious prelates and false sons of the church;" and called on the people to stand up in its defence. He also assailed the administration, particularly Godolphin, whom he styled Volpone. This wretched farrago was published at the desire of the lord mayor; the tories extolled it as almost inspired, and they circulated 40,000 copies of it. The ministers held several consultations. Somers and Marlborough were for leaving the matter to the ordinary tribunals; but Godolphin, whose feelings were wounded, and the others resolved on an impeachment. Articles were therefore exhibited against Sacheverell, and the 27th of February, 1710, was the day fixed for the trial in Westminster-hall. In the interval the tories and the clergy in general made every effort to inflame the minds of the populace and excite their zeal for the church.

The trial lasted for three weeks. The managers were sir Joseph Jekyl, general Stanhope, Walpole, King, and others. The Doctor, as he was called, was defended by Harcourt and Phipps, and assisted by Drs. Atterbury, Smallridge, and Friend. He was brought each day from the Temple to the Hall in a coach, round which the people pressed, eager to kiss his hand. The queen came every day to hear the trial; and the populace used to crowd round her sedan, crying, "God bless your majesty and the church; we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell."

The managers had a delicate part to act; for as Sacheverell had asserted that the revolution was *not* a case of resistance, (he did not impugn it,) they had to show that it was, and thence to assert the lawfulness of taking arms against the law, and that in the presence of the queen. They, however, did not shrink from their duty. Sacheverell's counsel freely

acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance, but they maintained that he was justified in his doctrine of non-resistance by the homilies and the writings of eminent Anglican divines. He was voted guilty by a majority of 69 to 52, of which last 34 signed a protest. He was sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermon to be publicly burnt; and the Oxford decree of 1683 was condemned to share its fate. This gentle sentence was regarded by the tory party as a triumph, and such in fact it was. Bonfires and illuminations, in London and all over the kingdom, testified their joy; and addresses in favor of non-resistance poured in from all quarters.

Harley and the favorite, now sure of the temper of the nation, resolved to hesitate no longer. They had already sought to mortify Marlborough, by getting the queen, on the death of Lord Essex, to give his regiment to Major Hill, Mrs. Masham's brother. Marlborough, highly indignant, insisted on the favorite's being dismissed, or else he would resign; but the efforts of Godolphin and other friends accommodated the matter, and he was contented with the disposal of the regiment being left with him. To prove, as it were, the influence of the favorite, the queen soon after gave Hill a pension of 1000*l.* a year; and she made the duke consent to raise him to the rank of brigadier.

It was Harley's plan to overthrow the ministry by degrees. He began by causing the queen to take the office of lord chamberlain from the marquess of Kent, and confer it on the duke of Shrewsbury; for this amiable but versatile nobleman, who had returned from Italy, where he had resided for some years, was now alienated in some degree from the whigs on public and even on private grounds, as they did not, he thought, pay due attention to his lady, an Italian countess who had been originally his mistress, and who, as is usually the case, now governed him. He was therefore easily gained over by Harley. The queen made the appointment, (Apr. 13,) while Godolphin was at Newmarket, and announced it to him by a dry letter. The treasurer acted with his usual indecision; the whigs feared a dissolution, and let themselves be cajoled by Shrewsbury; and Harley, now reckoning the victory sure, made his next attack on Sunderland, a man whose overbearing temper had raised him many enemies, and to whom the queen had a peculiar antipathy. The treasurer was as usual without spirit; his whig colleagues clung to their places with the pertinacity distinctive of their party, and abandoned Sunderland; and

the queen had the gratification (June 14) of dismissing him and giving the seals to lord Dartmouth, a zealous high-churchman. Jacobites and high tories now flocked to court and congratulated the queen on her emancipation, as they affected to regard it; the duke of Beaufort, for instance, said to her, "Your majesty is now queen indeed."

The next stroke stunned the whigs. On the 7th of August, Godolphin, who saw that the queen was annoyed at some things he had said in council, had an audience of her. He concluded his discourse by asking, "Is it the will of your majesty that I should go on?" "Yes," said she without hesitation. That very evening he received a letter from her, desiring him to break his white staff of office! The treasury was put into commission, Harley taking the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The temper of the nation had now been ascertained in various ways, and the prevalence of the high-church and tory spirit was beyond question. That wretched tool Sacheverell having been presented by a Mr. Lloyd with a living in North Wales, his party took advantage of his going to take possession of it to make a demonstration. His progress thither, as it was termed, resembled those of the monarchs in former times. The nobility entertained him sumptuously at their houses; the university of Oxford showed him equal honor; the magistrates of corporate towns met him with their insignia of office. The hedges were for miles decked with garlands and lined with spectators, streamers waved from the steeples of the churches, the air resounded with the cry of "The church and Dr. Sacheverell!" At Bridgenorth, a Mr. Cresswell met him at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white krots edged with gold, and leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. It is a pity that so much really good and honest feeling should have been wasted on so unworthy an object.*

Emboldened by these signs of the popular sentiment, the cabal thought they might now safely venture on a dissolution and a total change of ministry. The queen therefore came to the council, (Sept. 21,) and ordered a proclamation to be issued for dissolving the parliament. The chancellor rose to speak, but she said, "she would admit of no debate, for that such was her pleasure." A general change of adminis-

* Harcourt, when chancellor, actually tried to obtain a bishopric for him, but the queen would not consent. He, however, got the living of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

tration immediately followed; lord Somers, the duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Boyle resigned, and their places were taken by lord Rochester, the duke of Buckingham, and Mr. St. John. Wharton and Orford having also resigned, the lieutenantancy of Ireland was given to the duke of Ormond, and the admiralty was put in commission. All the efforts of Harley and the queen having failed to induce lord Cowper to retain the great seal, it was put in commission, but was soon given to sir Simon Harcourt. Of all the whigs, the dukes of Somerset and Newcastle alone remained in high offices.

Thus fell the most glorious, the most able, and we may add, perhaps the most virtuous and patriotic administration that England had possessed since the days of Elizabeth. It fell by disunion in itself, by the imprudent impeachment of a contemptible divine, and by the intrigues of the bed-chamber, where a weak woman, [i. e. queen Anne,] whom the constitution had invested with power, was domineered over by one waiting-maid and wheedled and flattered by another.

When the parliament met, (Nov. 25,) it proved almost entirely tory, and Bromley was chosen speaker with little or no opposition.

Marlborough on his return was subjected to every kind of indignity. The queen herself desired him not to allow a vote of thanks to him to be moved in parliament, and he had the mortification to see the thanks of the houses bestowed on Peterborough for his Quixotic exploits in Spain. In spite of his most urgent solicitations, his duchess was deprived of her places at court, which were divided between the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham, and an attempt was even made to convict her of peculation. Swift and the other libellers in the service of the ministry poured out all their venom on him. "He was ridiculed," says Smollet, "in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were every where repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; of his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct. Even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind." Among his other annoyances, he had to listen to lectures on his military conduct from Harley and St John. Yet he did not resign; for Godolphin and the whigs, the emperor, and all the allies implored him to retain the command of the army, as otherwise all their hopes would be gone.

Harley, in the midst of his triumph, found that he was not to lie on a bed of roses. The more violent Tories, headed by Rochester, regarding him and his friends as lukewarm, formed, to control him, a combination of not less than 130 members of the house of commons, under the name of the October Club, and the whigs on their part had a powerful auxiliary in the duchess of Somerset, a lady of high character, and loved and respected by the queen. Harley and St. John immediately began to make overtures to the duke of Marlborough, and it is probable that they must have come to terms with the whigs, or have succumbed to the October Club, had not a fortunate event arisen to extricate them, (1711.)

There was a French refugee, called the marquess Guiscard, who had had the command of a regiment, which being broken after the battle of Almanza, he obtained a pension of 500*l.* a year. Harley reduced this pension to 400*l.*, and Guiscard in his rage proposed to the French cabinet to acquaint them with sundry secrets of state of which he was possessed. His letters were intercepted, and he was arrested on a charge of high-treason. He was brought before the council at the Cockpit, (Mar. 8,) and an order was made to convey him to Newgate. He resisted the messenger, and, rushing forward, struck Harley in the bosom with a penknife which he had concealed; the blade broke against the bone; he struck again with the stump, but St. John and the others, drawing their swords, fell on and gave him several wounds. He was then taken to Newgate, where he died of the injuries which he had received. The general sympathy was thus awakened for Harley, and he was regarded as a victim to his zeal for the public service. The death of lord Rochester (May 2) was also of advantage to him, and he was forthwith (24th) raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and (29th) made lord high treasurer. The duke of Buckingham succeeded Rochester, (June 12,) and several other promotions took place in the course of the year.

The military events of this year, the last of Marlborough's glorious career of victory, were few; but no campaign more displayed his consummate military skill. Villars had drawn strongly-fortified lines from Bouchain on the Schelt to Arras, and he proudly styled them Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*. Yet the duke, by a skilful manœuvre, passed them without the loss of a single man, and then invested and took Bouchain, (Sept. 14,) though situated in a morass strongly forti-

fied, and defended by a large garrison, with an army more numerous than that of the allies at hand to relieve it.

But it was needless for Marlborough to gain victories and capture towns; the ministry were so bent on peace that they were actually in secret negotiation with the court of France. In the beginning of the year (Jan. 11) their agent Gaultier, a French priest, waited on M. de Torcy, and abruptly asked him if he wished for peace, which was, says Torcy, "like asking a sick man whether he wishes to recover." Louis, however, saw his advantage, and affected not to be in great need of it; he endeavored to draw the English cabinet into a separate negotiation. Matthew Prior, the poet, was sent secretly to Paris, and M. Mesnager to London, and preliminary articles were agreed on, (Oct. 8,) which were then communicated to the Dutch and imperial ministers at the court of London, the latter of whom caused them to be inserted in the paper called the *Postboy*, and their appearance excited the indignation of all who had a feeling of national dignity and honor.

The ministers of the allies made strong representations against the peace, and the whig party was now strengthened by the accession of lord Nottingham, who was offended with the ministers. The queen tried, to no purpose, the effect of *closeting* on Marlborough, Somers, Cowper, and others; an amendment to the address, declaring that no peace could be safe or honorable if Spain and the West Indies were to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon, was proposed by Nottingham and carried against the ministry, who, however, had influence enough to have a similar clause rejected in the commons by a large majority. But the queen herself now gave symptoms of wavering, and the timid and self-interested in both houses began to look about them. Oxford saw that he must act with decision or be lost. As he ascribed the power of the opposition chiefly to the influence of Marlborough, he resolved to strike him down; charges of fraud and peculation were therefore made against him, and the queen, over whom the bed-chamber party had recovered their influence, wrote him a letter on New-year's day (1712) dismissing him from all his employments. To follow up their victory, the very next day they had recourse to a most unconstitutional act of prerogative, by calling no less than twelve new peers to the upper house, among whom was the husband of the favorite.* The queen then sent a

* It is the only instance that has as yet occurred in our history.

message, desiring the house to adjourn to the 14th: as this was an unusual measure, a debate arose, and the resolution was carried only by the votes of the twelve new peers. When the question was put to them, Wharton asked one of them, if they voted individually or by their foreman.

Secure of majorities in both houses, the ministry proceeded in the charges against Marlborough. These were two: the one, the having received an annual sum from the contractor of bread for the army; the other, a deduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the pay of the foreign auxiliaries; and the whole was made to amount to the sum of 282,366*l.* sterling. These charges had been made before the return of the duke, and he had sent home a refutation of them. With respect to the first, he said that it had been a perquisite of the general commanding-in-chief in the Low Countries even before the revolution; and this was proved by sir John Germain, who had been aid-de-camp to prince Waldeck in 1689. The per-centage, he said, was the voluntary gift of the allied princes, to be employed for secret service. It had been originally granted for that purpose to king William by the members of the Grand Alliance, and had been continued to the duke, with the approbation of the queen, whose warrant, countersigned by sir Charles Hedges, was produced. It amounted only to 30,000*l.* a year: and the duke was always better served than king William had been, who spent 50,000*l.* a year in this way. But it was useless to refute; the ministers were sure of their majority; and it was voted, by 270 to 165, that the former was illegal, and that the latter was public money, and ought to be accounted for. An address was made to the queen, and she ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke; but there the matter ended. The ministers did not dare to impeach him, or to reply to a vindication of him which was published, or to prosecute it as a libel. An attempt to fix on him the stigma of trafficking in commissions only served to show the malignity of his enemies.

During these disgraceful proceedings prince Eugene arrived in London (Jan 5) with proposals from the emperor for carrying on the war with vigor. He was received, of course, with all due marks of attention, both public and private, and the queen presented him with a sword worth 4500*l.*; but the ministers were too much bent on a dishonorable peace to attend to his proposals, and he quitted England in disgust, (March 17.) Some of the ministers had even countenanced a profligate jesuit, named Plunket, in his

pretended discovery of a plot of Eugene, Marlborough, and the leading whigs to seize the queen, murder Oxford and his friends, and place the elector of Hanover on the throne.

The negotiations for peace were now going on at Utrecht, whither all the allies had sent ministers; but the courts of Paris and London were still treating in secret. In the midst of the negotiations an event occurred which threatened to put an end to them. The dauphin had died in the preceding year, and death now swept away his son the duke of Burgundy, with his wife and their eldest son, and there only remained his youngest son, a sickly infant in the cradle, between Philip and the throne of France. As his retention of the crown of Spain had been all along a condition of the peace, Louis offered that he should make a formal renunciation of his right to that of France; at the same time candidly owning that such an act would be, by the laws of France, utterly invalid. Yet even this feeble security contented the English cabinet, and they agreed to desert their allies if they refused to consent to it.

The English troops in the Netherlands were now commanded by the duke of Ormond; the whole confederate army of 122,000 men was directed by prince Eugene. The French army under Villars amounted only to 100,000 men, ill equipped and dispirited. To force their camp, pour the allied troops over the plains of Picardy and Champagne, and dictate peace under the walls of Paris, were now not only possible but probable events. But no glory awaited Ormond. When the queen had informed parliament of the preliminaries having been agreed on, orders were sent to him to cease from all operations, and march with his troops to Dunkirk, which Louis had engaged to give to the English. The foreign troops in British pay spurned at the orders to separate from the confederates. "The Hessians," said their gallant prince, "will gladly march, if it be to fight the French." "We do not serve for pay, but for fame," said another commander. A general hiss ran through the English camp when the cessation of arms was proclaimed; the soldiers tore their hair with rage, and reviled their general; the officers shut themselves up in their tents: tears flowed from their eyes when they thought of Marlborough and his glories. Ormond's troops were refused admittance into the fortified towns, and he had to seize Ghent and Bruges. Louis hesitated to give up Dunkirk, till admonished of the danger of refusal.

Eugene captured Quesnoy, but the desertion of England

had struck a damp to the hearts of the allies, and Villars restored the ascendancy of France. The Peace of Utrecht, "the indelible reproach of the past generation," as lord Chatham called it, was signed on the 14th of April, 1713, by all the powers except the emperor and the empire.

By this peace Philip was to retain Spain and the Indies, giving the Netherlands and Italian dominions to the emperor, and Sicily to the duke of Savoy. The title of the queen of England and the protestant succession were acknowledged; Gibraltar and Minorca, and some parts of America, were ceded to England; and an *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes for thirty years, was granted to the English merchants.

There can be no doubt that by this peace all the ends of the Grand Alliance were frustrated, and the splendid victories of Blenheim and Ramillies rendered useless; and had not Heaven preserved the life of the puny heir in France, another general war must have ensued, or Philip have been tamely suffered to unite the two crowns. On the other hand, it seemed manifestly unjust to impose a sovereign on the Spanish nation; yet it was hardly less so to dismember the monarchy. In whatever light this treaty be viewed, this fact is certain, — that it was the deed of an unprincipled minister, the secret foe of the protestant succession, and supported by the Jacobites and high tories, and not the act of the nation.

While the treaty which was to blight all the glorious promises of his administration was pending, lord Godolphin died. This upright and disinterested statesman, who had enjoyed so many opportunities of amassing wealth, left only 12,000*l.* behind him. Yet the present ministry had made a base attempt to fix a charge of peculation on *him* also; they, however, had signally failed. Marlborough now put in execution his design of retiring to the continent. The ministers and their friends in the house, and Swift, Mrs. Manly, and their other hired writers out of it, were continually assailing his character, both public and private; and a shabby attempt was made to fix on him the expenses of Blenheim-house, for which the crown stood engaged. The reception of the greatest man of the age at Antwerp, Aix-la-Chapelle, and the other places which he visited, was enthusiastic, and consoled him in some measure for the ungenerous treatment which he had met with in his own country.

An attempt to dissolve the union between England and Scotland at this time offers a curious instance of the change of party tactics. It was moved in the house of lords by one

of the Scottish peers, was supported by the whigs and opposed by the tories, and lost by a majority only of four.

Oxford and St. John (lately created viscount Bolingbroke,) though they had united to overthrow the Godolphin ministry, had never been cordial friends. The former had the superiority in principle and in knowledge of business; but he was cautious, procrastinating, mysterious, and intriguing, and therefore unable to gain the confidence of any party. He was of that class of statesmen who deal in expedients, and are always manœuvring; whose minds are too little to conceive any thing grand and vast. The character of Bolingbroke was the very opposite; his talents were splendid, his eloquence commanding, his manners and person graceful and elegant; but he was dissolute and unprincipled — an English Alcibiades. While Oxford leaned to the whigs and favored the protestant succession, Bolingbroke sought for support among the high tories, brought many of them into office, and formed a close alliance with the lady Masham. Devoid of religion, he affected to be a champion of the church; and, with a thorough contempt of the Stuarts and their maxims of government, he engaged in projects for their restoration. In these projects the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, the chancellor Harcourt, sir William Wyndham, and other members of the cabinet shared; but the duke of Shrewsbury, the lords Dartmouth, Trevor, and Paulet, and Robinson bishop of London, were firm to the protestant succession. Lady Masham was a zealous Jacobite. The queen hated the electoral family, and had no love for her brother, though she had some scruples about his right, which, however, were balanced by her attachment to the church. She veered about as the influence of lady Somerset or lady Masham prevailed.

The parliament having been dissolved, a new one met, (Feb. 16, 1714.) Its composition was much the same as before; but the tory portion was less powerful, being divided into Hanoverian tories, nicknamed Whimsicals, and Jacobite tories, *i. e.* friends of the electoral family, or of the Pretender. The danger was now in fact thought to be very imminent. The queen during the winter had a severe attack of gout, and it was manifest that she was fast drawing to her end; Oxford's influence was on the decline; the adherents of the house of Stuart were put into civil and military posts; and the Jacobites gave open demonstrations of their designs. It was the general opinion that whichever of the competitors had the start would get the crown; and Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, therefore, by the advice of the whig leaders

demanding a writ of summons for the electoral prince, as duke of Cambridge, with a view to his residence in England. The writ could not be refused, but the queen was highly indignant: she forbade Schutz the court, and wrote in strong terms to the electoral family. The sudden death, by apoplexy, of the princess Sophia (June 7) was by some ascribed to the effect on her of the queen's letter.

At this time no one was more zealous in the cause of the elector than the duke of Marlborough. He sent general Cadogan over to arrange with general Stanhope and the Hanoverian leaders for the transport of troops to England; and proposed himself to gain over the garrison of Dunkirk, and embark at its head. He urged the elector not to be sparing of his money, and offered him a loan of 20,000*l*.

Bolingbroke at length triumphed over his rival. The treasurer's staff was taken from Oxford, (July 27,) and the secretary was regarded as the future prime minister. After a slight attempt at cajoling the whigs, he was proceeding to the formation of a Jacobite cabinet, when the untasted cup of power was suddenly dashed from his lips. The queen grew alarmingly ill on the 29th; and as a committee of the privy council was sitting to make arrangements in case of her death, the dukes of Somerset and Argyle suddenly entered the room. Shrewsbury rose and thanked them. They proposed that the queen's physicians should be examined; and, when assured of her danger, they said that the post of treasurer should be filled without delay, and the duke of Shrewsbury be recommended for it to the queen. Bolingbroke and his party were stunned. A deputation waited on the queen, who approved of their choice, and gave the staff to the duke, bidding him use it for the good of her people. She soon after fell into a lethargy, and on the morning of the 1st of August she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age. The elector of Hanover was proclaimed as George I.

With Anne ended the dynasty of the Stuarts. She was a woman of narrow intellect, but of good intentions; a model of conjugal and maternal duty. The title of 'Good Queen Anne,' given to her, proves the public sense of her virtues. She possessed, however, a portion of the obstinacy of her family, and had some of their notions of prerogative. In person the queen was comely, and her voice was so melodious that it acted like a charm on the auditors when she spoke from the throne. All through her reign she was highly and deservedly popular.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE I.

1714—1727.

THE measures taken by the friends of the protestant succession had been so prompt and energetic, and the confusion of Bolingbroke and his party so complete, that George I. was proclaimed without a murmur being heard; and he was acknowledged at once by the king of France and the other potentates of Europe.* He was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, with the reputation of being a prudent, moderate prince; he had shown valor and skill in war, but he loved peace. He was totally ignorant of the language, constitution, and manners of England.

On the 18th of September George I. landed at Greenwich. A new ministry, almost totally whig, was formed. The two secretaries were lord Townshend and general Stanhope; Cowper was chancellor, Marlborough commander-in-chief, Wharton privy seal, Sunderland lord lieutenant of Ireland, Nottingham president of the council, Walpole paymaster of

*[In order to show the manner in which the house of Hanover came to the throne of England, it may be well to repeat that George I. was son of Sophia, wife of Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover; Sophia herself being daughter of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. of England. The crown was settled upon this branch of the original stock, (see ante, p. 421,) as being the nearest in direct descent professing the protestant faith. — J. T. S.]

the forces, etc. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission, with Halifax and Orford at their head.

It has been usual to condemn the king and his advisers for thus giving power exclusively to a party; but what other course could they pursue? The experience of the two last reigns (which all subsequent experience has confirmed) had shown the futility of attempting to govern by a coalition ministry; and when a preference must be given to one party or the other, no one surely will blame the king for preferring his friends to, if not his enemies, his lukewarm supporters. The tories, if they recollected their own conduct in 1710, had little right to complain;* at the same time it must be owned that the whigs showed too vindictive a spirit; but party spirit is never moderate, and least of all could it claim to be so at that time.

The parliament being dissolved, a new one met, (Mar. 17, 1715.) It proved decidedly whig, and it proceeded without delay to the impeachment of some of the late ministers for the peace of Utrecht and other matters; and a committee of secrecy, with Walpole for its chairman, was appointed to examine the papers of Bolingbroke and others which had been seized. When it had made its report, Walpole arose and impeached Henry lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. Lord Coningsby then rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, I impeach the master;" and he impeached Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer of high-treason. On the 21st of June, Stanhope impeached the duke of Ormond of high-treason; and next day lord Strafford was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors by Mr. Aislabie. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a whig of unquestionable honesty, was against impeaching either Oxford or Ormond, and he spoke warmly in favor of the latter; but the spirit of the commons was not to be controlled. Bolingbroke and Ormond both fled to the continent; Oxford more manfully stood his ground, and was committed to the Tower.

The subsequent fate of these noblemen was as follows: Bolingbroke repaired to the court of the Pretender, which was at Commerci in Lorraine, and became his secretary of state. He exerted all his abilities in the service of that prince; but the factions of the petty court proving too

* Bolingbroke, in his 'Letter to Sir William Wyndham,' says that it had been the intention of himself and his party "to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with tories."

strong for him he was charged with treachery and dismissed. He then bent all his efforts to procuring the reversal of his attainder in England, which he at length obtained, (1723.) Ormond, against whom nothing could be proved, unwisely followed the example of Bolingbroke, and was like him attainted; he remained to the end of his life in the cheerless court of the Pretender, almost its solitary ornament. Oxford, after lying two years in the Tower, took occasion of a new modification of the ministry to petition for his trial being brought on. All the customary solemn preparations were made for it; but a disagreement arising between the two houses, the commons refused to proceed with their impeachment, and the peers acquitted the earl, who, however, was excepted from an act of grace then passed, of which the only consequence to him was a prohibition to appear at court.

Meantime the Pretender and his partisans were secretly preparing to make an effort for the overthrow of the new government. The earl of Mar, disgusted at the manner in which his declaration of loyalty had been received by the king on his landing, and alarmed at the vindictive spirit shown by the whigs, lent an ear to the agents of the Pretender, retired to the Highlands, and in concert with some noblemen and chiefs of clans, raised the standard of James III. (Sept. 6.) Two vessels arrived with arms, ammunition, and officers from France, and he was soon at the head of 10,000 men. The government proceeded to act with great vigor; the *Habeas Corpus* was suspended, and several suspected noblemen and members of the house of commons were arrested. The death at this conjuncture of Louis XIV. was a great prejudice to the cause of the Pretender; for the duke of Orleans, who became regent for the minority of the young king, found it his interest to attach himself to the house of Brunswick.

While Mar had his head-quarters at Perth, and the duke of Argyle, who commanded the royal forces, lay at Stirling, the Pretender was proclaimed in the north of England by the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, who were joined by the Scottish lords Wintoun, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Kenmuir. At Kelso they were reinforced by a body of Highlanders sent by Mar, under the command of brigadier Mackintosh. They thence proceeded to Penryth, where the *posse comitatus* of Cumberland fled at their approach, and advanced till they reached Preston in Lancashire; but here they were assailed by the royal troops under generals Willis

and Carpenter, and obliged to surrender at discretion, (Nov. 13.)

The very day of the surrender at Preston a battle was fought between Argyle and Mar. As the latter was preparing to march southwards, the duke advanced from Stirling and spread his camp from the village of Dunblaine to the Sheriff-muir. His forces did not exceed 4000 men, while the army with which Mar attacked him amounted to 9000. The left wing of the royalists was in the short space of seven minutes routed and driven off the field by the clansmen; but the right wing, led by the duke in person, defeated and chased the left of the enemy. When the victorious troops on each side returned from the pursuit, they found themselves facing each other, each occupying the ground held by the other previously. They remained inactive till the evening, when the duke retired to Dunblaine and the rebels to Ardoch. Next morning the duke returned and carried off the wounded and four pieces of cannon left by the enemy. The loss was five hundred slain on each side; each claimed the victory, but it was really on the side of the duke.

Mar returned to Perth, and soon after (Dec. 22) the Pretender himself landed at Peterhead, and having been proclaimed, issued proclamations and received addresses as he passed through Aberdeen, Dundee, and Scone. He joined the army at Perth, and his coronation was fixed for the 23d of January, (1716;) but ere that day arrived, the intelligence of Argyle's being strongly reinforced had convinced his supporters of the hopelessness of resistance. The Pretender therefore, with the lords Mar, Melford, and some others, got aboard a French vessel at Montrose, and standing for the coast of Norway to escape the English cruisers, arrived within five days safely at Gravelines. The rebel army was disbanded at Badenoch; the common people retired to their homes; most of the leaders escaped to France.

The noblemen who surrendered at Preston were impeached for high-treason, (Jan. 10.) They all pleaded guilty except Wintoun. Derwentwater, Kenmuir, and Wintoun were beheaded; Nithisdale escaped in woman's clothes brought by his mother the night before the day appointed for his execution; the lives of the rest were spared. Four other rebels were hanged in London, and twenty-two at Preston and Manchester. Jacobite writers talk of the barbarities exercised by the government as akin to those of Marius and Sulla; but surely rebellion is not to go unpunished, and it

would be difficult to show one in which less blood had been shed after its suppression than this. We may remind them of 'Jeffreys' Campaign.'

As by the act for triennial parliaments the actual one would determine in 1717, and the ministry thought it unsafe to hazard a general election in the present unsettled state of the public mind, they resolved to bring in a bill for repealing that act and extending the duration of parliament to seven years. The measure was introduced in the lords by the duke of Devonshire, (Apr. 10,) on the grounds that triennial elections kept up party divisions, caused family feuds and ruinous expense, and occasioned the intrigues of foreign princes. After a severe debate it passed the lords by a majority of 96 to 61: in the commons also the tories put forth their utmost strength; but the final majority in its favor was 264 to 121. The Septennial Bill received the high approbation of lord Somers, and it was regarded by competent judges as the foundation of the power of the house of commons. But the tories were at that time, and the democrats since are, bitter in their hostility to it. To say, as has been done, that it was unconstitutional, is absurd; before the passing of the triennial act, parliaments sat as long as the king pleased, and it surely was competent to the legislature to repeal that act and return to the ancient course. It also seems to be supposed that the commons, like the Long Parliament, assumed an independent power and prolonged their existence by their own authority; but they only acted as a branch of the legislature, and the bill did not even originate in their house. A dissolution would have exposed the government to the very evils which it sought to shun: necessity justified a slight departure from the strict rules of the constitution, and the ready acquiescence of the nation in the measure testified their approval of it. It continues still to be the law; custom has made six years to be the period of a parliament; but few last so long, and we have seen nothing in the arguments against it which hold out any advantage from a substitution of triennial or annual parliaments.

The leading persons at this time in the ministry were lord Townshend, the secretary, and Walpole, now chancellor of the exchequer; Halifax and Wharton were dead, and Nottingham had been dismissed and was gone back to the tories. Marlborough was totally without influence: his son-in-law, Sunderland, now privy seal, was discontented; he intrigued with the tories, he secured several leading whigs, and, to be

the more certain of the overthrow of the two ministers, he paid court to the Hanoverian *Junto*.

This *junto* was composed of mistresses and ministers. The king's wife, the princess Sophia of Zell, was languishing in the castle of Alden, in which she had been confined in the time of his father, on a charge of adultery, generally thought to be false. In her place George had two mistresses, the baronesses of Schulenburg and Kilmanseck. The former, whom he is said to have espoused with the left hand, was tall and thin, with little or no beauty, but she had great influence over him; he made her duchess of Munster in Ireland, and in 1718 duchess of Kendal in England. In rapacity she was a perfect harpy, and so venal, that Walpole said she would have sold the king's honor for a shilling advance to the highest bidder. Yet she affected great religion, often appearing at several Lutheran chapels in the same day. The other was a young and handsome woman till she became enormously fat; the king made her countess of Leinster, and then of Darlington in England, but she never possessed the same influence as her rival. The ministers were baron Bothmar, who had been the Hanoverian agent in England in the late reign; count Bernsdorf, on whom the king chiefly relied in foreign affairs; and Robethon, a French refugee, his French secretary, a clever intriguer.

Mistresses and ministers were alike rapacious and venal; they panted after English estates and English titles, but the Act of Settlement stood in the way, and Walpole and Townshend resisted their attempts with vigor. They therefore hated these ministers, and readily coalesced with Sunderland. This artful intriguer had also the address to detach secretary Stanhope from his friends Townshend and Walpole, and at length (1717) these ministers resigned, and a new cabinet was formed with Stanhope, now an earl, at its head, and Sunderland and the celebrated Joseph Addison secretaries of state.

The two principal measures of the Stanhope administration were the peerage-bill and the South-sea-bill, both of which were strenuously opposed by Walpole, the former with success.

The object of Sunderland, with whom the peerage-bill originated, was to gratify the spleen of the king against the prince of Wales, with whom he was at enmity, by clipping the prerogative of the crown, and to increase his own influence in the house of peers by an enlargement of their

power and dignity. It was proposed by this bill to limit the house of lords, after a creation of six peers, to its actual number, and to give the Scots twenty-five hereditary instead of sixteen elective members. The bill on its first introduction into the house of lords, (Mar. 2, 1719,) met with a most favorable reception, its only strenuous opponent being lord Cowper. On the third reading, however, earl Stanhope deemed it advisable to withdraw it for the present, on account of the opposition to it out of doors. In the next session it was brought in again, (Nov. 25,) having been previously noticed in the speech from the throne. It passed in the lords, of course, by a large majority, as its object was to increase the power of that house, but it met a very different reception in the commons. As the whigs had been vehement in their reprehension of the abuse of the prerogative in this matter in the late reign, it seemed at first that they could not consistently oppose this limitation of it; but Walpole showed them so clearly the ill effects of it, that they agreed to resist it in the commons. On the second reading in that house, (Dec. 8,) Walpole rose, and thus began: "Among the Romans the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue," to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honor but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." He then proceeded to expose in a masterly manner the motives of the proposers, and the ill effects likely to result from the measure; and the influence of his eloquence was such, that the bill was rejected by a majority of 269 to 177, and the attempt has never been renewed. If it had passed, the house of lords would have presented the anomaly of being the only branch of the legislature without a constitutional check, and it might from factiousness or obstinacy have at times impeded the action of government. The crown has since tended toward the opposite extreme, and the strength of the house of peers has been weakened by dilution.

The South-sea Company owed its origin to a project of Harley's, in 1711, for clearing off the public debt. A large portion of this debt was funded, and the proprietors were formed into a company, who were to have the monopoly of a trade to the Spanish colonies on the coast of the South sea, but the court of Spain refused to sanction that trade, and

the only advantage which the company enjoyed was the *Assiento*. In 1720, a plan was arranged between the ministers and the directors of the company for reducing all the irredeemable annuities to a redeemable form, payment to be undertaken by the company on being assured of certain advantages. The measure was introduced in the commons by Mr. Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer; as the house resolved to admit of competition, the bank offered to advance to government 5,500,000*l.*, but the company was determined not to be outbid, and they agreed to give 7,567,500*l.* Walpole spoke in favor of the bank, and exposed the fallacy of the South-sea scheme, and, Cassandra-like, accurately foretold the evils that would ensue if it were adopted. But the house was dazzled, and voted in its favor by a majority of more than three to one. The opposition of earl Cowper and others in the lords was equally fruitless, and the bill received the royal assent, (Apr. 7.).

To raise the sum to be advanced, the company were empowered to open books of subscription, grant annuities, etc. Forthwith every engine was set at work to delude the public; mysterious reports were spread of secret treasures in America, where ports were to be given to the English; and as the wealth of Peru and Mexico had always been thought inexhaustible, men were ready to believe any thing respecting it. To keep up the delusion, the directors began to vote dividends of 10, 20, nay, of 50 per cent. It was also reported that the company, by being the sole national creditor, would be able to dictate to parliament, and thus rule the country. The most uncalculating of all passions perhaps is avarice; the splendid bait was greedily swallowed. The stock which at Christmas had been at 126, rose on the opening of the first subscription (Apr. 14) to 325, and finally (Aug. 26) reached 1000 per cent. The mania was universal; all sects and parties were smitten alike. "Exchange-alley," says Smollet, "was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, and tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females."

Other *bubbles*, as they were afterwards called, rapidly rose and danced in prismatic radiance before the public eye. There was the Welsh Copper Company, with the prince of Wales at its head; the York Building Company, with the duke of Chandos, etc.; there was a company for making quicksilver malleable; one, for the trade in human hair; another for importing jackasses from Spain. The whole

number of these bubbles was nearly two hundred. Any one who recollects the American mining projects of 1824, the joint-stock companies in their train, the knavery, the cupidity, the gullibility then exhibited, can form some conception of the bubbles of 1720, and perhaps will doubt of the vaunted 'march of intellect.'

Every bubble must burst sooner or later. The directors of the grand one would have a monopoly of the public credulity; they applied for writs of *Scire facias* against the directors of the others, and thus suppressed them. But in the process they let some light in on the general bubble system, and the public awoke from its dream of fairy-treasures. The stock began to decline, and so rapid was the panic that by the end of September it was down to 150. Ruin now was widely spread; goldsmiths and bankers who had lent money on the stock stopped payment; thousands saw themselves reduced from comfort to beggary. The Bank, at the instance of Walpole, made an effort to sustain the credit of the company; but alarmed at the magnitude of the danger, it soon drew back in dismay.*

Sunderland, unable to keep his engagements with the *junto*, had been obliged to seek a reconciliation with Townshend and Walpole. They were now again in the cabinet, and the latter was regarded as the only man who could alleviate the evil done by the South-sea bill. Accordingly, when parliament met, he introduced a bill for transferring nearly one half of the South-sea stock to the Bank and East India Company on certain conditions. This bill was passed, and by means of it and some other measures public confidence was restored.

A select committee being appointed for the purpose of inquiry, the whole tissue of iniquity was displayed. Fictitious stock, to the amount of 574,000*l.*, had, it appeared, been created, and given to those who had influence to promote the bill. Among these were the two mistresses and Sunderland, Aislabie, and secretary Craggs and his father. By the exertions of Walpole, Sunderland was acquitted; death saved the two Craggs from the vengeance of parliament, but the estate of the father was confiscated, as also was that of Aislabie, who, with Sawbridge and some other members, was expelled the house. The estates of sir John Blount, the

* Walpole, determined to profit by the folly he could not restrain, bought stock, and by selling when it was at 1000 gained a large sum of money. The duke of Marlborough in like manner made 100,000*l.*

original projector of the scheme, and of the other governors, directors, and officers of the company, were also confiscated, and the proceeds applied to the relief of the sufferers.

Sunderland, on account of the odium under which he lay, found it necessary to resign; earl Stanhope, in consequence of the warmth with which he repelled an imputation the duke of Wharton cast on him in the house of lords, was seized with a pain in the head, and the following evening he breathed his last, lamented by the king, and honored and regretted by the nation. The reins of government therefore again fell into the hands of Townshend and Walpole, the former becoming secretary, the other first lord of the treasury, (Apr. 2, 1721.) Sunderland, who possessed the favor of the king, continued to intrigue against them. His death just a year after freed them from his machinations. He was an able man, but restless, insidious, proud, and overbearing.

Shortly after the death of Sunderland, his father-in-law, John duke of Marlborough, was also consigned to the tomb, (June 16, 1722.) This illustrious man had been early placed in the licentious court of Charles II., where it was almost impossible to escape pollution; but a marriage of affection with a virtuous and beautiful woman, Sarah Jennings, his subsequent fidelity to whom was never even suspected, saved him from the effects of the tainted atmosphere. He early showed his passion for a military life, and he served with great reputation in the English auxiliary force under Turenne in 1672 and the following years. In the war of the Succession, he placed himself on a line with the greatest generals of ancient or modern times. He was nearly equally eminent as a statesman. A leading trait in his character was humanity; he really cared for his soldiers, and their familiar name for him, 'Corporal John,' proved their confidence and affection. He had a profound sense of religion; divine service was regularly performed in his camp, and he strongly discountenanced all licentiousness and profaneness. In manners he was highly polished, and had a most perfect command of temper. As a husband, father, friend, and master, he was without reproach. Frugality carried to the extent of parsimony and a strong appetite for wealth was his great fault. His desertion of his patron James II., and his subsequent secret correspondence with him, have exposed his character to much reproach. Perhaps the solution will be found in Marlborough's firm adhesion to the protestant religion, combined with his attachment to the person of the exiled monarch. At all events, his conduct was not more

extraordinary than that of many other eminent men at the time.

The hopes of the Jacobites had been excited by the discontent produced by the South-sea project, and they prepared to make an effort in favor of the Pretender. Secret information of their designs is said to have been given by the French regent. The plan was to be the usual one of a foreign invasion, combined with a domestic insurrection. Atterbury bishop of Rochester, the lords Ossory, North, and Grey, with several persons of inferior rank, were arrested. A barrister named Sayer was convicted of treason, and executed for having enlisted men for the Pretender. A bill of pains and penalties was passed against the bishop, and he was sentenced to be deprived and banished: he forthwith entered the service of the Pretender, and became a medium of communication with the disaffected in England and Scotland. Atterbury was a proud, restless, ambitious high-churchman, but he was constant to his religion; he was a man of learning and taste, the friend and patron of Pope and the wits of the day, whose eulogies have given him a reputation of which he was not altogether deserving.

The remaining years of the reign of George I. passed away in tranquillity. The chief domestic event was the impeachment (1724) of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor, for selling at exorbitant rates the offices of masters-in-chancery, and for embezzling the properties of widows, orphans, and lunatics. He was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l*. His successor in office was sir Peter King, the lord chief-justice, now created baron King of Ockham in Surrey.*

The ancient order of the Bath was revived at this time, (1725.) Walpole was one of the knights, and he henceforth styled himself sir Robert Walpole; soon after (1726) he was invested with the ribbon of the order of the garter, an honor which had been since the accession of the Stuarts reserved to the nobility. His son had already (1723) been created a baron; for Walpole declined the honor for himself, feeling his sphere to be the house of commons.

The foreign transactions of this pacific reign do not offer much to interest. The acquisition for Hanover of Bremen and Verden, the property of the crown of Sweden, by purchase from the king of Denmark, caused the English non-

* That distinguished nobleman earl Cowper, who had been twice lord chancellor, died in 1723.

arch (1715) to join in the coalition against Charles X.I., who in return prepared to aid the Pretender; but the death of the Swedish king (1717) removed all apprehension from that quarter. Mutual interest caused an alliance between the king of England and the regent of France; and when the aspiring genius of cardinal Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain, aimed at recovering the Italian dominions of the monarchy, the 'Quadruple Alliance' was formed (1718) between England, France, the Empire, and Holland, to maintain the peace of Utrecht. Sir George Byng was sent with an English fleet into the Mediterranean, where he totally destroyed a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line off the coast of Sicily. For this brave action he was created viscount Torrington. At a subsequent period, (1725,) when the Imperial and Spanish courts had formed the treaty of Vienna, those of France and England, with Holland, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to counteract its supposed secret articles, entered at Hanover into a treaty of defensive alliance for fifteen years. A British fleet under admiral Hosier was sent to blockade the galleons in the ports of Spanish America; but his men perished with disease, his ships were destroyed by the worms, and he himself died of chagrin or malady.

In 1727 George I. left England as usual for Hanover, whither he was in the habit of going every year. On the road between Delden and Osnabrück, he was seized with paralysis, and he died before he reached the latter place. (June 11,) in the 68th year of his age.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE II

1727—1760.

GEORGE II. was in the 45th year of his age when he ascended the throne; his character was therefore generally known and appreciated. In person he was small, but well proportioned; he possessed a large portion of natural courage, was regular and methodical in his habits, and capable of great application to business; his temper was irascible

and obstinate; his manner reserved and cold. Like his father, his predilections were German, and he viewed the interests of his kingdoms as subordinate to those of his electorate. To his queen, Caroline of Anspach, a woman of very superior mind, he was devotedly attached, and deferred implicitly to her judgment; yet he was faithless to her, and the court of England continued to exhibit the spectacle of royal mistresses in the persons of lady Yarmouth and Mrs. Howard; but the king allowed them no influence whatever in affairs of state.

It had been supposed that the accession of George II. would be followed by a change of administration; even Bolingbroke was not without hopes of attaining to power. The king, when prince, had taken offence at some expressions used by Walpole, and had declared that he would never employ him, and that minister now regarded his dismissal as certain. George had actually fixed on sir Spencer Compton for his prime minister, and his obstinacy was well known; yet after all Walpole retained his post and held it for many years. For this he was indebted to the queen, who knew his abilities; she recollected that the late king had said to her that Walpole could "convert stones into gold." Walpole also engaged to obtain from the commons an augmentation of 130,000*l.* to the civil list, and a jointure of 100,000*l.* a year for the queen; and as Compton candidly avowed his own incompetence for the situation, the king gave up his purpose; the ministry remained unchanged, and Walpole, when the new parliament met, performed his engagements to the king and queen.

Walpole continued to be the moving power of government for a space of nearly fifteen years, during which period England enjoyed tranquillity. Cardinal Fleury, who governed France, was a decided lover of peace; and though Hanover was the means of engaging England in the mazes of German politics, there was no war till toward the close of Walpole's administration, when hostilities broke out with Spain. We will therefore avert our view from foreign affairs, and confine ourselves to the leading domestic events during the first two periods of his ministry, namely, from the king's accession to the resignation of lord Townshend, (1730,) and thence to the death of the queen, (1737.)

The ministerial majority in the house of commons was considerable; but there was a strong opposition composed of three sections. These were, the discontented whigs, headed by William Pulteney, a man of high character and

great abilities, supported by sir John Barnard, Sandys, Pitt, Littleton, and the Grenvilles; the tories, about 110 in number, chiefly country gentlemen, led by sir William Wyndham; and the Jacobites, who counted fifty, under the able and honest Shippen. The principal supporters of the minister were his brother Horace Walpole, lord Hervey, sir William Yonge, Henry Pelham, and Mr. Winnington. In the 'Craftsman,' a periodical conducted by Bolingbroke, aided by Pulteney, the opposition had a powerful organ of offence.

Various attacks were made on the ministry on the subjects of the standing army (the great bugbear of the age) and the subsidies paid to some of the petty sovereigns of Germany; but they were always repelled by numbers if not by arguments. On the subject of pensions the minister felt his position less tenable, and he found it necessary to vary his tactics.

There were already acts incapacitating the holders of pensions from sitting in the house of commons; but they had proved useless, as government would not tell who had pensions, and the amount of secret service money was considerable. Mr. Sandys therefore brought in a bill, (1730,) by which every member was to swear that he did not hold a pension, and that, in case of his accepting one, he would make it known to the house within fourteen days. This the king called a "villanous bill;" but Walpole would not incur the odium of opposing it, and it passed the commons by a majority of ten. But, as he expected, it was thrown out in the lords, and its fate was similar whenever it was brought in again.

Shortly after the rejection of the pension-bill a partial change took place in the ministry. Lord Townshend and Walpole, though brothers-in-law, had been for some time at variance on questions of foreign and domestic policy: their tempers were opposite; the former being frank, haughty, and impetuous; the latter cool, calm, and pliant. They have, not unaptly, been compared to Mark Antony and Augustus, lady Townshend being their Octavia. But she was now dead; and Townshend, finding his influence inferior to that of Walpole, gave in his resignation. He retired to his paternal seat of Rainham in Norfolk, where he devoted himself to agriculture, and abandoned politics so completely that he never even revisited the capital. The two secretaries now were Pelham, duke of Newcastle, and Stanhope, lately created earl of Harrington.

Sir Robert Walpole far outwent his contemporaries in the knowledge of the true principles of finance and trade; and having had ample information of the ruinous extent to which the practice of smuggling had been carried in consequence of the defective state of the laws of the customs, he formed a grand scheme of abolishing the land-tax, preventing fraud, increasing the revenue, and simplifying the taxes and collecting them at the least possible expense. This was what was called the Excise-scheme, of which Dean Tucker, a most competent judge, asserts that the effect would have been the making "the whole island one general free port, and a magazine and common storehouse for all nations."

Walpole's plan, which he introduced in an uncommonly able and lucid speech, (Mar. 7, 1733,) was in effect what is now termed the warehousing and bonding system, of the advantages of which no one can have a doubt. He confined himself to the article of tobacco; proposing that it should, when imported, be deposited in warehouses after paying a small duty, the remaining duty to be paid when the article was sold, thus converting custom into excise. Nothing, it is plain, could be more rational than this plan; yet never did a measure encounter more violent opposition. The word *excise* was odious in the ears of the people, and the Craftsman had been for some time ringing the changes on the evils and dangers of it; those engaged in the smuggling trade were numerous beyond conception; the opposition, ignorant or factious, exerted themselves to the utmost, and recurring, after a long interval, to the tactics of 1641 for getting up a "pressure from without," they actually employed the parish-officers to procure a large number of people to assemble about the house to overawe the supporters of the minister. Walpole furnished a handle to his opponents by giving in his speech their true name, that of *sturdy beggars*, to these supplicants, who were near tearing him to pieces as he was leaving the house.

The minister's motion for a repeal of the subsidy and additional duty on tobacco was carried by a majority of 61; but so many of his supporters were daunted by the popular clamor, that though the bill was read a first time, he resolved to abandon it. At a meeting of his party, where the general voice was for perseverance, he said, that "in the present inflamed temper of the people, the act could not be carried into execution without an armed force; that there would be an end of the liberty of England if supplies were to be raised by the sword;" and that if they persisted, he

would resign. This declaration ended the affair; the bill was abandoned; rejoicings and illuminations took place all over the kingdom; the minister was burnt in effigy; cockades were worn inscribed with "Liberty, property, and no excise." Even the university of Oxford joined in the triumph of ignorance, prejudice, self-interest, and brute force over legislative wisdom.

As the earl of Chesterfield and several other noblemen who held posts under the crown had of late opposed the minister, he resolved to let them feel his power, and they were dismissed. Among these were lord Cobham and the duke of Bolton, whom he deprived of their regiments. The self-styled patriots took occasion forthwith to show their willingness to sacrifice the constitution to their spleen against the minister, and lord Morpeth moved for leave to bring in a bill for preventing officers above the rank of colonel from being deprived of their commissions otherwise than by judgment of court-martial or an address of either house to the throne. This was warmly opposed and defended; Walpole exposed the danger of it and the *stratocracy* or military despotism to which it would lead, and its advocates did not venture to come to a division on it.

The opposition now began their assaults on the Septennial-act, which they henceforth annually renewed. On this occasion, (Mar. 13, 1734,) sir William Wyndham delivered his well-known philippic, which owes its fame to its personalities against Walpole and the king. The minister, in reply, drew an extemporary portrait of Bolingbroke, of whom Wyndham was the puppet, and so satisfactorily answered all his arguments, that the bill was rejected.

In 1736 a remarkable tumult took place in the city of Edinburgh. A smuggler, named Wilson, was hanged in the usual place, and as the executioner was cutting him down, the populace rushed forward to get possession of the body. They assailed the city-guard with stones, whose captain, named Porteous, being struck himself, ordered his men to fire, and five of the mob were killed. For this, Porteous was tried and condemned to death; but as there was only a majority of one in the jury against him, and there were extenuating circumstances in the case, a reprieve was sent down from London. The Scots are a stern, unrelenting people, and it was secretly resolved to have his life. The day fixed for his execution had been the 8th of September, and at ten o'clock on the preceding evening a multitude assembled, mastered the city-guard, secured the town.

gates to keep out the military, broke open the Tolbooth prison, dragged out Porteous, hung him from a dyer's pole in the Grass-market, and then silently dispersed. Rewards were offered in vain, for no discoveries were ever made.

Two events of great importance to the royal family occurred in the year 1737 — a quarrel between the king and the prince of Wales, and the death of the queen.

From the Revolution down to the present day, it seems to be like a principle of the constitution that the heir to the throne should be at enmity with its possessor. The cause of this is perhaps rather to be found in human nature, and in the state of political parties, than in a moral obliquity of the house of Brunswick. The actuating cause has usually been, the prince of Wales's desire for an increase of income, the opposition assuring him that he is ill used, and promising to aid him in obtaining it. So it was in the present case; Frederick prince of Wales, who was lately married to a princess of Saxe Gotha, affecting to think that his income of 60,000*l.* a year was not sufficient, Pulteney moved an address to the king to settle on him 100,000*l.* a year. It was opposed by the minister, but would have been carried were it not for the honorable conduct of forty-five of the tories, who, viewing it as unconstitutional, and (rare case!) preferring principle to party, quitted the house in a body before the division. The breach between the king and prince now became irreparable.

On the 20th of November queen Caroline breathed her last. The cause of her death was a rupture, which false delicacy caused her to conceal till it was too late. This excellent princess was a pattern of all the public and private virtues. During the king's frequent absences on the continent she held the reins of government, which always were committed to her, with a firm and steady hand; sincerely religious, she attended carefully to the interests of the church, and the names of Hoadley, Clarke, Butler, Secker, and others favored or preferred by her, speak her praise. The king was deeply affected by her death, and in her Walpole lost his main support.

The state of internal and external tranquillity which that minister made it his task to maintain, was not allowed to continue. For many years the merchants had been making complaints of the injuries done to our trade in the West Indies by the right of search for contraband goods exercised by the Spanish *Guarda-costas*, or guardships, and the cruel treatment experienced by our mariners. Various attempts

were made by Walpole to settle the matter by negotiation; at length (1739) he found it necessary to yield to the public will, and war was formally declared against Spain.

Admiral Vernon, a brave but presumptuous and self-sufficient officer, who commanded in the West Indies, with a squadron of six ships-of-war took, plundered, and destroyed Porto Bello, (Nov. 21.) His success having given a false idea of his abilities, he was selected to command an expedition on a large scale against Carthagena, having on board a body of land-forces under general Wentworth. It, however, proved a total failure.

A squadron, under commodore Anson, had been sent to sea in September, (1740,) in order to attack the Spaniards in the Pacific ocean. The history of this celebrated voyage must be familiar to the minds of most persons. We need therefore only notice the dreadful ravages committed by the scurvy; the furious tempest encountered in the straits of Le Maire, in which the *Wager* was wrecked, and the *Pearl* and the *Severn* forced to return to Rio Janeiro. After a short stay at the island of Juan Fernandez to recover his men, Anson, with his two remaining ships, the *Centurion* and *Gloucester*, proceeded along the coast of Peru capturing the Spanish traders, and he took and burned the town of Païta. To capture the galleons from Manilla, he sailed with the *Centurion* alone (being obliged to burn the *Gloucester*) across the Pacific. He stopped to refresh his crew at the isle of Tinian, and then proceeded to Canton in China. He afterwards captured a galleon immensely rich, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope, being the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe since the time of Drake. He arrived on the 15th of June, 1744, after an absence of nearly four years.

The success of this unjust war was not answerable to the wishes of those who had urged it on. British trade suffered from the Spanish privateers, and the French gave symptoms of an intention to share in the contest. The blame of course was thrown on the minister, and the opposition now resolved to make a strenuous effort for his overthrow. Sandys moved, (Feb. 13, 1741,) after a long speech, for an address to his majesty to remove him from his presence and councils forever; Pulteney exerted all his eloquence in favor of the motion; but the minister was supported not only by his own friends, but by several of the tories who regarded the motion as tending to an inquisitorial system, and HONEST SHIPPEN left the house at the head of

thirty-four of his adherents. After an able reply from Walpole, it was negatived by a large majority; the same was the fate of a similar motion in the lords.

A dissolution succeeded. Walpole is said to have relaxed in his usual exertions on these occasions, while all branches of the opposition made the utmost efforts; even the Pretender wrote, directing his adherents to labor strenuously against the obnoxious minister. There was also a schism in the cabinet, many of his colleagues being his secret foes. In the new parliament the proceedings on contested elections (decided by party-spirit rather than justice) showed the minister that his power was gone; and when that of Chippenham was decided against him, (Feb. 3, 1742,) he declared to the successful candidate that he would never again sit in that house. An adjournment followed; Walpole was created earl of Orford, (9th,) and resigned, (11th.) The king accepted his resignation with tears, and never ceased to repose his confidence in him. An attempt made by a secret committee of the commons for an inquiry into his conduct, for the purpose of fixing on him a charge of corruption and speculation, failed. Lord Orford died of the stone, on the 16th of March, 1745, in the 69th year of his age.

As a minister, Walpole was prudent and safe rather than brilliant. He loved peace; he was adverse to innovation, but a promoter of gradual improvement; to the commerce and revenue of the country his services were most valuable; and his wise administration produced that national vigor and prosperity which led to the dazzling greatness of a future ministry. Walpole was a staunch whig, never swerving from the principles of the revolution; he was also an honorable man; and the charges of organizing and governing by corruption made against him are false as regards himself, libelous with respect to the nation. He had his faults, no doubt; like a minister of our own days he heaped places on his family, and justified his conduct in the same manner. In his conversation he was gross and indelicate; and he was licentious with respect to women. He was profuse and riotous in his style of living; he collected pictures at a great expense, but he had little taste for literature, and, unfortunately for his fame, he never patronized men of letters.

The construction of the new ministry was intrusted to Pulteney, whose movements are said to have been secretly controlled by Walpole. The tories were excluded from it; it was composed of Newcastle and other members of the Walpole ministry, with lord Carteret, Sandys, and a few

others. For himself, Pulteney would take no office; a he required was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet; and he was created earl of Bath. But those who were disappointed became his bitter enemies; he was charged with treachery and corruption; he was lampooned in ballads; and he found himself powerless in the cabinet. He had dearly purchased his triumph over Walpole.

The country was now engaged in a continental war also. The 'Silesian War,' that unprincipled attempt of Frederick II. of Prussia to rob the queen of Hungary of a part of her dominions, had commenced in 1741; and as, by what was termed the 'Pragmatic Sanction,' which guarantied the succession to all his dominions to the heirs general of the emperor Charles, the king of England was bound to supply a force of 12,000 men, the queen now called on him to perform his engagement. A subsidy of 300,000*l.* had therefore been granted. France having joined the confederacy against the queen, a British army of 16,000 men, under lord Stair, was sent to coöperate with the Austrians in Flanders; and the king himself, eager for military glory, joined it in June, 1743. The allied forces of 40,000 men, on their march from Aschaffenburg to Hanau, found themselves, on approaching the village of Dettingen on the banks of the Main, fronted by a much larger French army, under marshal Noailles. Retreat also was cut off by the vigilance of the French general, and nothing seemed to remain but a surrender, when (June 26) the imprudence of the duke of Grammont, the marshal's nephew, gave them an opportunity of fighting, and the French were forced to cross the Main, with a loss of from 5000 to 6000 men killed, wounded, and taken; that of the allies amounted to about 2000. The king of England, though now sixty years of age, had shown all the fire and heroism of youth.

France and England were not at war as yet, but the next year (1744) they mutually declared it. In the spring of 1745 a numerous French army under marshal Saxe, but in which the king and dauphin were present, laid siege to Tournay. The allies, under the duke of Cumberland, son of the king of England, advanced to its relief. Though their numbers were much inferior, it was resolved to attack the French, who were posted near the village of Fontenoy. The action began at nine in the morning, (April 30.) The British and Hanoverian infantry, advancing under a tremendous fire, drove the French beyond their lines; but the Dutch failed on the left. Some errors were committed by

the English commanders; Saxe brought up his reserve; the English were environed; a tremendous fire of artillery was poured on them from all parts, and they were obliged to retire, with the loss of 10,000 men. The French purchased their victory by a loss of men nearly equal, but they became masters of Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other towns.

For many years the Pretender had been treated with neglect by the continental powers, but now the French cabinet resolved to use him as a means of alarming the court of St. James's, and perhaps causing a revolution in England, where there was abundance of discontent and very few troops. As the Jacobite spirit was still vigorous in the Highlands of Scotland, it was determined to commence in that part. The Pretender himself being old and infirm, the task of contending for the British crown was committed to his son, prince Charles Edward, commonly called the Young Chevalier. He sailed from France (July 14) in a small frigate, attended by the marquess of Tullibardine and some Scottish and Irish adventurers, and reached the Western Isles, whence he passed over to the Highlands, and being joined by several of the clans, he raised his standard at Glensinnen, (Aug. 19.) Sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, having marched with his troops to Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern counties defenceless, the Chevalier made a rapid march to Perth, where his father was proclaimed king; he then advanced to Dundee, passed the Forth near Stirling; Edinburgh opened her gates, and he took up his abode in Holyrood-house, the ancient palace of his fathers. Cope, having embarked his troops at Aberdeen, landed at Dunbar, where he was joined by two regiments of dragoons which had retired from Edinburgh. His force was now about 3000 men, and he was advancing towards the capital, when at the village of Preston-pans (Sept. 21) he was attacked early in the morning by the Chevalier, at the head of between 2000 and 3000 of the clansmen. The rout of the king's troops was instantaneous and complete: the dragoons fled; the infantry were all killed or taken; the baggage, ammunition, and artillery fell into the hands of the victors.

The Chevalier had been joined by some of the nobility, such as lords Nairn, Strathallan, Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Pitsligo, and lords Elcho and Ogilvie, the sons of the earls of Wemyss and Airlie, but they were none of them of any weight in the country. The unprincipled Simon

Frazer, lord Lovat, was a man of more influence; but all the great nobility and most potent heads of clans remained faithful to the government. The presbyterians were to a man in favor of the house of Brunswick. The Jacobite party in England were perfectly inactive; the kingdom in general evinced a strong feeling of loyalty; troops were recalled from Flanders; the Dutch furnished, as bound by treaty, 6000 men; the train-bands were arrayed, and volunteer corps were formed.

The adventurer, whose forces did not exceed 5000 men, resolved to try his fortune in England. As Newcastle was occupied by general Wade, he entered it by the west border, (Nov. 6.) Carlisle surrendered. He pushed on rapidly, for he was assured that a French force would be landed on the south coast. At Manchester (29th) he was received with every demonstration of joy. He thence marched to Derby, (Dec. 4,) but here his progress terminated. He found, to his mortification, that few had joined him, that there were two armies superior to his own in his rear, and that, though he might possibly defeat the train-bands and other troops under the royal standard on Finchley-common and enter the capital, ultimate defeat must await him. The word was given to return, (6th;) and in spite of all the efforts of the royal commanders, he reached Carlisle without loss, (19th.) Leaving there his English adherents, he hastened to Glasgow, where he levied heavy contributions. He finally fixed his head-quarters at Perth; and, being joined by the earl of Cromarty with 2000 men, and some others, he laid siege to Stirling-castle. General Hawley advanced from Edinburgh to its relief. At Falkirk (Jan. 17, 1746) he was attacked and routed by the insurgents, with a loss of about three hundred men. At the approach of the royal army, under the duke of Cumberland, the rebels raised the siege, and the duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he remained till April. As the enemy was at Inverness, he crossed the Spey and advanced to Nairn; learning there that the Chevalier was at Culloden, about nine miles distant, he prepared for battle. On reaching that place next day, (Apr. 16,) he found the rebels, to the number of 4000, prepared to engage his far superior force. The battle commenced at one o'clock, and in thirty minutes the rebels were driven off the field. Orders had been issued to give no quarter, yet the loss of the vanquished in killed and wounded did not exceed 1200 men. The victory was tarnished by a cruelty disgraceful to the duke and his cause: numbers of innocent

people were put to death, or exposed to the brutality of a licentious soldiery; and when, in the next month, the duke advanced into the Highlands, the men were slaughtered, the women violated, the cattle and provisions carried off, the houses burnt, and the country converted into a desert.

The adventures of the unfortunate Chevalier were romantic and affecting. A reward of 30,000*l.* was set on his head; he was hunted through the mountains and islands; he endured every kind of privation, assumed every species of disguise; had to confide in the fidelity of people of all orders, yet not a single individual was so base as to betray him — conduct which confers lasting honor on the national character. At length (Sept. 20) he embarked on board a French privateer, and reached France in safety.

The earls of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Cromarty, and lord Lovat (that veteran in iniquity) were tried for high-treason and convicted. Cromarty was pardoned, the others were beheaded, the last instances of decapitation in England. About fifty persons (most of them officers) were executed in England, and more than double that number in Scotland. The hopes of the exiled family were now at an end; the feelings of the British nation had been fairly tested, and their claims had been rejected. Henceforth Jacobitism became merely a name only expressive of discontent with the government.

Since the resignation of Walpole the prime minister had been the able lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, but in the end of the year 1744 he had to yield to the influence of his colleagues, the duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham. The new ministry, of which Pelham was the head, was called the 'Broad Bottom,' as it included all parties, tories as well as whigs. William Pitt, already distinguished, and soon to be glorious, now took office for the first time, as paymaster of the forces. The lieutenancy of Ireland was conferred on the accomplished earl of Chesterfield.

In the year 1748, a general peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle; France and England remaining as they were, the house of Austria losing, the king of Prussia being the only real gainer. The English had in the preceding year sustained their naval reputation by two victories, but on each occasion they were superior in force. Admirals Anson and Warren (May 3) engaged the squadron of M. De la Jonquiere, and took, after a gallant action, all the ships of the enemy. For this service Anson was raised to the peerage,

and Warren made a knight of the Bath. Admiral Hawke likewise defeated (Oct. 14) the French admiral De l'Eten-
deur, and took six ships of the line. The order of the Bath
was conferred on this gallant officer also.

A few years of peace ensued, during which England lost
by death Frederick prince of Wales and the minister Mr.
Pelham. The prince was in his forty-fifth year when he
died, of a pleurisy, (Mar. 20, 1751,) and his eldest son
George, a minor, became the heir-apparent. Mr. Pelham
died in March, 1754, sincerely regretted by the king and
people, as an able, upright, and honorable minister. His
brother, the duke of Newcastle, a man of far inferior abili-
ties, assumed the guidance of the administration.

Among the bills passed under the auspices of Pelham,
may be noticed that for the reformation of the calendar.
This had been done in the sixteenth century by pope Greg-
ory XIII., but the English were too zealous protestants to
adopt a papal improvement, and they continued to begin
the year on the 25th of March, and were always eleven days
behind in their reckoning. It was now directed that the
year should begin on the 1st of January, and that the day
after the 2d of September, 1752, should be called the 14th.
By an act passed in 1752, the British Museum was formed;
the collection of sir Hans Sloane, the Harleian manuscripts,
and the Cottonian and Westminster libraries being pur-
chased by the nation.

The original cause of the general war which ensued was
the extensive designs of the French in America. The Brit-
ish colonies, by their charters, were granted the whole coun-
try from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but the French, who had
settled on the St. Lawrence to the north, or on the Missis-
sippi to the south of them, denied their claims, insisting that
their natural boundary was the range of mountains running
within 150 or 200 miles of the east coast; and they formed
a grand plan of connecting their provinces of Canada in the
north, and Louisiana in the south, by a chain of forts, and
thus cutting the English off from the great lakes, and from
the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. The remonstrances
of the British government being disregarded both in America
and at the Tuilleries, orders were sent out to the colonies to
employ force, and an expedition under major Washington of
Virginia proceeded to the Ohio, but they were compelled to
surrender to a superior force of French and Indians, (1754.)

Early in the next year (1755) general Braddock was sent
out to America with a body of troops, to act against the

French on the Ohio. He was joined by the provincials under Washington; but he held them in utter contempt, and would not listen to the advice of their sagacious leader respecting the mode of carrying on war in the woods of America. He moved on as heedlessly as if he was marching over the plains of Germany, till one day at noon, (July 9,) when they were in the midst of the woods, the war-whoop assailed their ears, and a heavy fire was poured on their front and flank. The enemy was unseen; instead of trying to dislodge them from their covert, Braddock, as if engaged with a regular army, sought only to make his men, who were thrown into confusion, form again; at length he was mortally wounded; the regular troops then turned and fled; the provincials formed the rear, and saved them from destruction, Washington displaying the coolness and skill of a veteran commander.

During this summer the French received a check from general Johnson on the shore of Lake George, but the next year (1756) they succeeded in taking Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and Fort William-Henry on Lake George, and they thus obtained the command of the whole range of the lakes.

In 1756 a general war commenced. It was named the 'Seven Years' War' from its duration, and it presented the hitherto unexampled appearance of a strict union between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, supported by Russia and Sweden. Their opponents were England and Prussia, whom community of interest united; France aiming at the depression of the former, Austria seeking to recover Silesia from the latter.

War was formally declared against France by England in the month of May. As various acts of hostility had previously been committed, the French in *their* manifesto loudly complained of British perfidy; but France had already commenced assembling an extensive army and flotilla on her northern coast, for the invasion of England. The English ministry had recourse to the expedient in use for the last half century, namely, calling in the aid of foreigners, and a body of Hessian and Hanoverian troops was brought over. But while the eyes of the nation were thus fixed on the opposite side of the channel, it was ascertained that an expedition was fitting out at Toulon. Admiral Byng was despatched (Apr. 7) to the Mediterranean, and on arriving at Gibraltar, he learned that a French fleet of thirteen sail of the line under M. De la Galissonière, with transports carrying 15 000 troops, had reached Minorca, and were besieging

the castle of St. Philip. Byng, when joined by the ships at Gibraltar, had a squadron equal in number to that of the enemy, but from contrary winds it took him ten days to reach Minorca. The British flag was still flying on St. Philip's castle, which was gallantly defended by general Blakeney, and next day (May 19) the French fleet was seen to the south-east. At noon on the following day, Byng, having the advantage of the wind, made the signal to engage, and admiral West, who commanded the van, closed with the enemy; but Byng, in his anxiety to preserve the line of battle according to the tactics of those times, did not support him, and the French admiral bore away toward evening, and was out of sight next morning. In a council of war, it was resolved to return to Gibraltar to refit; the French fleet then resumed its station off the island. Blakeney finally (June 18) surrendered on most honorable terms, and Minorca was thus lost to England.

A letter of Galissonière, communicated to the Spanish resident at London, gave the first account of Byng's action in England. Without looking beyond the Frenchman's gasconade, the ministry forthwith despatched admirals Hawke and Saunders to supersede Byng and West, and send them home under arrest. The public indignation rose to a great height; Byng was burnt in effigy in all the great towns, and his seat in Hertfordshire was attacked by a mob. When it was known that Minorca was lost, various addresses from the city of London and other places, calling for justice on the culpable, were presented to the king, and the timid ministers did all in their power to shift the odium from themselves and place it on the unfortunate admiral.

Byng arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th of July. He was forthwith made a close prisoner, and sent under a strong guard to the capital. He was confined in Greenwich-hospital, the brutal governor of which, admiral Townshend, shut him up in one of the garrets, with only a deal table and chair in it, and had the windows and even the chimney secured with iron bars, as if the prisoner would attempt an escape.

While Byng lay in confinement, the press was occupied in attacking or defending. Dr. Samuel Johnson lent the aid of his powerful mind to the cause of the admiral, while the hireling pen of David Mallet (a writer of all work) was employed by the ministry to exasperate the public against him. A change of administration took place, but this did not affect the condition of Byng. He was brought before a

court-martial on board the *St. George*, at Portsmouth, (Dec. 28,) and after a long trial it was determined that he fell under a part of the 12th Article of War, in not having done his utmost to take or destroy the ships of the enemy and assist those of his majesty. The penalty of this article was death, but the court, acquitting him of cowardice or disaffection, strongly recommended him to mercy. But the lords of the admiralty, in their application to the king, instead of appealing to his mercy, stated that the court doubted the legality of the sentence, (which they did not :) the case was referred to the judges, who decided that it was legal. The lords of the admiralty were therefore obliged to sign a warrant for his execution.

At noon on the appointed day, (Mar. 14,) Byng, having taken leave of his friends, came on the quarter-deck; he handed a paper to a friend, sat down on a chair, bandaged his own eyes, gave the signal to the marines, and dropped dead, pierced by five bullets; the whole transaction having occupied only three minutes.

There never was a sentence more rigorous, if, not unjust, than that executed on Byng, who was evidently sacrificed to political expediency, to divert the popular clamor from a timid ministry. It is much to be regretted that the minister at this time should have been Mr. Pitt.

Changes of a curious nature had in fact been of late taking place in the administration. When in November, 1755, the address was moved in reply to the king's speech, in which it was stated that he had concluded subsidiary treaties with Russia and Hesse Cassel, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge opposed it. The former showed the absurdity of attempting to defend Hanover at a ruinous expense, and maintained that the war ought to be solely a naval one, and he spoke in very disparaging terms of the electorate. Pitt, Legge, and G. Grenville were therefore dismissed, (20th,) and J. Grenville resigned. Mr. Fox, the secretary, was then almost the sole stay of the ministry, the duke of Newcastle being merely the ostensible head. When the loss of Minorca had exasperated the nation, a change of ministry became unavoidable, and in November, 1756, Pitt returned triumphantly to office as principal secretary of state; the duke of Devonshire being first lord of the treasury, and Legge chancellor of the exchequer. But though Pitt delivered and supported a message to the house of commons, asking for supplies for the maintenance of an army in Hanover, he could not conciliate the court, and in April, 1757, he and

Legge were unceremoniously dismissed, and Fox regained the ascendant. But petitions were poured in from all quarters, and the national feeling in favor of Pitt was so unequivocally manifested, that Fox would not venture to resist it. Pitt and Legge therefore resumed their stations, Newcastle became once more the nominal chief, and Fox obtained the lucrative post of paymaster of the forces. All opposition in parliament was now at an end, and Pitt had the entire conduct of the war.

His first operations, however, were eminently unsuccessful. A powerful expedition sent in September against Rochefort, under sir Edward Hawke and sir John Mordaunt, proved a total failure. The chief blame was laid on the general, but a court-martial acquitted him. *He* had done nothing at all; poor Byng had only not done his utmost; yet how different their fates! In Germany, the duke of Cumberland, at the head of 40,000 Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, being hemmed in by the French between the sea and the rivers Elbe and Weser, actually capitulated at Closter-Seven, and the electorate was thus given up to the French. In America the marquess De Montcalm, governor of Canada, had taken Fort William-Henry, on the shore of Lake George, and thus obtained the command of the entire range of the lakes.

The following year (1758) the tide of war began to turn in favor of England. Admiral Boscawen and general Amherst took the island of Cape Breton in America. On the coast of Africa the French settlements at the Senegal and Goree were also reduced. Another of those expeditions to which Mr. Pitt was so much attached was sent to the north coast of France; it took Cherbourg and destroyed the harbor and shipping; but it failed at St. Malo. This expedition, in which the cost was great and the damage done to the enemy trifling, was not unaptly styled 'A scheme to break windows with guineas.'

The year 1759 is one of the most glorious in the naval and military annals of England. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded in the Mediterranean, where he was blockading the port of Toulon, being obliged to retire to Gibraltar for water and repairs, the Toulon fleet under M. De la Clue came out with the hope of being able to pass the Straits. They succeeded in their object; but they were descried off the coast of Barbary; and Boscawen, though he did not hear of it till seven in the evening, and most of his ships had their topmasts struck and sails unbent, by great exer

sions got to sea by ten that night. Next day (Aug. 10) he came up with them and took one ship, and the following day, off the bay of Lagos, he destroyed the admiral's ship, the Ocean, and three others. Sir Edward Hawke had during the summer and autumn blockaded the port of Brest. In November (9th) a violent gale of wind having forced him to take shelter at Torbay, the French admiral M. De Conflans took the opportunity to come out; but that very day (14th) the English fleet sailed from Torbay, and admiral Hawke, on learning that the French were at sea, went in pursuit of them. On the 20th they were seen in pursuit of an English squadron which had been stationed in Quiberon bay. The action commenced at half past two, and in this and the following day six of the enemy's ships were destroyed, the remainder escaping into the Vilaine and to Rochefort.

But it was in America that the greatest triumph was achieved. General Amherst having taken the field, the French abandoned the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on the lakes, at his approach, and that of Niagara was taken by general Johnson. A plan had been formed for the invasion and conquest of Canada by three simultaneous expeditions which were to meet under the walls of Quebec; but Amherst thought it too late in the season to advance, and only one of them appeared before that city. This was the one from Cape Breton, the fleet being commanded by admiral Saunders, the troops by brigadier-general Wolfe, an officer, though young, of high reputation. It reached its destination on the 26th of June, but found the French army so advantageously posted that success seemed very dubious.

The city of Quebec stands on and at the foot of a lofty rock, which runs parallel to the river St. Lawrence; behind it is the river St. Charles, between which and that of Montmorenci, his rear defended by dense woods, Montcalm lay encamped with 10,000 men.

An attack on the French camp having failed, (July 31,) the English lay for some time inactive, and the mind of their gallant general was deeply depressed. At length he formed the daring project of scaling the Heights of Abraham (as the rocky plain on which the city stands is named) at its further extremity. The troops were therefore landed in the night, (Sept. 12,) and by the aid of the projecting rocks and trees they attained the summit and formed in line of battle, (13th.) Montcalm instantly led back his troops to the defence of the town, and a smart engagement ensued. In the action both

the generals were mortally wounded. Wolfe, as he lay expiring, hearing the cry of "They fly, they fly!" asked, "Who fly?" On being told the French, "Then," said he, "I depart content," and expired. Quebec surrendered, and in the following year Montreal capitulated to general Amherst, and the conquest of Canada was thus completed.

In this year also was fought (Aug. 1) the great battle of Minden, in which the English infantry covered themselves with glory, while the blame of the victory's not being more complete was laid on the inactivity of lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry of the right wing. By sentence of a court-martial in the following year this officer was dismissed the service, and his name was struck out of the list of privy-councillors.

The British arms were also successful at this time in India. Of the events in that country we shall presently have occasion to treat consecutively.

On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. died suddenly of an apoplectic fit at the palace of Kensington, in the 77th year of his age. He was succeeded by his grandson of the same name.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE III.

1760—1784.

MANY circumstances conspired to give happy presages for the reign of the new monarch. The fame of the nation never stood so high; all danger from intestine commotion was at an end, the spirit of Jacobitism being totally extinct; the king himself, now in his twenty-third year, was English by birth and education, had never been out of the country, and had therefore no German predilections. He was affable and polished in manners, and virtuous and sincerely pious in sentiments; but by his mother and by lord Bute, a Scottish nobleman who had been placed about him, rather high notions of prerogative had been instilled into his mind.

The young king met his parliament on the 18th of November. In his speech from the throne he declared his resolution of continuing the war, and called on them to aid

him in prosecuting it. The addresses were dutiful and war-like. A civil list of 800,000*l.* a year was granted, the king allowing parliament to regulate the hereditary revenues of the crown. When the parliament was prorogued preparatory to its dissolution,* (Mar. 19, 1761,) a partial change took place in the ministry, the earl of Bute becoming secretary of state in place of lord Holderness, a selfish, worthless man, who received a pension and the reversion of a lucrative place for his resignation. Mr. Legge was dismissed, and sir Francis Dashwood, a tory, made chancellor of the exchequer in his place. It was the secret intention of the court gradually to form a tory administration with lord Bute at its head. For this, among other reasons, peace was desired, as Mr. Pitt, who was the great object of apprehension, could not well be removed while the war lasted.

The war, however, was still prosecuted, and an expedition under commodore Keppel and general Hodgson succeeded in taking the isle of Belleisle on the coast of Brittany, (June 7.) The island of Dominica in the West Indies was also reduced.

France had hitherto been a great sufferer by the war; for she made no progress in Germany, she had lost her colonies, and her commerce had nearly been destroyed. She was therefore anxious for a peace with England, and a treaty for that purpose was entered on; but as she required that England should abandon the king of Prussia and make certain concessions to Spain, Mr. Pitt spurned at the proposals. A treaty, named the 'Family Compact,' had been secretly arranged between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, where Charles III. (late king of Naples, and the only able monarch that Spain has possessed since the days of Philip II.) now reigned. It was signed at this time, and Mr. Pitt, who, it is said, had procured secret information of its contents, which were hostile to England, proposed in the council to recall our ambassador from Madrid and to send a fleet to intercept the Spanish galleons. But the majority of the council rejected the measure, affecting to regard it as contrary to good policy and to justice and honor. Finding he could not prevail on them, the haughty minister exclaimed, "I was called to the administration by the voice of the

* During this session, at the royal recommendation, the act of William III. for continuing the judges during their good behavior was extended, as by it they were liable to be removed on the demise of the crown. Henceforth they have held their office for life, *dum bene se gesserint*

people; to them I have always considered myself accountable for my conduct; and therefore I cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." Lord Granville, the president, made a dignified and sensible reply. The secretary repaired to St. James's, (Oct. 5,) and delivered the seals to the king, who calmly received them, expressing his agreement with the sentiments of the majority of the council, but offering Mr. Pitt any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. The minister was affected; "I confess, sir," said he, "I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir; it overpowers—it oppresses me." He burst into tears.

Mr. Pitt accepted a pension of 3000*l.* a year for three lives and a peerage for his wife and her issue. His successor in office was lord Egremont, son of the celebrated sir William Wyndham. His brother-in-law, lord Temple, retired with him.

In the autumn of this year the marriage of the king with the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz took place, (Sept. 8.) Shortly after, (22*d.*) the splendid ceremony of the coronation was performed with all due magnificence. As both the king and queen were highly moral and decorous in their sentiments and conduct, the court now assumed an aspect of propriety suited to that of a serious and religious nation.

The new minister, however anxious for peace, found it necessary to continue the war with vigor. As the intentions of Spain were no longer concealed, war was formally declared against that power, (Jan. 4, 1762.) A new change in the British cabinet took place in the following month of May; the duke of Newcastle resigned, and lord Bute now occupied the post of which he was so covetous, but for which he was utterly unfit, and became the prime minister. The duke of Newcastle, whose fidgety temper, vanity, jealousy, meanness of spirit, and disregard of promises were the general topics of ridicule, had, by his great wealth, his command of voices in the commons, a certain degree of talent of his own, and the far superior abilities of his late brother, maintained himself in office with little interruption since the year 1724. He now retired with some dignity: for though he had greatly injured his private property by his zeal for the house of Brunswick. he refused a pension when offered, saying, that

‘if he could be no longer permitted to serve his country, he was at least determined not to be a burden to it.’

With that nice regard to morality of which crowned heads and statesmen have given so many examples, the courts of France and Spain called on the king of Portugal to break through all the ties of gratitude, honor, and interest, and join in the confederacy against England. On his refusal they both declared war against him, and their troops invaded his kingdom at three several points. The king called on England for aid, which was promptly afforded. English troops were sent to Portugal, where the supreme command was given to the count De la Lippe-Buckeburg, a German prince of high military character, and the invaders were speedily obliged to recross the frontiers.

An expedition of considerable magnitude, under lord Albemarle and admiral Pocock, had sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March. Its object was to give a heavy blow to the Spanish commerce; its destination was the Havanna, in the isle of Cuba, which it reached on the 5th of June. Many difficulties, from climate, and from the number of the garrison, the strength of their defences, and the gallantry of their resistance, impeded the operations of the besiegers; but the abilities of the commanders, seconded by the indomitable spirit and courage of their men, overcame them all, and the town at length surrendered, (Aug. 14.) The loss to Spain was fourteen sail of the line and four frigates taken or destroyed in the harbor, and treasure and merchandise to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* sterling. This was perhaps the greatest and richest conquest ever made by the British arms. It was not, however, the only loss sustained by Spain. An expedition from Madras in India, under admiral Cornish and sir William Draper, took Manilla, the capital of the Philippine islands. All the public property was given up to the English, and a ransom of four millions of dollars was agreed to be paid for the private property. Two ships of the British squadron then intercepted and took the Santissima Trinidad, a ship from Acapulco, with a cargo worth three millions of dollars. To add to the misfortunes of Spain, the Santa Hermione, from Peru, with treasure on board to the amount of a million sterling, was captured off cape St Vincent.

The losses of France this year were the islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, in the West Indies.

These brilliant successes almost turned the head of the nation; visions of glory and wealth floated before the public eye; and the mercantile interest, always selfish, (but what interest is not?) clamored loudly for continuing a war by which they were great gainers. The ministry, however, were not so dazzled; they saw that all the objects of the war were gained, the pride of the house of Bourbon was humbled, the king of Prussia was secured; at the same time the expense to England had been, and would be, enormous. The overtures of France for peace were therefore readily listened to; and both parties being in earnest, the preliminaries were readily settled at Fontainebleau, (Nov. 3.) In spite of the declamation of Mr. Pitt and his party, they were approved of by large majorities in both houses of parliament, and a treaty was finally signed at Paris, (Feb. 10, 1763.)

By this treaty, England was to retain all Canada with Cape Breton and the other islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and Louisiana eastward of the Mississippi; in the West Indies, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago; in Africa, Senegal. She was to receive Minorca in exchange for Belleisle, and was secured divers advantages in India. Spain ceded to her the two Floridas, gave up all claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and allowed the English to cut logwood on the coast of Honduras. England restored all her other conquests.

England has never concluded a more honorable peace than this, and lord Bute was justified in declaring that "he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than that he was the adviser of it." Mr. Pitt, who, great as he undoubtedly was, had too violent a lust for war, condemned it; the selfish king of Prussia exclaimed against it, as if England were bound to waste her blood and treasure for *his* aggrandizement; but history pronounces the 'Peace of Fontainebleau' an honorable termination of a war which had added seventy-five millions to the national debt of Great Britain.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace, lord Bute retired from office. He was never popular; his manners were cold and repulsive; his partiality for his countrymen, the Scots, was extreme; and the outcry against the peace was general. The passing of a bill for an excise on cider raised the clamor to its height. He therefore resigned a post for which he felt himself unsuited, alleging his preference for domestic life and literary retirement. A new ministry, with Mr. George

Grenville at its head, was formed. Sir F. Dashwood was called to the upper house as lord Le Despenser, and Mr Fox as lord Holland.

The Grenville administration was unpopular, and it held its power only two years. The dispute with the demagogue Wilkes, which we shall presently relate, and the commencement of that with the American colonies, are the events which most signalize it. In 1765, the duke of Cumberland organized a new ministry on whig principles, with the marquess of Rockingham at its head. But the duke died that very year, (Oct. 21;) the cabinet was feeble and disunited; it had not the support of the people, and it soon lost the favor of the king. The following year, (July 12,) his majesty, by the advice of the chancellor, lord Northington, empowered Mr. Pitt to form a ministry.

This great statesman proposed to place lord Temple at the head of the cabinet, but to retain the appointment of all the members of it in his own hands. Lord Temple spurned at such limited power, and Mr. Pitt, baffled in all his attempts to induce influential men to join him, hastily patched up a motley cabinet, which was ingeniously compared by Mr. Burke to an inlaid cabinet, or a tessellated pavement, with "here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies." The duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury, Mr. Charles Townshend was chancellor of the exchequer, the earl of Shelburne and general Conway were the secretaries, lord Camden was chancellor. For himself, on account of his ill health, Mr. Pitt selected the privy-seal, and he was raised to the peerage by the title of earl of Chatham. By accepting a title he injured his popularity, and at length finding that he could not rule despotically in the cabinet, and that measures of which he disapproved were adopted in his absence, he sent in his resignation, (1768,) and bade a final adieu to office. In the beginning of the year 1770, the duke of Grafton laid down his power, and lord North, eldest son of the earl of Guilford, who had been chancellor of the exchequer, was appointed his successor; and the administration of this nobleman lasted for twelve years of the most eventful in English history.

When the Grenville administration was formed, a tremendous fire was opened on it from the press. The most destructive battery was a periodical named the *North Briton*, conducted by John Wilkes, Esq., member for Aylesbury, a

man of considerable talent, who commenced a series of attacks on the persons and measures of the ministers. Of these they took no notice, till in the XLVth number of his paper he assailed the speech from the throne, (Apr. 19, 1763,) accusing the king of having uttered direct falsehoods. A *general warrant* was issued from the office of the secretary of state to seize the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, and their papers, and bring them before the secretary. Wilkes was accordingly taken and committed to the Tower. On his application to the court of common pleas for a writ of *Habeas corpus*, it was granted, and chief-justice Pratt having decided that his privilege of parliament (which can only be forfeited by treason, felony, or breach of the peace) had been violated, he was discharged. The attorney-general then commenced proceedings against him for a libel, and Wilkes, now the idol of the mob, took every mode of courting prosecution. The ministers, instead of leaving the courts of law to deal with him, unwisely brought the matter before the house of commons, by whom No. XLV. of the North Briton was voted to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel against the king and both houses, and was ordered to be burned by the common hangman. At the same time, as Wilkes had printed at a press in his own house a poem called an 'Essay on Woman,' in which [as was commonly asserted] impiety contended with obscenity, and had affixed to the notes on it the name of bishop Warburton, it was voted in the house of lords to address his majesty to order a prosecution against Mr. Wilkes for breach of privilege and for blasphemy. It was very injudiciously arranged that the mover should be lord Sandwich, a man whose own private character was any thing but immaculate.

The question of privilege was then taken up in the house of commons, and in spite of the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and in the face of the decision of the court of common pleas, it was decided by a large majority that privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writers and publishers of seditious libels. With this decision the house of lords concurred after a long debate.

A riot took place when the attempt was made to burn the North Briton; and when several of the persons who had been arrested brought actions against the messengers, juries gave them damages; Wilkes himself brought actions against the two secretaries of state, and against Mr. Wood, the under-secretary, and he obtained a verdict against the latter for

1000*l.* and costs. On this occasion chief-justice Pratt pronounced the general warrant to be illegal, and a similar decision by lord Mansfield set the question at rest.

Wilkes was expelled the house; he was tried and convicted for publishing No. XLV. and the Essay on Woman; and as he did not appear in court to receive sentence, he was outlawed. He remained in France, whither he had fled, till the duke of Grafton came into office, (1768,) when a fawning application which he made to that nobleman being treated with silent contempt, he boldly came over on the eve of an election, and stood for the city of London. He was, of course, the favorite of the rabble; but, prone as that constituency generally is to favor demagogues, he was rejected. The ministers, instead of trying to disarm him by clemency, or of crushing him at once by putting his sentence into execution, rested content with his letters to the law-officers of the treasury pledging his honor to appear in the court of king's bench. He forthwith stood for Middlesex; and was chosen by a large majority. When he surrendered himself he was committed to the king's bench prison; meantime the city was kept in a constant state of terror by the riots of his partisans.

The court of king's bench reversed Wilkes's sentence of outlawry on account of some irregularity in it, but the two verdicts against him were confirmed, and he was condemned to pay two fines of 500*l.*, and be imprisoned for two years. Subscriptions were forthwith raised among his admirers to pay his debts; he received abundance of presents, and his face became the ornament of numerous signboards.* Soon after, having got hold of a letter from lord Weymouth, the secretary, to the Surrey magistrates, approving of their conduct in putting down a riot in St. George's-fields, in which some lives were lost, he published it with a preface, calling that affair "a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned;" and as, at the bar of the house, he claimed the thanks of his country for having set "that bloody scroll" in a proper light, he was expelled the house and a new writ was ordered for Middlesex.

Wilkes was reelected; but the house declared him incapable of sitting during that parliament. He was returned again, and again his election was declared to be void. He stood once more, and colonel Luttrell who opposed him was pronounced to be duly elected, though Wilkes had an immense majority of the votes. Wilkes had already been relieved by a subscription, and the citizens of London, honor-

ing the mere names of liberty and patriotism, elected him to the dignity of alderman. A political club, named the 'Society for supporting the Bill of Rights,' of which he was a principal member, was formed in 1770. He was lord-mayor in due course, and finally obtained the lucrative post of city-chamberlain.

It was also at this time that that most powerful of political satirists who subscribed 'Junius' to his letters, attacked the king and his ministers in the most envenomed style. His letters now form a portion of our literature, and are models in their class of compositions. His secret was never divulged, and ingenuity has long been exercised in the attempt to discover the real author. Lord George Germaine and sir Philip Francis are those in whose cases the strongest apparent proofs have been given.

At this period, too, Edmund Burke, a native of Ireland, the most profound and philosophic of statesmen, commenced his legislative career, being brought into parliament by lord Rockingham, to whom he was private secretary. As an orator Burke was somewhat ungraceful in manner, but his speeches teemed with political wisdom and sparkled with the gems of a rich imagination; and at the present day, when the argumentative or impassioned harangues of his great contemporaries are only subjects of curiosity, those of Burke are studied, like the writings of Aristotle and Machiavel, as depositories of political wisdom and enlarged philosophy.

The names of general Conway, colonel Barré, sir George Saville, Mr. Dunning, and others, appear as able debaters at this time. Charles James Fox, second son of lord Holland, was made a lord of the admiralty in the North administration, and afterwards (1772) a lord of the treasury; but having opposed the sentiments of lord North, he was dismissed, and he forthwith joined the ranks of the opposition, (1774.)

We are now arrived at an event hitherto nearly unexampled in the annals of the world, an event which every one in whose veins British blood circulates, if not divested of kindly feeling, must deplore—not that in itself it is to be regretted, for it has proved advantageous to both parties; but it is to be lamented that it should have occurred in the manner it did—that a protracted war, and not a friendly and voluntary dissolution of the ties which bound them, should have disunited the parent and the child now grown to maturity and vigor. But such a wise and generous proceeding is, we fear, incompatible with human nature; and power is never resigned as long as it can be retained. The event of which

we speak is the war between England and her American colonies.

The names of these colonies are now so familiar to every person, that we hardly need enumerate them. Virginia was planted in the reign of Elizabeth; Maryland, soon after; New England by the puritans in that of Charles I.; the Carolinas and Pennsylvania in those of his sons; and Georgia since the accession of the present royal family. All these colonies had charters from the crown, empowering them to hold legislative assemblies, elect officers, and levy taxes for domestic purposes. Their governors were sent out from England, and the mother country enjoyed the monopoly of their trade. Being masters of a rich and boundless soil, and aided by large emigrations, the colonies increased rapidly in population, and they had attained to the number of three millions when dissension arose between them and the mother country.

When sir Robert Walpole was foiled in his project of an excise on tobacco, the governor of Virginia proposed to him to lay a tax on the American colonies; but that able statesman shrewdly replied, "You see I have Old England against me already; do you think that I can wish to set New England against me too?" and the plan was thought of no more. Now, however, the king himself, or those by whom he was secretly actuated, revived it; and his majesty proposed it to Mr. Grenville in 1764, and, on his hesitation, gave him the option of resignation or bringing it forward in parliament. The minister then promised compliance, and a resolution was proposed by him, which passed the commons, that it would be expedient to impose certain *STAMP*-duties on the colonies, for the sake of raising a revenue. He postponed the bill for this measure till the next session, in order to give the colonies an opportunity of petitioning against it if they thought fit, or of offering an equivalent.*

* [As some of the earlier circumstances which preceded the imposition of the stamp-tax had a great influence in exciting a spirit of complaint and disgust in the minds of the colonies towards the conduct of the mother country, it may be well to make some brief allusion to these circumstances.]

For some time before and after the termination of the war of 1755,† a considerable intercourse had been carried on between the British and Spanish and French colonies; consisting of the manufactures of Great Britain, imported by the former and sold to the latter, by which the British colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make

† See Ramsay's *Hist. U. S.* Vol. II. p. 324.

The colonists protested in the strongest terms against the claim of the British parliament to impose taxes on those who were not represented in it. When it was urged that America should contribute her share to the general burdens of the empire, and that the late expensive war had been entered into chiefly on her account, they replied, that she never had been backward, and that in the last war her exertions had been so far beyond her means, that various sums, amounting in the whole to nearly two millions, had been voted by parliament to the several colonies to indemnify them, and that they were still in debt to about the same amount. They added, that the monopoly of their trade, her right to regulate which they did not deny, was the proper compen-

emittances to the mother country. The trade thus carried on, however, though it might be an immediate source of gain to some, was, undoubtedly, injurious in many respects to the increase of the commercial importance both of the colonies and of the mother country. It was, indeed, at the time, a *contraband trade*, being expressly contrary to the letter of the *Navigation-act*, by which the trade of the British colonies with foreign ports was regulated.* On account, however, of the immediate advantages which were found in this mode of trade, it had, though contraband, been long winked at; but, at the period named, some new regulations were adopted, by which it was almost destroyed. In 1764, this trade was in some degree legalized, but under circumstances that brought no relief to the colonists; for it was loaded with such enormous duties as were equivalent to a prohibition. It was also enacted, that the moneys arising from these duties should be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, there to be entered separately, and reserved, to be disposed of by parliament towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing America. Till that act passed, no act avowedly for the purpose of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital of such, was to be found in the parliamentary statute-book relating to America. The wording of it made the colonies fear that the parliament would go on in charging them with such taxes as they pleased, and for the support of such military force as they should think proper. The act was the more disgusting because the moneys arising from the duties it imposed were ordered to be paid in specie, and regulations were adopted against colonial paper money. The methods adopted for securing the collection of these duties were looked upon as even more obnoxious, and were thought contrary to the spirit of the British constitution. That the trade of the colonies should be cramped, and that too in a way which was contrary to the spirit of the British constitution itself, was a fruitful source of declamation and complaint; but these murmurings would have evaporated in words, had Great Britain proceeded to no further innovation. In 1764, however, as stated in the text, the proposition was made of raising from the colonies an efficient revenue, by *direct internal taxes* laid by authority of parliament. — J. T. S.]

* For an account of the origin of the *Navigation-act*, see Russell's *Modern Europe*, Part II. Letter XI.

sation to the mother country. These arguments, however, were of no effect; the Stamp-act, though strongly opposed by general Conway and colonel Barré, was passed by both houses, (March 22.) Its arrival in America caused commotions in the principal towns, and spread discontent through the colonies. A general congress met at New York to draw up petitions; resolutions were entered into not to use stamps, or to import goods from England; it was even resolved to stop exports as well as imports; and a society was formed for the encouragement of native manufactures.

The Rockingham administration repealed the stamp-act, (1766;) but by a declaratory bill the right to tax the colonies was asserted. The southern colonists in general were now content, but the people of New England still murmured. In 1767 a bill was passed for laying duties on glass, tea, paper, and painters' colors, imported into America; these, however, were all taken off, (1770,) except that on tea. But when the East India Company sent their ships to the ports of America, (1773,) they were not allowed to land their cargoes; and at Boston, a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians went on board of them, broke open the chests, and flung the tea into the sea. When intelligence of this violent proceeding reached England, (1774,) the legislature passed bills for closing the port of Boston, and for better regulating the government of Massachusetts-bay. The people of that state forthwith entered into a 'Solemn League and Covenant' to suspend all intercourse with Great Britain till those acts should be repealed. The collecting of arms and stores, and the military training of the young men, which had been already commenced, now went on with redoubled activity. At length, (Sept. 5,) the celebrated congress of deputies from all the provinces met at Philadelphia. They drew up a petition to the king, addresses to the people of England and the Canadians, and a declaration approving of the conduct of the people of Massachusetts.

Every clear-sighted statesman must have been long aware that there was in reality no alternative between war and the acknowledgment of American independence. Lord North very properly resolved to take the sense of the nation by a dissolution of the parliament, and the returns proved that the great body of the people were resolved not to part with the supremacy over the colonies without a struggle. Mr. Burke in vain brought forward, (March 22, 1775,) and enforced with all the splendor of his eloquence, his thirteen articles for restoring tranquillity. The die was cast, and ere

these articles could cross the Atlantic, hostilities had commenced

On the 19th of April, general Gage, who commanded at Boston, learning that the provincials had collected a quantity of stores at Concord, sent a detachment of his troops to seize them. At a place named Lexington, on the way, they found the militia drawn up to oppose them; they drove them off, and proceeded to Concord, where they accomplished their object; but on their way back they were greatly galled by the fire of the Americans from houses and from behind walls and hedges. They had 65 men killed and 180 wounded; the provincials 50 killed and 38 wounded. Soon after the militia assembled to the number of 20,000 at Cambridge, and blockaded Boston. On the night of the 16th of June they threw up some entrenchments on an eminence in Charlestown overlooking that town; the British advanced next day to drive them from it, and, though they suffered severely from the well-directed fire of the provincials, they succeeded in their object.*

The congress meantime had reassembled, (May 10.) They again drew up a petition and addresses expressing the strongest desire for accommodation, at the same time adopting all possible measures for continuing the contest. The man on whom they fixed their choice for commander-in-chief of their forces was George Washington, of whom we have already had occasion to speak. He accepted that post of honor and danger; and, on joining the army at Cambridge, he found himself at the head of 15,000 men, ill appointed and undisciplined. Fortunately for him, the forces of Gage were inferior in number, and his temper unenterprising; and his successor, general Howe, also remained inactive. By fitting out armed cruisers, the Americans succeeded in intercepting much of the stores and supplies destined for the troops in Boston.

In the spring of this year the provincials had conceived the daring design of invading Canada. They reduced the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and while one force, under general Montgomery, advanced and took Montreal, another, under colonel Arnold, made its way through the wilderness to Quebec, where it was joined by the former, (Dec. 1,) and the city was besieged. An assault was attempted, (31st,) in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold

* The eminence was named Breed's-hill, though the affair has taken its name from the adjoining Bunker's-hill.

severely wounded, but he still kept up a blockade. He was reinforced in the spring, but was eventually driven out of the province by general Carleton. On this occasion, captain Forster, who had taken a great number of prisoners, released them, Arnold engaging that an equal number of the royal troops should be returned; but the congress broke this cartel, on the pretence, which was notoriously false, that Forster had treated his prisoners barbarously.

The opening of the year 1776 found Washington still engaged in the blockade of Boston; but the difficulties he had to encounter were many. His force was mere militia, bound to serve only for the term of a year, so that a new army was to be raised at the end of that period, and the knowledge and discipline acquired in the campaign became useless: he was ill supplied with the munitions of war, while he could not venture to make his real condition known, and even found it prudent to exaggerate his strength; and hence successes were expected from him which he could not accomplish. Add to this, the thwarting and paralyzing influence of a popular form of government and the jealousies of the different states. Fortunately for him, he had an ally in the incapacity of the British general, who remained on the defensive, with a disciplined and well-appointed army.

In the spring Washington resolved to make a bold attempt on Boston. On the night of the 4th of March a body of the provincials threw up works on Dorchester-heights, which commanded the harbor, in which no ships could now remain; and the attempt to dislodge the enemy offered so many difficulties, that general Howe agreed to evacuate the town. The British troops proceeded by sea to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, whence they sailed (June 10) for New York, and landed on Staten Island. Having here received large reinforcements of British and Hessian troops, general Howe passed over to Long Island, and routed the provincials, with a loss of 2000 slain and 1000 taken, among whom were their generals lord Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull. But, instead of attacking at once their lines at Brooklyn, he resolved to proceed by regular approaches, and Washington thus had time to convey his troops over the river. New York, however, surrendered, and remained in possession of the English during the war. Washington was finally driven over the river Delaware, and the province of New Jersey was reduced. On the night of Christmas-day, however, this able commander secretly crossed the river, and surprised and captured a party of Hessians at Trenton; and he finally recovered a great part of New Jersey.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the congress of the United States of America, as they now styled themselves, put forth their 'Declaration of Independence.' It detailed every real and imaginary grievance, laying the blame of every thing on the king himself, whom they scrupled not to designate as a tyrant. The object of those who devised it was evidently to cut off all hope of reconciliation with the mother country, and to afford a pretext for France and other powers to aid them; for they felt that single-handed they could not resist the power of Great Britain; in fact, they had already entered into secret relations with the court of France, which had agreed to assist them in an underhand manner.

In the campaign of 1777, the British general, after an ineffectual attempt at bringing Washington to action, embarked his troops for the invasion of Pennsylvania. They landed at the head of Chesapeake-bay, and (Sept 11) routed the American army on the banks of a river named the Brandywine. After an ineffectual attempt to save Philadelphia, Washington retired, and (27th) the British troops entered that city.

While sir William Howe was thus successful in the central states, general Burgoyne was advancing from Canada to the Hudson with an army of about 10,000 British and Canadians. The Americans retired before him; but the impediments offered by the nature of the country were tremendous, and all the supplies had to be brought through Canada. Accessions of strength came every day to the enemy, who were successful in two or three affairs. At length Burgoyne reached Saratoga, not far from Albany, whence he advanced to a place named Still Water. He repelled two attacks of the indefatigable Arnold; but judging it necessary to fall back to Saratoga, he there found himself surrounded by an American army, under general Gates, three times as numerous as his own, exposed to a constant fire of cannon and rifles, and with no means of procuring provisions. In a council of war a capitulation was resolved on. The most honorable terms were obtained, the troops being granted a free passage to England, on condition of not serving again in America during the war. Desertion and other losses had reduced the British force to about 5800 men, who laid down their arms, (Oct. 14,) and were marched to Boston. Nothing could surpass the delicacy and humanity with which Gates and his officers treated their captives; but their conduct was not imitated by the congress.

Washington took up his winter quarters at a place named

Valley Forge, and nothing could exceed the sufferings of the gallant men who served under him, unless it be their patient endurance. In miserable huts, without blankets or shoes, beneath the frost and snow of an American winter, often without food, they still endured, under the influence of their incomparable commander.

The intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender decided the court of France, and a treaty was signed, in which the independence of America was acknowledged. A loan was granted, and a fleet prepared to aid them. The English ambassador was recalled from Paris.

The command of the troops in America was now transferred to sir Henry Clinton; and, in the prospect of a French war, it was resolved to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate the forces. The army crossed the Delaware unopposed, but Washington impeded their march to New York in every possible manner. At a place named Monmouth an attack was made on the baggage, which brought on a partial action, in which the loss was between three and four hundred on each side. At the place of embarkation the British offered battle, which was declined, and they reached New York in safety, (July 5.) A French fleet, under count D'Estaing, with troops on board, having arrived, a combined attack was made by him and 10,000 Americans under general Sullivan on a British force at Newport, in Rhode Island; but lord Howe, the English admiral at New York, though inferior in strength, having appeared off Newport, D'Estaing came out to engage him. An indecisive action was fought, after which D'Estaing, in spite of the remonstrances of his allies, went to Boston to refit; and Sullivan was soon driven out of Rhode Island.

The British troops were chiefly employed in petty expeditions, in which they did the provincials much injury by destroying their shipping and property in general. A corps of 3500 men, under colonel Campbell, reduced the province of Georgia. In the West Indies, the island of Dominica was taken by the French; but St. Lucie surrendered to the English, after D'Estaing had been repulsed, both by sea and land, by inferior forces, in his attempts to relieve it.

The following year, (1779,) Spain followed the example of France in declaring war against England, and a combined fleet of more than sixty sail of the line, with frigates, etc., appeared off Plymouth. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the channel-fleet, had only thirty-eight ships of the line, but he offered them battle, which they declined; and they quitted

the channel without having done more than give the ministry and the nation a fright. Though D'Estaing acted mostly on the defensive in the West Indies, the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada fell into the hands of the French.

Washington directed his efforts chiefly to prevent the British from navigating the Hudson, for which purpose he fortified West Point, a strong position on that river, giving the command of it to general Arnold, and two other points named Stony Point and Verplank. These last were taken and retaken by the British during this year. An expedition from New York did great mischief in Connecticut, burning towns and shipping, and carrying off stores and ammunition. Another expedition did the same in Virginia. The chief seat of the war, however, was the southern provinces. At Savannah, in Georgia, general Prevost was besieged by D'Estaing, who had two-and-twenty ships-of-war, and was aided by an American army under general Lincoln. Colonel Maitland, who, with 800 men, had routed this officer and 5000 men in John's Island, arriving at Savannah, preparations were made for a vigorous defence. A proposal to D'Estaing to allow the women and children to leave the town was barbarously refused. An attempt, however, to storm the British lines having failed, with great loss the assailants raised the siege and separated, and D'Estaing returned to France.

The year 1780 opened inauspiciously for England. Gibraltar was besieged by a combined Spanish and French force, and Minorca was equally hard pressed by the same nations. At the impulse of the empress of Russia, most of the European powers entered into an 'Armed Neutrality,' on the principle that "free ships make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war," in opposition to the right of search claimed by belligerent powers. But the sea is the element on which British glory has always risen in triumph, and England now had a hero equal to the emergency. Sir George Rodney had been selected for command by the king himself. He was to proceed for the West Indies, and, on his way, to convoy a squadron of transports for the relief of Gibraltar. As it was expected that he would leave them to proceed alone in a certain latitude, the Spanish admiral, don Juan de Langara, was sent with eleven men-of-war to intercept them; but off Cape St. Vincent he was encountered by Rodney, (Jan. 16.) The action commenced at four in the afternoon, in a violent gale of wind, and was continued through a stormy night, and the whole Spanish

fleet was taken or destroyed. Rodney relieved both Gibraltar and Minorca, and then sailed for the West Indies, where, soon after his arrival, he engaged off St. Lucie the count De Guichen. Rodney had 21, the count 23 ships. By able manœuvres the English admiral had secured the prospect of a complete victory, but his captains, (as formerly with Benbow,) from jealousy, cowardice, or ignorance, disobeyed his signals, and the French fleet escaped. He brought one of the captains, Bateman, to a court-martial, and he was dismissed the service. Rodney tried ineffectually to bring the French fleet again to action, but De Guichen sailed to Europe with the merchant-fleet, and Rodney then proceeded to the coast of America.

Though the independence of the revolted provinces had now been acknowledged by France and Spain, and these powers were, as it were, armed in their cause, never were the prospects of the colonists so gloomy. Even the firm mind of Washington began to despair. Their danger arose not from the increased power of Great Britain, or from the reverses of the war, but from their own dissensions and selfishness, from their local jealousies, and from that absorbing love of gain, the *auri sacra fames*, which seems to form [so large a part of] the national character of the Americans. Faction reigned, a childish dread of a standing army made them give their general nothing but militia, and numbers of the citizens made the public distress their gain. It was only the aid of France that saved them from ruin.

Relieved of all apprehension from Washington, sir H. Clinton resolved to attempt the reduction of South Carolina in person. He sailed from New York and laid siege to Charleston, into which general Lincoln had thrown himself with 7000 provincials. When he had completed his works, and was preparing to batter the town, a capitulation was proposed and accepted. The whole province was speedily reduced, and sir H. Clinton then returned to New York, leaving lord Cornwallis in Carolina with 4000 men. The American government sent thither general Gates, who assembled at Camden an army of 6000 men; lord Cornwallis advanced to attack him with not more than 2000, and (Aug. 17) gave him a complete defeat, killing 800, and taking 2000 men, with all the baggage, stores, and artillery; his own loss in killed and wounded being only 350 men.

In July, a French fleet, having 6000 troops on board, under the count De Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island. It was proposed, when De Guichen, who was expected,

should arrive, that a general attack by sea and land should be made on New York; but the activity of Rodney, as we have seen, disconcerted this plan.

While Washington was absent at a conference with count. Rochambeau, Arnold, who had been in secret correspondence with sir H. Clinton for betraying West Point, desired that some trusty agent might be sent to him. Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, volunteered his services, and he landed in the night from the *Vulture* sloop-of-war. At day-break, when his conference with Arnold was concluded, he found it impossible to return to the sloop, and being furnished by Arnold with a pass under the name of Anderson, he attempted to reach New York by land. He was, however, met and stopped by three militia men. He wrote without delay a letter to Arnold under his assumed name, and that general escaped on board the *Vulture* just before Washington's order to arrest him arrived.

André, who no longer concealed his name or quality, was brought before a court-martial, and tried as a spy. He denied that he was such, as he had come on shore under a passport or flag of truce from Arnold. The court, however, found him guilty, and sentenced him to be hanged. Every exertion was made to save him by sir H. Clinton, but in vain; Washington was inexorable; even the urgent request of the prisoner to be shot was refused, and he was hanged (Oct. 2) amid the sympathy of the officers and soldiers of the American army.*

The year 1781 virtually terminated the war. The blockade of Gibraltar still continued; famine preyed on the garrison and people, but admiral Danby conveyed supplies to it in the face of a superior Spanish fleet lying in the bay of Cadiz. The besiegers then kept up for the space of three weeks one of the most tremendous bombardments in the annals of war, and they had brought their works to completion when a sally of the garrison totally destroyed them. A combined force of 16,000 men was landed at Minorca for the attack of St. Philip's castle, and a combined fleet of seventy ships of war appeared in the channel.

The Dutch had perfidiously joined in the war against

* In the summer of this year occurred a most dreadful riot in London by a No-Popery mob, headed by lord George Gordon. It lasted nearly a week; catholic chapels were destroyed, Newgate was broken open, the other prisons were burnt, lord Mansfield's and other houses were demolished, etc. By the employment of military force the rioters were at length reduced.

England, but they paid dear for their treachery. Admiral Parker, as with six ships of the line and some frigates he was convoying a fleet from the Baltic, was encountered off the Doggerbank (Aug. 5) by the Dutch admiral Zoutman, with ten sail of the line and frigates. The action, which lasted nearly four hours, was terrific; the English had 500, the Dutch 1200 killed and wounded; both fleets were disabled, and the Dutch hardly got into their own ports. In the West Indies, Rodney took their island of St. Eustathius, in which, being a free port, immense wealth in goods and stores was collected: all this became the prize of the victors, who also captured a great number of merchantmen.

Sir Henry Clinton, having sent general Arnold with a force into Virginia, directed lord Cornwallis to form a junction with him. As he was advancing for that purpose, he sent colonel Tarleton with a corps of 1100 men, to oppose general Morgan, who was acting on his left. At a place called the Cowpens, Tarleton came up with the enemy, (Jan. 17,) and in the hard-fought action which ensued, the British were defeated for the first time in an open field of battle. The American general Greene displayed considerable ability in impeding the measures of lord Cornwallis till he found himself strong enough to engage him; he then (Mar. 15) gave him battle at Guildford court-house. The Americans had 5000 men, the British half the number. The latter gained the honor of the day, but want of provisions and the severity of the weather obliged them to retire, leaving their wounded to the care of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis now pushed on for Virginia, while Greene advanced toward South Carolina. At Hobkirk's-hill (Apr. 25) he was attacked and routed by lord Rawdon. After a variety of operations he encountered (Sept. 8) at Eutaw-springs colonel Stewart, who now commanded the British. The action was the most obstinate that had yet been fought; the American militia acted nobly; both sides claimed the victory, but the British found it necessary to retire to Charleston.

Lord Cornwallis, in spite of opposition, having reached the Chesapeake, fortified York-town and Gloucester-point. He applied in vain for reinforcements to sir H. Clinton, who feared for New York. A large French fleet, under count De Grasse, entered the Chesapeake, and Washington and count Rochambeau having joined their forces, their united army of 12,000 men appeared before York-town, while De Grasse blocked up the mouth of the York river. The Brit-

ish force did not amount to 7000 men. A gallant defence was made, but they were obliged to yield to numbers and capitulate, (Oct. 19.) With this unfortunate event the contest in America terminated.

Fortune was elsewhere unfavorable to Great Britain, whom France had now deprived of all the Leeward Islands, except Antigua and Barbadoes. Minorca was lost; St. Philip's castle, after one of the noblest defences on record, and the reduction of its garrison to 800 men, having been obliged to surrender.

The surrender of York-town sealed the doom of the North administration. An unfortunate minister is seldom secure in his power; the country gentlemen now opened their eyes to the folly of continuing the war; a formidable plan of attack was conceived and executed by the opposition, led on by general Conway and Mr. Fox, and sustained by their usual champions, with the accession of William Pitt, son of the great earl of Chatham, and Mr. Sheridan, both of whom had displayed great talent in debate. Day after day the ministerial majority declined. At length (Mar. 1782) lord North announced that the cabinet was dissolved.

The opposition, having gained the victory, had now to divide the spoils. But herein lay a difficulty. It consisted of two almost hostile parties; the one headed by the marquess of Rockingham, which was for conceding total independence to the colonies; the other, led by the earl of Shelburne, though willing to yield up the right of taxation and terminate the war, trod in the steps of lord Chatham, who almost with his dying breath had protested against a dismemberment of the empire. The new ministry was formed of five of each party; lord Thurlow, to gratify the king, being allowed to retain the great seal. Lord Rockingham was premier; lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries; general Conway commander-in-chief; lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Dunning (now lord Ashburton), chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, etc.; Burke was paymaster of the forces; Barré treasurer of the navy; Sheridan under-secretary of state. Pitt declined taking any office.

The watchword of the new ministry was peace, economy, and no patronage. Yet, when Mr. Pitt brought in a bill for a reform in parliament, it was rejected, and the whole of the retrenchments made amounted only to 72,000*l.* a year, the far greater part of which was in the department of Mr

Burke, the great advocate of the measure. What further they might have done is not to be known, for the death of lord Rockingham in the summer broke up the cabinet, as Fox and his friends refused to act under lord Shelburne, and retired. Mr. Pitt now took office as chancellor of the exchequer, though only twenty-three years of age.

Negotiations for peace had been commenced, but the war still continued. On the 12th of April Rodney brought De Grasse to action in the West Indies, and by executing the manœuvre of breaking the line, he gave him a complete defeat, taking or destroying eight ships, and reducing almost to wrecks the remainder, two of which were captured a few days after by sir Samuel Hood. But as admiral Graves was conducting the prizes to England, and convoying the homeward-bound merchant-fleet, a terrific storm came on, in which all the prizes but one, two British men-of-war, and several of the merchantmen, perished, and 3000 lives were lost. At home, the loss of the Royal George of 100 guns, which was upset by a squall (Aug. 29) at Portsmouth, and went down with admiral Kempenfeldt and a thousand men and women on board, increased the calamities of the year.

The storm of war beat this year with unprecedented fury on the rock of Gibraltar and its heroic defenders. The duke of Crillon, the conqueror of Minorca, took the command of the besieging army; ten floating batteries, proof against shot and fire, were constructed, forty-seven sail of the line, besides frigates and other craft, were collected in the bay, while batteries mounting 200 guns and protected by 40,000 men were raised on the isthmus. The whole force by land and sea amounted to 100,000 men. On the 13th of September a simultaneous canonnade was opened on the fortress, which was returned by shells and red-hot balls. The whole peninsula seemed one blaze of flame, while the roaring of the artillery was not intermitted for a second. During the day no effect seemed to be made on either side, but in the night two of the floating batteries burst into flames; the light enabled the besieged to direct their guns, and by morning six more were in the same condition; the fire from twelve gun-boats prevented the enemy from bringing off their crews, all of whom would have perished but for the humanity of the British, who saved about 400 men. The siege was now at an end, and the war was thus concluded brilliantly by England in Europe as well as in the West Indies. Her success had been uniform in

the East. General Elliot, the gallant governor of Gibraltar was raised to the peerage by the title of baron Heathfield.

As the Shelburne administration could not command a majority in parliament, it was necessary to seek the support of lord North or Mr. Fox. With the former Mr. Pitt would have nothing to do; duty, he said, forbade him to unite with a man who had brought such calamity on the country, and whose principles he had so often condemned. He agreed to make a personal application to Mr. Fox, but the antipathy of the latter to lord Shelburne was invincible. The ministry therefore resolved to go on as they were with the public business. The preliminary treaties of peace with France and Spain were accordingly executed; but when the day came for submitting them to parliament, (Feb. 17, 1783,) the address was carried in the lords only by a majority of 72 to 59, and in the commons the minister was defeated by a majority of sixteen. The cause of this was the celebrated coalition between Fox and lord North. After an ineffectual struggle the ministry resigned; the king made every effort in his power to avoid capitulating to Fox; he even meditated a retreat to Hanover. At length he yielded, and in the beginning of April a new ministry, with the duke of Portland at its head, was formed; lord North and Mr. Fox were the secretaries of state, and lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Burke returned to his former situation.

By the treaty of peace which had been concluded, the independence of the United States of America was acknowledged; between England, France, and Spain there was a restitution of conquests, and the last power obtained Minorca and the Floridas. The only loss of England was 100,000,000*l.* which she added to her debt, for a very few years showed that the trade with the independent states of America was infinitely more valuable than when they were colonies. The madness of the house of Bourbon in encouraging the principles of revolution out of hatred to England, was destined ere long to meet its chastisement from these very principles. As for the United States, they have since advanced rapidly in wealth and population. In every point of view, the separation has been a blessing to England; it is only to be regretted, as we have already observed, that it was not effected amicably.

The coalition ministry soon met with the fate it merited. The want of confidence in the public appeared by the decline in the funds, the three per cent. consols falling from

70 to 56. Mr. Pitt's motion for reform was negatived. At length Mr. Fox introduced his India-bill, and its rejection by the lords (Dec. 16) sealed the doom of the ministry. A new cabinet was formed with Mr. Pitt for its chief, and this extraordinary man sat at the helm of the state, with but one interruption, for the remainder of his life. Mr. Fox remained the leader of the opposition.

When we consider the youth of Mr. Pitt, the political wisdom which he displayed in this crisis is astonishing. Instead of dissolving the parliament, he went on suffering himself for some time to be beaten in every division. At length (Mar. 24, 1784) he appealed to the country by a dissolution, and the number of 'Fox's Martyrs,' as those opposition members who lost their seats were called, being 160, his triumph was complete, and the power of the whigs was finally overthrown. Henceforth, till the horrors of war were renewed, Mr. Pitt went on steadily improving the internal condition of the empire.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)

1784—1789.

As India now formed an important portion of the British empire, we will sketch the origin and progress of the English dominion in that vast region.

Toward the close of the reign of queen Elizabeth the English merchants began to aspire to a share in the lucrative commerce of the East, then engrossed by the Portuguese. The distance, danger, and expense of the voyage, proving too great for individual enterprise, the queen in the year 1600 granted a charter to a company of merchants for the trade to India. The original capital of the company was 72,000*l.*, divided into 50*l.* shares. In 1612 they established their first factory at Surat on the west coast of India. They formed settlements also in the Spice Islands; but from these they were driven by the Dutch by a series of aggressive acts ending in the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. Toward the middle of the 17th century they established

factories at Madras and Fort St. David on the coast of Coromandel, and at Hooghly on the river of that name in Bengal, whence they afterwards removed to Calcutta, lower down on the same river. Charles II. gave to them the island of Bombay, which he had received in dower with his queen, and the isle of St. Helena in the Atlantic. James II., a great fosterer of trade, enlarged their charter very much, empowering them to build fortresses, raise troops, coin money, etc. By the extravagance, mismanagement, and corruption incidental to a company of the kind, they soon incurred a debt of 2,000,000*l.*; and in 1698 a rival company, by offering a large advance of money at eight per cent. to the government, obtained a charter. The old company also obtained a renewal of theirs, and after a trial of a few years, finding the competition ruinous, they united in 1702 under a new charter, and took the name of 'The United East India Company.' Their affairs were directed at home by a court of twenty-four directors chosen annually by the proprietors of the stock, and each of their settlements was governed by a president and a select committee.

At this time, the Portuguese, whose dominion had never been stable, were powerless in India; but the French had settlements at Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly. The Dutch also had a factory at Chinsura on this river, and others on the Coromandel coast.

The political condition of India was of the following nature. In the close of the 15th century, Baber, a descendant of Timoor, invaded and conquered a great part of India with an army of Mogul Turks. This empire was gradually extended by his successors, and under the great Aurungzebe it attained its utmost limits. But after the death of that monarch in 1707, the decline of the empire rapidly advanced, and the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Persian, in 1738, reduced it to the lowest ebb. Many of the subordinate chiefs became independent, yielding only a nominal obedience to the emperor of Delhi.

Permanent conquest in the East is little more than a change of rulers; the laws, the customs, the property of the people, remain as before. So it was in India; a Hindoo *rajah* was in many cases succeeded by a Mohammedan *nabob*, but the cultivator only paid his land-tax as before: the finances of the state were managed by Hindoos, and the native Soocars, or bankers, and opulent merchants retained the influence which wealth never fails to confer. Large por

tions of the empire were placed under the government of Soobahdars, or viceroys, under whom Mogul Nabobs or Hindoo Rajahs ruled over smaller districts.

The English long abstained from taking any concern in the affairs of the native princes, and they would probably have continued this prudent course had it not been for the ambition of their restless rivals the French. When the Silesian war broke out in Europe, France and England extended their hostilities to the East. A French fleet, under La Bourdonnais, reached India in 1746; the English fleet there retired before it, and La Bourdonnais reduced Madras. He engaged that it should be restored on payment of a ransom; but when he was gone, Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, refused to perform the agreement. Dupleix attempted the following year to take Fort St. David, but he was obliged to retire, and was himself besieged in Pondicherry by admiral Boscawen, (1749;) owing, however, to the lateness of the season, want of skill in the engineer and other causes, the siege proved a failure. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored; but as both the English and French companies had now good bodies of troops, they engaged them in the disputes of the native princes, till the breaking out of the Seven Years' War placed them again in hostilities with each other. These troops consisted of Europeans and of natives called Sepoys, a corruption of the Persian term *Sipahi*, a foot-soldier.

The soobahdar of the Deckan, (*South*), or that part of India south of the river Nerbuddah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, had of late years rendered himself nearly independent of the Great Mogul. Under him the nabob of Arcot ruled the Carnatic, a region extending for more than 500 miles along the east coast, and in which both Madras and Pondicherry lie. After the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk the succession to his dignity was disputed in the usual oriental manner, and it chanced that there was also a contest for the nabobship of Arcot. Dupleix saw a prospect of power and wealth if he were to take part in the affair, and he embraced the cause of Muzuffir Jung, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and of Chunda Sahib, a pretender to the nabobship. The English saw that they also must become parties in the contest or tamely submit to be driven out of the country, as the candidates supported by Dupleix were now triumphant. They accordingly took the side of Nasir Jung, son of the late soobahdar, and of Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob. But they were at this time greatly inferior to their rivals in power and influ-

ence, and Dupleix had obtained a large share of the treasures of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and been appointed governor of all the country south of the river Kistna. To relate the contest in detail falls not within our province; but as it served to bring to view the great qualities of Clive, the founder of the Anglo-Indian empire, we will dwell on it for a short space.

Robert Clive, the son of a respectable family in Shropshire, came out to Madras as a writer in 1744, at the age of nineteen. Not relishing the civil service, he obtained in 1747 an ensign's commission in the company's troops, and on various occasions he showed himself, by his courage, coolness, presence of mind, and fertility of resource, to be a born soldier; he rose to the rank of captain, and his talents were generally acknowledged, especially by Major Lawrence, the able commander of the troops at Madras.

In 1751 the affairs of Mohammed Ali were at so low an ebb, that nothing, it was plain, could save them from ruin but some extraordinary effort. As Chunda Sahib was absent, besieging his rival in Trinchinopoly, Clive proposed a bold attempt to besiege his capital, Arcot. At the head of a force of not more than 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys he set forth to attack a fort garrisoned by 1100 men, and in a city with 100,000 inhabitants; but the garrison retired at his approach, and the people received him favorably. Chunda Sahib sent his son to recover the fortress, and Clive soon found himself with only four officers, 120 Europeans, and 200 sepoys, (to this his force was now reduced,) in a ruinous fort of more than a mile in circumference, and with provision only for sixty days, besieged by a force of 150 French and 10,000 native troops well supplied with artillery. Here, however, he maintained himself for fifty days, repelled every attack, and finally forced the enemy to raise the siege and retire from the town.

Being reinforced from Fort St. David, and joined by a corps of Mahrattas, he defeated a body of 300 French and 4500 natives, and took the pagoda of Conjeveram; and afterwards, at the village of Coverspak, he totally routed a force of about the same number, (Jan. 1752.) The seat of war was now transferred to Trinchinopoly and its vicinity, where Clive cheerfully served under major Lawrence. Success attended all their operations; the power and influence of the French sank every where. The death of Chunda Sahib relieved Mohammed Ali from a competitor; and the recall of Dupleix, (1754,) and the pacific character of his successor, Godeheu, seemed to promise a period of tranquillity. Clive

took advantage of this state of affairs to return to England for the reëstablishment of his health. After an abode of two years in his native country, he returned to India as governor of Fort St. David, with a commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army, to enable him to command the king's troops. He reached Fort St. David on the 20th of June, 1756; and that very day an event occurred in Bengal — the capture of Calcutta — which called him away to that province which was to be the great scene of his glory.

For the last fifteen years the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa had been ruled by the soobahdar Aliverdi Khan, an able and prudent man. On his death, (April 9, 1756,) he was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Suraj-ud-Dowla, a licentious youth of violent passions. The new ruler, jealous of the English, or coveting their reputed wealth, resolved to make a pretext for robbing and expelling them. He first charged them with fortifying Calcutta, and this being disproved, he accused them of protecting one of his subjects who had fled with great treasure. The treasure it was shown did not exist; and the person in question he was assured should be reserved for his pleasure. But the rapacious youth would listen to no excuse. At the head of a large army he appeared before Calcutta. Little or no attempt was made at resistance; most of the English, including Mr. Drake the governor and captain Minchin the commandant of the troops, got on board the ships and hastened down the river. About 150 persons were left behind in the fort; and, during two days, (though we are assured that a single sloop, with fifteen men, could have carried them off in spite of the enemy,) such was the ignoble terror which possessed the fugitives, that not a single effort was made to relieve them. Mr. Holwell, who had taken the temporary command, then proposed a surrender; but before he could obtain a reply the fort was stormed and all in it made prisoners. When night came on, the victors placed their captives, 146 in number, in a room twenty feet square, with only two small windows, named the 'Black Hole,' and which the English had made for a place of confinement. The dreadful heat and the want of air quickly deprived some of existence; others lost their reason, and expired in delirium; their entreaties and offers of money to their guards to give them water, or to remove them, were mocked at or disregarded; and when the prison was opened next morning only twenty-three remained alive. There is no reason to suppose that the soobahdar designed their death, but he expressed no concern when in-

formed of it. Having plundered the town, he departed leaving in it a garrison of 3000 men.

The right of the English to Calcutta was fully as good as that of the soobahdar to his dominions, for they held it by a grant from the emperor. Justice was therefore evidently on their side in the contest in which they were now about to engage. When the intelligence reached Madras, (Aug. 16,) it was resolved at once to send an expedition to Bengal, and Clive was appointed to the command of it. It consisted of 900 Europeans, and 1500 sepoy, and was conveyed by five of his majesty's and five of the company's ships, under admiral Watson. On the 22d of December they reached Fulta, a village on the Hooghly, not far from Calcutta, and in the course of ten days (Jan. 2, 1757) they recovered that city, whence an expedition sailed up the river to attack the large town of Hooghly. The fort was taken, (11th,) after a slight resistance; they then destroyed the granaries at various places farther up the river, and returned to Calcutta with a booty of a lac and a half of rupees, (15,000*l*.) At the end of the month, Suraj-ud-Dowla approached Calcutta; he professed friendship, and offered to make restitution of property; but Clive soon ascertained that he was only amusing them, in order imperceptibly to get possession of the city, and cut off supplies from the fort; he therefore resolved on an immediate attack, and at six in the morning (Feb. 5) he entered the camp of the enemy, at the head of nearly all his forces. He crossed it in about two hours, doing considerable execution; but at daybreak his army became enveloped in so dense a fog that they lost their way, and thus partially failed in their object. The nabob, however, was so alarmed, that he retired to some distance, and again made overtures of peace, to which Clive, apprehensive of his joining with the French, readily listened; and treaties were signed, by which the nabob restored and extended the privileges of the company, and engaged to make compensation for all their losses; while *they* pledged themselves to look on his enemies as their own.

As war had broken out anew between France and England, and the French were now very strong in southern India, the government at Madras were urgent with Clive to attack their settlement at Chandernagore, in order to depress their power in Bengal. Accordingly, having drawn a reluctant consent from the nabob, Clive and Watson attacked and took that settlement, (March 23.) Clive was always of

opinion that it was impossible for the French and the English to coëxist in India, and that one or other must be expelled; and he soon had indubitable proof that it was the intention of the nabob to unite his forces with the former. As he had also formed an entrenched camp at a place named Plassey, and interrupted the communication of the English with their factory at Cossimbazar, Clive did not hesitate to take share in a conspiracy now organized for the dethronement of Suraj-ud-Dowla. The principal persons engaged in it were, Meer Jaffier, the Bukhshee, or general; Roy Dul-lub, the Dewan, or minister of finance; and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. A treaty was concluded, by which Meer Jaffier was to be placed on the *musnud*, or throne; he was in return to give forty lacs of rupees to the army and navy, and twelve to the committee at Calcutta.

When all was arranged, Clive set forth with a force of 3000 men, of whom not quite a third were Europeans. He directed his march for Plassey, which place he reached before day on the 23d of June. At daybreak, the nabob's army, of 15,000 horse and 35,000 foot, advanced to attack him. Clive's troops were posted in a grove defended by mud-banks. After cannonading them till noon, the enemy retired to their fortified camp; and shortly after Clive stormed an angle of it, put them to the rout, and pursued them for a space of six miles. In this battle, which decided the fate of the English in India, the loss of the enemy was only 500 men.

Suraj-ud-Dowla fled to his capital Moorshedabad, and sending from it what treasure he could, he followed it himself at midnight. He was afterwards taken and put to death by the son of Meer Jaffier.

It has always been the custom in the East to pay for political services liberally, and this custom was adhered to in the present instance. In the treaty concluded by Clive with the new soobahdar it was stipulated that 100 lacs of rupees should be paid to the company for their losses and for the expenses of the campaign, with compensation to all the sufferers at the taking of Calcutta; the company was also to have the *zemindary** of a tract of country to the south of that city. In his donations to those to whom he was indebted for his throne the soobahdar was most profuse. His gifts

* A *zemindar* was a person who farmed the portion of the produce of the soil claimed by the crown. He paid a certain sum annually, but had no property in the soil.

to Clive amounted to 180,000*l.*; but though offered presents by Roy Dullub and others, Clive refused them; for he considered that in receiving gifts from the prince whom he had benefited he was justified by the usages of Asia, and not condemned by the general principles of morality; the presents of individuals he viewed under a different light. It is well known what an outcry was afterwards raised against this distinguished man on this account; but, as it has not been shown that avarice was his motive to action, or that he sacrificed in the slightest degree the interests of the company to his own, we cannot see any grounds whatever for condemning him for making a fortune when an honorable occasion was presented.

Meer Jaffier was a weak, imprudent man, and his conduct speedily drove some of his most powerful subjects into rebellion. His only stay was Clive, whose wisdom saved him from the consequences of his own ill conduct. With all his defects, Meer Jaffier was not ungrateful to his benefactor, he procured from the court of Delhi the title of an Omrah for him; and when Clive, (1759,) by marching his troops into Bahar, which had been invaded by the emperor's eldest son, had saved Meer Jaffier from the ruin which threatened him, that prince, of his own free motion, conferred on him a *jagheer*, or estate of three lacs of rupees a year, assigning for that purpose the quitrent of the company's zemindary. Here again it may be asked, who can justly condemn Clive?

In 1760 Clive returned to England. He was now only thirty-five years of age, and he was possessed of an income of more than 40,000*l.* a year. He received abundant marks of respect; but his constitution was enfeebled, and he fell into a long and dangerous illness. He obtained a seat in parliament; and by means of his money he brought several of his friends into the house of commons. He also obtained an Irish peerage. A very unwarrantable attempt to deprive him of his *jagheer* was soon, however, made by the court of directors, acting under the influence of their chairman, Mr. Sullivan; for surely *they* could have no claim to it, and his right stood on precisely the same grounds as *theirs* to their zemindary. Though the highest legal authorities were against them, they persisted in withholding payment, and he was obliged to have recourse to a bill in chancery. But in 1764 such tidings came from India, that the safety of the British possessions in that country seemed to depend on his return to it; and in a court of proprietors he was unanimously appointed governor-general of Bengal. He accepted

the high office, and quitted England for the third and last time.

The affairs of the company in Bengal were now in a deplorable state, in consequence of the unprincipled rapacity of its servants. "I shall only say," writes Clive after his arrival, "that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, corruption, and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner." Elsewhere he says, "There are not five men of principle in the whole settlement." It was at this time that England first beheld the spectacle of the return of the 'Nabobs,' as they were called; men who, having quitted her shores perhaps penniless, revisited them in a few years gorged with wealth wrung from the natives of India, and displayed in the use or abuse of it the habits of pride, insolence, and luxury acquired in the East.

The modes by which these gentlemen acquired their wealth were various. The first and simplest was that of extorting contributions, as lord Clive says, "from every man of power and consequence, from the nabob down to the lowest zemindar. But much greater gains were made by trade. The emperor had granted a *firman*, by which goods under the company's flag and *dustuck*, or permit, should pass duty-free; but this was clearly understood to apply only to goods belonging to the company, and being either European goods for sale or native productions for export, and not to interfere with the internal trade of the country. The company, with that ill-judging parsimony into which such bodies sometimes fall, had given their servants paltry salaries, but had permitted them to trade on their own account; hence, when the power of the company had become paramount in Bengal, their servants there, from the highest to the lowest, resolved to employ it to their own private advantage. They insisted that the company's *dustuck* should cover all goods whatever; and they monopolized the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, and the extortion of themselves and their *gomastahs*, or native agents, was ruinous to the country. It may easily be conceived what a task lord Clive had before him, to cleanse such an Augean stable, and what opposition he had to encounter, not merely from Messrs. Leycester, Gray, Burdett, Johnstone, and others, members of council and prime offenders, but from even the lowest servants of the company.

The political transactions of this interval had been as follows. In 1760, Mr. Vansittart, Clive's successor, acting under the influence of Mr. Holwell, who hated Meer Jaffier,

concluded a treaty with Cossim Ali, that nabob's son-in-law for his dethronement, by which the provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, were to be made over to the company, and large rewards given to the members of council. This unjustifiable pact of spoliation was easily carried into effect. Meer Jaffier could make no resistance, and Cossim Ali became the nabob. But Mr. Vansittart, who is said to have been a well-meaning man, was no Clive; he was domineered over by an insolent, rapacious majority in the council, and he was completely mistaken in the character of Cossim Ali, who proved to be a man of considerable energy and of much financial ability. He first caused the English to lose consideration in the eyes of the people of India by seizing and putting to death Ram Narrain, the Hindoo governor of Patna, whom they had pledged themselves to protect; and then, in pursuance of his plans for reëstablishing his finances, he resolved to put an end to their monopoly of trade and evasion of duties. He required that Mr. Ellis, a violent, rapacious man, who had always opposed him, should be removed from Patna; but the council sent Ellis orders to seize the citadel of that town. Cossim, however, retook the fort, and he put Ellis and one hundred and fifty other Europeans to death. He then, fearing the English, fled to Sujah-ud-Dowla, vizier of Oude, who armed in his favor; but that prince was defeated at Buxar by major Munro, and was obliged to sue for peace.

The council now replaced Meer Jaffier on the *musnud*; and on his death, which occurred soon after, they raised to it his son Nujum-ud-Dowla, making him pay, of course, largely for his elevation, for money was the only object of these low-minded, sordid men.

Such was the state of affairs in Bengal when Clive landed, (May 3, 1765.) He remained in India till the end of January, 1767, during which period he effected reformatations in both the civil and military departments, which perhaps he alone could have accomplished. His suppression of the conspiracy, into which not less than 200 of the European officers had entered, to resist the reduction of the double *batta*, or pay, first given them by Meer Jaffier, is justly regarded as one of the greatest actions of his life. It was also at this time that the English became the real sovereigns of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as Clive obtained for the company from the emperor a *dewannee*, or deed empowering them to collect the revenues of those provinces. Out of them were to be paid, to the emperor 26 lacs a year, to the

nabob 53 lacs; and Clive computed that there would remain to the company an annual surplus of 122 lacs, or 1,650,000*l*.

To conclude the history of this great man. He was received with all due honors on his return to England; but he had soon to encounter the bitter hostility of Johnstone and the other persons whom he had made his foes in India, and who now, by large purchases of stock, were become powerful in the court of proprietors, where they joined with the Sullivan party. They also, by means of the newspapers and of pamphlets, kept up a constant discharge on him. At length, in 1773, at a time when the affairs of India much occupied the attention of parliament, colonel Burgoyne, (the future hero of Saratoga,) as chairman of the select committee, moved a resolution that lord Clive, in the affair of the deposition of Suraj-ud-Dowla, had "abused the powers with which he was intrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the company, and to the dishonor and detriment of the state." Lord Clive, in the course of the debate, made a noble defence of the whole of his conduct in India. He concluded by saying, "I have one request to make to the house; that, when they come to decide on my honor, they will not forget their own." On a division, the clause condemnatory of lord Clive was omitted; and it was finally resolved that he had received the sum of 234,000*l*., but that at the same time he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

The proud spirit of Clive, it is said, never recovered the shock of being thus dragged like a culprit to the bar of his country; but, though it preyed on his mind, it cannot justly be regarded as the immediate cause of his death. The founder of the British empire in India died, as is well known, by his own hand, (Nov. 22, 1774,) at the age of forty-nine. He was originally of a nervous, melancholy temperament; his liver had long been deranged, and his fits of illness frequent. It was in a paroxysm of bodily pain, caused by gall-stones, that he committed the fatal deed. Now that the clouds of malignity have passed away, his name most justly ranks among those of England's most illustrious men.

We now resume the affairs of the company. The great acquisitions made by lord Clive produced attacks on their revenue from two parties, the proprietors and the government. The former, insisting on their right to the advantages, voted themselves dividends of 10 and 12½ per cent.: the

latter claimed all the territory that had been acquired, but compromised the matter for the present for 400,000*l.* a year. But the affairs of the company were not by any means in the flourishing condition that was supposed; and they were obliged to apply, ere long, for a loan of 1,500,000*l.* Two committees, named the 'Secret' and the 'Select,' had been appointed to inquire into their affairs. A new arrangement of the court of directors took place; the qualification for voting in the court of proprietors was raised; a court of justice, consisting of a chief and three puisne judges appointed by the crown, was to supersede the mayor's court at Calcutta; the governor of Bengal was to have the superiority over the other presidencies. Warren Hastings, Esq., a gentleman who had long been in India, was appointed the first governor-general, with general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Messrs. Barwell and Francis as his counsellors, (1773.)

Mr. Hastings had gone out in the preceding year as governor of Bengal, where he was to restore the company's finances, and at the same time establish a fortune for himself. In accomplishing these objects, it is not to be denied that he displayed abilities of a very high order, but it is equally true that deeds were enacted revolting to justice and humanity.* To enter into the details in our restricted limits is, however, a matter that cannot be expected; we can only undertake to sketch those acts which were most notorious.

The giving up the people named Rohillas to Sujah-ud-Dowla, the tyrannical vizier of Oude, was the first of these acts. Rohilcund, which lies northward of Oude, was, from the prudence of its ruler, in a state of high prosperity. Owing to an invasion of the Mahrattas, the Rohillas found it expedient to form an alliance with the vizier; and that rapacious prince, instantly resolved to make himself master of their country. On his engaging to pay the company 40 lacs of rupees, if successful, and allow their troops a certain sum a month, Mr. Hastings (1774) ordered colonel Champion to join his forces with those of the vizier for the invasion of Rohilcund. The Rohillas made a brave but ineffectual defence. The cowardly, atrocious vizier, whose

* [The reader must be put upon his guard against receiving these charges against Mr. Hastings to their full extent. He has been much wronged. It is certain that no one has ever been more devotedly beloved by the natives than Mr. Hastings; which fact of itself is almost enough to disprove the usual charges brought against him. — J. T. S.]

declared object was their extermination, was let loose to glut his malignity on them; and the barbarities enacted were declared by colonel Campion to be in many instances beyond description. As the emperor had placed himself under the protection of the Mahrattas, Mr. Hastings withheld the portion of the revenues of Bengal allotted to him by Clive; and he sold to the vizier for 50 lacs the provinces of Allahabad and Corah, which lord Clive had secured to the emperor.

The arrival of the members of the council from Europe (Oct. 1774) put a check on the excesses of Mr. Hastings, as he and his friend Mr. Barwell were on all occasions outvoted by the other three. The council-board was a scene of constant altercation; and Mr. Hastings was so galled at finding himself continually thwarted, that (1777) he authorized Mr. Maclean, who was returning to Europe, to tender his resignation to the directors. It was accepted, and Mr. Wheeler was appointed to succeed him. But ere the intelligence reached Bengal, the death of colonel Monson had given Mr. Hastings the supremacy in the council, and he now disavowed his agent, refused to resign, and seemed determined to retain his power by force of arms, if needful. His opponents declined the contest, and he again began to run his despotic career uncontrolled, and to undo all that had been done of late against his wishes or interest. A quarrel between him and Mr. Francis, in 1780, whom he accused of breach of promise, terminated in a duel, in which the latter was wounded. His immediate return to Europe left Mr. Hastings unfettered, and the effect was soon visible in the results of the governor's journey to the Upper Provinces.

Since the year 1764 the rajah of Benares (the great seat of Hindoo devotion) had been under the protection of the English. In 1774, the rajah, Cheyte Sing, was relieved from all dependence on the vizier of Oude, and he was to pay a fixed tribute to the company; and it was unanimously resolved by the council, that while he performed his engagements "no more demands of any kind should be made on him, nor any person be allowed to interfere with his authority." The rajah paid his tribute regularly till the time of what Mr. Hastings is pleased to term "the attempt to wrest from him his authority;" in other words, to carry the orders of the directors into effect, in June, 1777. At that time Mr. Hastings found that Cheyte Sing had deputed a person to general Clavering, his opponent, and he secretly

resolved to make him feel his vengeance. He forthwith began to make requisitions on him. A present of two lacs, in 1781, did not suffice to mollify the governor. The exactions were increased; the reluctance to submit to them was termed a crime, and was to be made the pretext for robbing the rajah. "I was resolved," says Mr. Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's distresses. I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." With this righteous object in view, Mr. Hastings, in 1781, proceeded to Benares. He placed the rajah under arrest; but the people, to whom he and his father had been mild and upright rulers, rose and massacred his guards, and he made his escape to a fortified palace on the other side of the river, and the troops sent to assault it were repulsed with loss. The whole district rose in revolt; the contagion spread to Oude and Bahar. Mr. Hastings was obliged to fly by night to the fortress of Chunar. All the supplications of the rajah for peace were rejected with scorn. When troops arrived, his hasty levies were easily routed, and he fled from the fort of Bidgegur, taking with him his treasures, and leaving in it his mother, the Rannee, (whose residence it was,) his wife, and the rest of his family. The Rannee endeavored to make terms, but Mr. Hastings would only grant safety and respect for her person; and in his letter to major Popham, who commanded, he said, "I apprehend that she will contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable part of the booty by being suffered to *retire without examination*; but this is your consideration, and not mine." This hint was not lost on the soldiery; the capitulation was broken; the Rannee and the other women, to the number of three hundred, were plundered, and their persons rudely treated by the soldiers and camp-followers, in spite of the efforts of major Popham.

The plunder after all amounted only to 23 millions of rupees, and the troops, in interpreting the above passage of the governor's letter in their own favor, claimed it all as their prize-money; they would not even lend it to the company, to whose burdens Mr. Hastings's attempt at robbery thus added the expenses incurred by the revolt. The directors strongly reprobated his conduct in this affair.

Disappointed in his hopes of plunder at Benares, the governor turned his view to Oude. The vizier visited him at Chunar, and it was arranged that he was to be relieved from the burden of a heavy number of British troops, of which

he had long complained, and be allowed to resume any *jagheers* which the company had not guarantied. This was apparently very moderate and reasonable; but it contained a deep scheme of spoliation.

The Begums, as they are named, that is, the grandmother and mother of the vizier, were in possession of extensive *jagheers* assigned them by his father, who had also left them most of his treasures. They resided at Fyzabad with the numerous families of the late viziers, which they were bound to support, and they managed, according to custom, their *jagheers* by their own agents. They had often already had large sums extorted from them by the vizier; but the governor now resolved to make him the instrument of robbing them of all they possessed, under pretence (mere pretence) of their having encouraged the people of Oude to aid the insurrection of Cheyte Sing. The vizier, bad as he was, scrupled to act in such a business; but when he found that Mr. Middleton, the resident, was authorized to proceed without him, to keep up his consequence in the eyes of his subjects, he issued the warrants required of him, and he and Middleton appeared before Fyzabad at the head of a body of troops; and, after some time spent in negotiation, the town was stormed, but without bloodshed, as there was no resistance. There was a difficulty, however, in getting at the treasure, as the *zenanas*, or women's apartments, are sacred over all the East; from a passage, indeed, in one of Mr. Hastings's letters, it would appear that it would have been no difficulty to *him*; but it was to the nabob and resident. A plan, however, was devised; two eunuchs, men of venerable age, the confidential servants of the princesses, were seized, laid in irons, kept without food, and tortured in other ways, to work on the compassion of their mistresses, and the diabolical plan succeeded; for upwards of 500,000*l.* was thus extracted from the Begums, though they had to give up for sale even their table utensils. They had themselves, in the interval, been often in danger of starvation from want of food.

On this occasion Mr. Hastings no doubt made money for his masters; he also took care of his own interest. The vizier, in the midst of his embarrassments, found money for a present of ten lacs (100,000*l.*) to the governor. As it was now forbidden to accept gifts, and the present one could not be concealed, Mr. Hastings informed the directors of it, at the same time asking their permission to retain it.

Space does not admit of our noticing any more of the

acts of this eminent man. He left India, after a reign of twelve years, in 1785. He had raised the revenue to double its previous amount; but he had added 12½ millions to the debt of the company. It is said that he was popular at all times in India, as well with natives as Europeans.* In the case of the former, his popularity was probably much increased by the attention he paid to the literature of the country, having been one of the first servants of the company who sought to acquire a knowledge of the eastern languages. On his return to his native shore, a trial which perhaps he had not anticipated awaited him. The splendid eloquence of Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and others, displayed in such appalling colors his various enormities, that the house of commons resolved on his impeachment, and his trial commenced on the 13th of February, 1788; the managers for the commons being Messrs. Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and others. It was on the 23d of April, 1795, that judgment was at length given in favor of the prisoner—to such a length had the process been spun out by the artifices chiefly of Hastings's counsel, headed by Law, afterwards lord Ellenborough; for, unlike a man who, conscious of innocence, disdains all subterfuge and dares his adversaries to do their utmost, Mr. Hastings had recourse to every quirk that legal subtilty could devise for the suppression of evidence. It would almost seem as if his noble judges were predetermined to acquit him, for they did every thing that he could have wished; they rejected evidence continually, and guided themselves by the narrowest maxims of the inferior courts. The Indian interest, as it was named, was powerful, the highest family in the realm interested itself for the culprit, the managers were not always discreet, the length of the proceedings caused many to regard the accused as a persecuted man, the press was engaged in his favor, his money went in all directions; in short, he was acquitted: but no one, we believe, who reads his deeds, not merely in the fervid declamations of Burke, but in the calm pages of history, will hold him guiltless—unless he be prepared to assert that the retention of empire justifies every crime. As to impeachment, it is now only a judicial drama, such changes having taken place in the constitution as render it quite impotent.

* [It is certain that he was one of the most popular governors that ever ruled in India. He was, indeed, enthusiastically beloved. Mere attention to the native literature was not sufficient to secure this. See note, p. 516. — J. T. S.]

During this period the affairs of the company in the presidency of Madras also offer much to interest. The same career of oppression and injustice was run there as in Bengal, and the treatment of the rajah of Tanjore was worthy of Hastings himself. The nabob of Arcot, his intrigues and his debts, the deeds of the notorious Paul Benfield and others, attracted the attention of the British legislature. When lord Pigot, the governor, attempted reformation, he was actually placed under arrest by the insolent, rapacious men who formed the majority in the council. His successor, sir Thomas Rumbold, followed a different course, and in little more than two years he was able to remit to Europe 164,000*l.*, though his salary, etc., did not exceed 20,000*l.* a year. The directors, however, dismissed him and some others from their service.

The external operations of this presidency were, war with the French, in which Pondicherry was taken, and with Hyder Ali, the prince of Mysore, who overran the Carnatic and dictated peace under the walls of Madras.

The affairs of India, as we have seen, had attracted the attention of parliament, and various measures were proposed respecting them. At length, in 1783, during the short sway of the coalition ministry, Mr. Fox brought forward his celebrated 'East India Bill,' in the preparation of which Mr. Burke had a large share. In this it was proposed to do away with the courts of directors and proprietors, in whose room were to be seven commissioners, named by parliament, who were to have the administration of all the affairs of the company, and the sole power of placing and displacing its servants. They were themselves only removable by the king on the address of either house. A court of nine assistant-directors, being proprietors, each of not less than 2000*l.* of India stock, also chosen by the legislature, were to manage the details of the company's affairs under the superior board. The bill also contained a number of other regulations.

The outcry raised against this project is well known. The East India Company and the city of London petitioned against the bill, Mr. Pitt exposed its apparent evils with his usual ability, but it passed the commons by a majority of two to one. In the lords it was strenuously opposed, among others by lord Camden; and earl Temple, in a private conference with the king, so impressed him with an idea of its tendency to limit the prerogative, that he received permission to assure the peers privately, that his majesty would

regard as his enemy any one who voted for it. The bill was therefore rejected, and the king dismissed his ministers.

The following year Mr. Pitt introduced *his* 'East India Bill,' which was passed; in 1786 it was amended by an explanatory act, and it continues to be the fundamental law of the Anglo-Indian empire. Its chief feature is the introduction of the 'Board of Control,' composed of six members of the privy council, named by the king, (of whom the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the secretaries of state were always to be two,) to whom the court of directors were to communicate all their correspondence respecting the government of their territories, and to whose control they were to be subject.

It is a common, and therefore a true saying, that 'one man may steal a horse while another is hanged for looking over the hedge.' The great alarm caused by Mr. Fox's bill was the enormous power it would give the minister, by investing him with the Indian patronage; and who, it may be asked, possesses that patronage now but the minister? Have the court of directors any more freedom in choosing a governor-general, or any other great officer in India, than the clergy of a cathedral in electing their bishop? The president of the board of control is, in fact, secretary for Indian affairs, and his authority is as great in his department as that of his brother secretaries, only that he has to exercise it in a more circuitous manner. There is just the same scope for patronage and favoritism, and like to many other ministers of state, the president sometimes enters on his office with a profound ignorance of the condition of the empire whose affairs he is to direct. But these evils are unavoidable; such extensive patronage must fall into the hands of the executive.

The first governor-general sent out under the new constitution was the marquess Cornwallis; and ever since, that high office has been, with one or two exceptions, consigned to a nobleman connected with the party in power at home. No better choice could have been made at the time, for the noble marquess possessed every estimable, and many a great quality. He was successful in a war with Tippoo Sahib, the successor of Hyder Ali. An extensive system of financial and judicial reform, or rather change, was effected under the administration of this nobleman, but its consequences proved widely different from the sanguine anticipations of its authors. This is in a great measure to be ascribed to their ignorance of the feelings, habits, prejudices and insti-

tutions of those for whom they were legislating, and to the unconscious application of European principles and analogies to a state of society so totally different from that of Europe.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)

1789—1801.

WE are now arrived at the most awful and important period in the history of man; a period when a nation of slaves, acting under the impulse of men, some of philanthropic but unenlightened views and inexperience in the great science of politics, but others devoid of principle and seeking only for change, in the hope of profiting in the confusion, flung off the bonds of ages, and madly plunged into the chaos of turbulence and anarchy. The French Revolution, of which we now speak, burst forth like a moral volcano, shaking the stability of the most ancient thrones, overwhelming justice, law, and equity, in its career, and, after involving Europe in a calamitous war of nearly a quarter-century, terminated in the national humiliation of the conquest of France by those monarchs who had felt her insolence and suffered by her power in the days of her strength.

To narrate the events of this revolution would be beside our purpose. Suffice it to say, that it owed its origin to the absurd privileges of the nobility and their galling insolence; to the heavy and unequal weight of taxation laid on the unprivileged classes; to the corruption and profligacy of the court; to the enormous wealth and often scandalous lives of the superior clergy; to the writings of the so-styled philosophers, which sapped the foundations of religion and morality; to the short-sighted policy of the government, who, out of mean jealousy of England, encouraged the revolt of her colonies, and sent their troops to receive the revolutionary infection, and to other causes which we need not enumerate. Its atrocities, not to be paralleled, arose from the natural character of the French people, of which a part is the absence of moral courage; for the coward is cruel, and the moral coward more so than the physical one

In every event of the revolution, in every character, from the king down to the lowest ruffian of the Fauxbourg, the influence of this principle may be traced. Men were dragged like sheep to the guillotine; they died like heroes; but they had not the mental energy to combine and crush, as they might have done, by well-directed efforts, the ferocious bandits by whom they were slaughtered. Above all deserving of contempt and execration were the nobles, whose insolence had been a chief cause of the evil, but who, in the moment of agony, abandoned their king, and fled by thousands to seek the aid of foreign powers, instead of boldly facing the demon of discord at home, and crushing it by efforts of united energy, justice, and patriotism. How different was the conduct of the English nobility and gentry in the struggles of the 17th century! But herein lies the difference of the national characters; and if the British aristocracy is fated to fall beneath democracy, it will fall, we may be confident, without dishonor.

In England, the progress of the French revolution was viewed with different eyes by different men. There is a class of people who are easily beguiled by specious terms; to these the mere word *liberty* came associated with visions of social happiness and national blessings. They viewed in the revolution of France the commencement of a golden age, the return of Astrea to earth, the dawn of the day which would shed peace and tranquillity over the whole earth. There were others who were anxious to convert the balanced constitution of England into a pure democracy. And there was that profligate class to be found in all countries, who, devoid alike of religion, morals, and property, rejoice in the prospect of going a-wrecking in the political tempest. It was chiefly among the dissenters that the members of the first two classes were to be found; they had always a strong leaven of republicanism in their body; they had shown it openly since the commencement of the American war; and we may safely predict, that if ever England becomes a democratic republic, *they* will be active agents in the change.*

* Among these the Unitarians were most prominent. If lord Clarendon's remark of clergymen, that they "understand the least and take the worst measure of human affairs of all mankind that can write and read," be correct, we may say that it applies with peculiar force to dissenting teachers, whose education and habits of life tend greatly to disqualify them for the discussion of political questions. [This last remark is certainly complimentary, rather than otherwise, to the dis-

On the other hand, the whole tory party viewed the revolution with unmingled horror and disgust. They soon found themselves joined by an ally in the cause of true liberty and the constitution, whose powers in such a cause were without a parallel. Edmund Burke, to whom, on this occasion, his very prejudices combined with his profound study of history in a philosophic spirit to give the vision of a prophet respecting the ultimate effects of the political changes now going on in France, early denounced them as fraught with ruin to the civilized world. When parliament met in February, 1790, Mr. Fox pronounced a eulogy on the proceedings in France, commending, among other things, the revolt of the French guards. The house expressed strong indignation at such language, and a few days after (9th) Mr. Burke, having adverted to the danger of such opinions, sanctioned by so great a name, proceeded to animadvert on the revolution. "The French," said he, "have shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that have hitherto appeared in the world; in one short summer they have pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue." "Our present danger," he added, "is that of being led from admiration to imitate the excesses of a people, whose government is anarchy, whose religion is atheism." He reprobated the comparison between that event and the revolution in England; he said he never loved despotism in any land, but there was a despotism more dreadful than that of any monarch of a civilized people, — that "of an unprincipled, ferocious, tyrannical democracy; of a democracy which had not a single virtue of republicanism to redeem its crimes. This was so far from being worthy of imitation, as had been said by his honorable friend, that it was worthy of all abhorrence; and he would spend the last drop of his blood, would quit his best friends, and join his most avowed enemies, to oppose the least influence of such a spirit in England." Mr. Burke had now taken his ground for life; it was plain that a schism must ensue in the whig party. Sheridan inveighed against, Fox tried to soothe, the excited orator; but the breach had commenced, and on the 16th of May in the following year, Mr. Burke, in presence of the house, renounced the friendship of Mr. Fox, and their connection terminated forever. With Burke, Mr. Windham

senters; since it implies that they attend more strictly to their spiritual calling than their orthodox brethren of the established church. — J. T. S.]

the duke of Portland, lord Spencer, and other whigs who preferred their country to their party, seceded from it, and gave their support to the minister.

By the publication of his immortal 'Reflections on the Revolution,' and by other writings as well as speeches, Mr. Burke rendered most essential services to his country in exposing the arts of the French demagogues to public view. Dr. Priestley and other revolutionists attempted to reply. The 'Rights of Man,' by Thomas Paine, was the work among them which was best calculated to [have an influence among the common] people, being written with much ability and adapted to their comprehension; even at the present day it continues its influence. The 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' of Mr. (afterwards sir James) Mackintosh attempted also the defence of the revolutionists of France and their admirers in this country. Many years, however, did not elapse before the author saw that the views of Burke were more correct than his own.

The desire of parliamentary reform gave origin to various clubs or societies, such as that of the 'Friends of the People' and the 'London Corresponding Society.' Mr. Grey, a member of the former, having given notice (Apr. 1792) that he would move for an inquiry into the state of the representation, Mr. Pitt, formerly the strenuous advocate of the measure, rose and opposed it in the most decided terms. Mr. Fox seized the occasion of charging the minister with inconsistency.

The policy of Mr. Pitt toward France had been hitherto that of strict neutrality. But it soon became manifest that the policy of the faction which now lorded it in that country would be aggressive and revolutionizing. On the 19th of November, 1792, the National Convention decreed that "it would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty;" i. e. to rise in rebellion against their government. A few days before, (7th,) an address from the 'London Corresponding' and four other societies, impregnated with revolution, had been presented to the convention, whose president openly boasted (21st) that "these respectable islanders, once our masters in the social art, have now become our disciples; and, treading in our steps, soon will the high-spirited English strike a blow which shall resound to the extremities of Asia." At the same time, (16th,) the French, who had now conquered the Netherlands, ordered their general to open the navigation of the Scheldt, which by the Peace of Westphalia was to be forever

closed, and they had committed aggressions on the Dutch, who were in alliance with England. An angry correspondence ensued between the English ministry and the French ambassador. At length the execrable murder of Louis XVI. took place, (Jan. 21, 1793,) and the French envoy, M. Chauvelin, was ordered to quit London: on the 25th it was proposed in the Convention to invade England with 40,000 men, and on the 3d of February war was declared against Great Britain.

The king had sent a message to the house of commons on the 28th, calling on them to enable him to resist the ambitious views of France. Mr. Pitt, with his usual ability, developed the grounds on which he proposed an address in accordance with the royal message. Mr. Fox, supported by lord Wycomb and Mr. Whitbread, opposed, as usual; but the address was carried without a division. The separation between the old and new whigs was now complete and final: the former became among the most strenuous supporters of the war; the latter were forced to be content with opposing the measures which they could not prevent.

On the policy of the war opinions were then, and still are, divided; but surely any one who peruses the history of those times must see that it was inevitable. It was productive of ruinous expense to England; but it probably saved her from the curse of [such scenes as disgraced the name of France, and of liberty.]

In the course of the year treaties were formed with most of the continental powers, both great and small, and a confederacy was organized against France, which, had it been directed by wisdom, animated by zeal, controlled by unanimity, and conducted by military skill, might have saved Europe from years of misery. But all these qualities were wanting. Mr. Pitt, with all his great qualities, was not, like his father, a superior war-minister; he lavished with reckless profusion, in subsidies to treacherous or lukewarm allies, the sums which his financial skill enabled him to raise, and almost every one of his military projects proved a failure. In baseness and selfishness the government of Prussia, we may observe, stood conspicuous.

A body of Hessians and Hanoverians was, after the usual manner, taken into British pay, and troops were sent from England to join them. England certainly at the time had no able officers; but it might have been expected that some one who had seen service in America would have been selected for the chief command. But this was given to the

duke of York, the king's second son, whose military experience did not go beyond a review in Hyde-park. Though his military exploits were not such as to crown him with glory, the ocular proof which this prince obtained of the wretched state of the British army at that time in many respects, especially in the medical department, enabled him to effect improvements, when commander-in-chief, which raised it to its future perfection and conferred lasting honor on his own name.

The British troops remained in Holland till the January of 1795, when, pressed on by an overwhelming force of the French, and finding the people of the country hostile, they retreated to Bremen, and embarked for England, after suffering dreadful hardships and enduring every kind of privation.

In the month of August, 1793, the people of Toulon, having declared for Louis XVII., delivered up the town to lord Hood, the British admiral in the Mediterranean. Mr. Pitt, however, refused to send a sufficient force for its defence, and a medley of Spanish, Piedmontese, and Neapolitan troops, worse than useless, occupied the place which should have been filled with British soldiers. The consequence was, that the town was evacuated in December, and the inhabitants were left to be massacred by the sanguinary republicans.

The capture of the French West India islands and the glorious victory of the 1st of June gave spirit to the British nation in 1794. As France was suffering greatly from the want of provisions, admiral Villaret Joyeuse was ordered to put to sea with the Brest fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, in order to protect a large fleet, laden with flour, etc., which was coming from America. Lord Howe, who, with the channel fleet of twenty-six sail, was on the lookout for that fleet, discovered that of Villaret on the 28th of May. On that and the succeeding day there were partial actions: fogs then concealed the hostile fleets for two days; but on Sunday, June 1, the sun shone bright and unclouded. Howe broke the line, like Rodney; the French lost six ships taken and one sunk; but the victory, it is said, might have been more complete if Howe had burnt his prizes and pursued the enemy, as he could then with ease have destroyed their entire fleet. The loss of the French was 8000 men slain and taken.

About a year after (June 22) lord Bridport, with the channel fleet, descried a French fleet off Belleisle. He gave chase, but the enemy escaped into L'Orient with the loss

of three sail of the line. An expedition to Quiberon-bay, in support of the royal cause, succeeded; with the usual error of the British cabinet, it was on too small a scale, and its only result was the massacre of a number of the French emigrants by their ferocious countrymen. As the Dutch were now in alliance with France, war was declared against them, and their settlements at the Cape of Good Hope and in the East and West Indies were all reduced.

In 1796 a fruitless effort for peace was made in compliance with the wishes of the nation. Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris to treat; but the demands of the Directory, who now governed, were so unreasonable, that nothing could be effected.

The following year (1797) was a crisis in the affairs of Great Britain. The great increase of the taxes caused discontent; the menaces of invasion by the French republic terrified timid and selfish people, who, anxious to hoard their cash against times of danger, made a run on the Bank, already drained of its specie for the remittances to the continent. To avert the evil, cash payments were prohibited by an order of council, and acts were afterwards passed making Bank-of-England notes to a certain extent a legal tender, and legalizing the issue of small notes by private persons. The country was speedily inundated with paper money; rents, prices, and every thing rose, and a delusive air of prosperity spread over the empire; and thus, while England was actually year after year destroying large masses of her capital, she seemed to be growing richer every day.

But the pressing and imminent danger this year was the mutiny in the channel and North-sea fleets, occasioned by that inattention to the wants and comforts of the lower classes of which governments are but too often guilty. It took place in the following manner.

Though prices had risen considerably in this century, the pay and allowances of the seamen remained the same as in the reign of Charles II., and their rations were actually not sufficient for their complete nourishment. The sailors of late had made their compliments in anonymous letters addressed to lord Howe; but their 'father,' as they styled him, treated them with neglect. At length (Apr. 15) when lord Bridport, who commanded the channel fleet at Spithead, made the signal to prepare for sailing, the crews of all the ships replied by three cheers, and declared that they would not weigh anchor till their just demands were complied with, "unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea." They ap-

pointed delegates from each ship, who held their meetings in the admiral's cabin on board lord Howe's own ship, the Queen Charlotte. On the 22d, lord Bridport returned to his ship, the Royal George, and acquainted the crew that he was authorized to comply with all their demands. The men declared themselves satisfied, and the fleet dropped down to St. Helens. But on the 7th of May, when ordered to prepare for sailing, they again refused, alleging that government did not intend to keep faith with them. They appointed their delegates to meet on board the London, the ship of vice-admiral Colpoys; but that officer caused the marines to fire, and five of the seamen were killed. They seized and imprisoned the admiral and his officers, and afterwards sent them on shore, and several of the other ships' crews treated their officers in a similar manner. On the 14th lord Howe came to Portsmouth with full powers to settle all matters, and an act of parliament lately passed in compliance with the desires of the sailors. The crews returned to their duty, the delegates had the honor of dining with the earl and his lady, and on the 17th the fleet put to sea.

The mutiny in the channel fleet had hardly been appeased when one of a much more unjustifiable character broke out in the fleet at the Nore, joined by four ships from the North-sea fleet under admiral Duncan in Yarmouth-roads. They struck the flag of admiral Buckner in the Sandwich, and gave the command to one of the seamen named Richard Parker, a man of resolute character and of considerable ability. They blockaded the mouth of the river and allowed no merchantmen to come up; the greatest terror prevailed in the capital, and the three per cents fell to $47\frac{1}{2}$. The mutinous fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, besides frigates, etc.; but the desertion of the Clyde and two frigates damped the spirits of the mutineers, and most of them began to show great attention to their officers who were in confinement. To prevent their retreat, all the buoys had been taken up; the forts at Tilbury, Gravesend, and Sheerness were put in repair, and furnaces set up for heating shot, and ships were coming down to attack them. Some of the more desperate proposed to carry the fleet over to the enemy; but this was rejected with indignation. The ships now rapidly deserted, and on the 13th of June the Sandwich hauled down Parker's red flag, and the mutiny was ended. Parker, a man worthy of a better fate, was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged. He met his doom with piety and fortitude, acknowledging the justice of his sentence; a

few more of the delegates were executed, the rest were pardoned. By the agreement with the fleet at Spithead the seamen's pay was raised; and the government, fearing a similar mutiny in the army, soon after voluntarily raised that of the soldiers to a shilling a day.

This year was distinguished by two important naval victories. On the 14th of February, sir John Jervis, with only 15 sail of the line, engaged off Cape St. Vincent a Spanish fleet of 27 sail, of which he captured four. In this action the gallant Nelson was the most conspicuous character, and he here laid the foundation of his future glory. The admiral was created earl St. Vincent, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year. Nelson received the order of the Bath.

Admiral Duncan, with the North-sea fleet, was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch a fleet in the Texel destined for the invasion of Ireland. A storm having driven him to Yarmouth-roads, the Dutch government ordered their admiral, De Winter, to put to sea. Duncan, having gotten information, returned, and he found (Oct. 11) the enemy's fleet of 15 sail and frigates off Camperdown, about nine miles from the shore. His fleet, consisting of 16 sail beside frigates, had the advantage in weight of metal, and he boldly resolved to place himself between the enemy and the shore. The action lasted four hours; the Dutch fought with their usual obstinate valor; but they were defeated with the loss of nine ships and two frigates, and their marine was destroyed forever. Admiral Duncan was raised to the peerage by the title of viscount Duncan of Camperdown, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year.

The rebellion in Ireland, which the fleet of Holland was intended to aid, broke out in the following year. We will briefly trace its origin.

It had been the wish of the Irish protestants in the reign of queen Anne to form an incorporating union with England; but their desire not being acceded to, they proceeded to protect themselves against the catholics by a penal code equalling, or rather exceeding, in severity the English laws against recusants. Barbarous, however, as this code was in the statute-book, it was tolerably mild in practice, and the chief disadvantages which the catholics felt were, exclusion from office and the legal profession, and the inability to acquire landed property. The protestants themselves suffered from the jealous, monopolizing spirit of the English merchants and manufacturers, at whose clamor laws were passed destructive of their industry and commerce. Then

too, that fruitful cause of Ireland's misery, the universal use of the potato for food, attained its full extent; and the most wretched peasantry on the face of the earth met the eye of the traveller in Ireland.

The chief governor was usually absent; the families of Boyle and Ponsonby, under the title of *Undertakers*, managed the public affairs in the parliament; which assembly, however, by what was termed 'Poynings' law,' could not initiate any measure, being only empowered to accept or reject such as were proposed to it by the council. Powerless as the parliament was, there was, however, gradually growing up in it a patriotic party in opposition to the government and the undertakers, and it increased in strength by the contest between the last two for the patronage, that is, for the places and pensions; for the whole system of government was one of the most barefaced corruption. In 1767 the lord-lieutenant, lord Townshend, became resident, and he succeeded in reducing the oligarchy; but he failed in securing the English ascendancy. The American war gave a great advantage to the patriotic party, more especially when in 1779 most of the troops were withdrawn from the country, and the English ministry, on being applied to for protection by the maritime towns, informed the Irish nation that it must protect itself. The protestants instantly formed themselves into a kind of national guard, under the name of Volunteers. Having arms in their hands, they soon obtained freedom of foreign trade; but their great object was to have the independence of their parliament acknowledged by that of Great Britain. On the 13th of February, 1782, a convention of delegates from the different corps of volunteers met at Dungannon in Ulster, and passed a number of resolutions in furtherance of that object; the Irish parliament took its tone from the convention, and the successors of lord North cheerfully repealed the act of the sixth of George I. "for securing the dependence of Ireland." The Irish nation was profuse in its gratitude to Henry Grattan, the great leader of the patriots in the commons; numerous addresses were made, and the title 'Savior of his country' was given to him; but the vote of 50,000*l.* by parliament, to purchase him a house and lands, was a more substantial proof of their sense of his merits.

Now commenced the brilliant, but meteoric career of the Irish legislature. In Grattan, Flood, Burgh, and other orators, it exhibited fervid and splendid effusions of eloquence, of a nature almost peculiar to Ireland; but political science

and legislative wisdom were absent; the mental horizon of the orators was bounded; they could only discern Ireland and her local interests; they could not extend their view over the whole empire. There was danger every moment of a collision between the two legislatures, and the principal tie which held them was the unblushing venality of a great portion of that of Ireland. All really wise statesmen saw the absolute necessity for an incorporating union.

But Ireland is not a soil in which wisdom thrives spontaneously. There was a set of men who, regarding as a model the new state of America, and undismayed by the horrors sanctioned by the abused name of liberty in France, wished to convert Ireland into a democratic republic. These men, who were mostly protestant dissenters of Ulster, formed, in the winter of 1791, the society of the 'United Irishmen,' "for the purpose," as they expressed it, "of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." Their plan of reform was to the following effect: The kingdom was to be divided into 300 equal electorates, each to return a member to the parliament, which was to be annual; the members were to receive stipends, and no property-qualification was to be required; every man of sound mind and of the full age of 21 was to have a vote in the electorate in which he resided; his vote was to be given *by voice and not by ballot*.^{*} It is pretty clear that where such was the parliament there could be no monarchy. But these men could not see that, with such a population as Ireland contained, their republic was an impossibility; the great mass of the people were in the lowest state of mental degradation; and it was to these that, in case of a separation from England, the real power must come. The only notion of liberty the lower Irish catholics ever have had, is the triumph of their own religion and the destruction of every thing opposed to it; and imagination cannot conceive the scenes of spoliation, destruction, and massacre that would have ensued had the plans of the United Irishmen proved successful. Its leaders might have been the last victims, but immolated, beyond a doubt, they would have been at the altar of tyranny and superstition.

* This last clause does them some credit; they were enthusiasts and they therefore loved the light.

The catholics had long had a 'committee' for managing their political concerns; but of late the lords Kenmare and Fingal, and most of their aristocracy, had seceded from it, on account of the tendency which it had taken. A barrister named Theobald Wolfe Tone, a nominal protestant, became its secretary; and an alliance was soon formed between it and the United Irishmen.

There had, since the accession of George III., been illegal associations of the peasantry in the south of Ireland under the names of White-boys and Right-boys, but they were not political; they were directed against the tithes, which were at times collected in a harsh and oppressive manner. The landlords rather encouraged these societies, knowing full well that if tithes were abolished the amount of them must, under the name of rent, come into their own pockets; and it pains us to state, that in no part of the world are to be found landlords more gripping and merciless than in Ireland. But when they found that these rustic legislators would rectify the scale of rents and wages also, they became alarmed, and an act was passed in 1787 to prevent their assemblies.

In the county of Armagh, in Ulster, there sprang up subsequently parties of the opposite religions; the catholics were named Defenders, the protestants, Peep-of-day Boys, from their custom of attacking the houses of the catholics at day-break, in quest of arms. On the 21st of September, 1795, the two parties fought a regular battle, at a village named the Diamond, in which the protestants, though much inferior in number, were victorious. They now assumed the name of Orangemen, bound themselves by a secret oath, and commenced a barbarous persecution of the catholics, with the view of driving them out of the county; and great numbers were in fact forced to abandon their houses and seek a livelihood elsewhere. The Orange association quickly spread over the kingdom.

It was in the year 1797 that the United Irishmen became finally and perfectly organized. The plan was very simple and ingenious. The lowest division was composed of twelve men, mostly neighbors; these chose a secretary, and the secretaries of five societies formed a 'Lower Baronial Committee;' ten of these committees sent each a member to an 'Upper Baronial Committee,' each of which again sent a member to the 'County Committee.' In each province there was a 'Provincial Committee,' to which those of the counties sent each two or three deputies; and the provincial

committees chose by ballot five persons, who formed the Executive or Directory. Each of the lower secretaries was also to act in a military capacity, as a corporal or sergeant; the lower baronial members were captains, those of the upper were colonels. Like all secret societies, the members of the lower grades knew not who composed the upper ones; the executive, for example, were only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees.

The revolutionary government of France early directed its attention to Ireland. In 1794, the reverend William Jackson, an English clergyman, appeared in Dublin as an agent from the French directory; but he was apprehended, and being found guilty of treason, he took poison, and expired in the court. Tone, who was deeply implicated with him, was permitted by the Irish government to expatriate himself. He made no delay in passing from America to France, where, under an assumed name, he acted as the agent of the revolutionists of Ireland. In reliance on the statements of him and others, a formidable expedition, of 17 sail of the line and 13 frigates, carrying an army of 15,000 men, commanded by Hoche, one of their ablest generals, sailed from Brest, (Dec. 15, 1796.) Had this armament reached its destination in safety, it is impossible to predict the result: the overthrow, at least for a time, of the British dominion in Ireland would in all probability have ensued, for the country was actually defenceless. But it would seem as if Heaven watched in an especial manner over the destinies of the British empire. Storms assailed the French fleet from the moment it left the port. Only 16 sail, with about 6500 troops, and without the general, reached Bantry-bay; and while Grouchy, their commander, hesitated about landing, a violent gale blew off the shore, and again scattered them over the ocean. In the following year another expedition was prepared in the Texel, but the victory at Camperdown again saved the British interest in Ireland.

The heads of the conspiracy in Ireland were as follows: lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster, an amiable, but imprudent and giddy young man. He was married to the daughter of Madame de Genlis by (as was said) the infamous duke of Orleans, and he was the intimate friend of Thomas Payne. As he had served for a few months as a subaltern in the American war, he was to be the principal military leader in the insurrection. Arthur O'Connor, the nephew of lord Longueville; Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister; Dr. M'Nevin, a physician; Oliver Bond,

a merchant, and some others, all protestants, had established newspapers, named the Northern Star, the Union Star, and the Press, for disseminating their principles; and when these were put down by the arm of the law, they circulated inflammatory handbills. In many things the French revolution was copied, but the general proceedings were the usual Irish ones, such as are going on before our eyes at the present moment, with this exception, that the priests in general were not active agents in it — many of them, in fact, were eminently loyal; but they were that better generation which had been trained at the foreign universities.

Though the government could not get a clew to the conspiracy, they knew that a rebellion was in preparation. Having received information of a plan for a general rising in the north in the summer of 1797, they issued a proclamation ordering all persons not authorized to keep arms to surrender those they had; and, going beyond the rigid rule of law, they directed the troops to burn the houses and property of those who did not produce the arms which informers said they possessed. Persons were flogged, picketed, and tortured in various ways, to make them discover; and many innocent people were barbarously treated. But this did not last more than a month, and the rising of the north was prevented.

At length the government obtained the information they required. A person named Thomas Reynolds, delegate and colonel for the county of Kildare, travelling in company with a loyalist, was induced by him to disclose what he knew of the conspiracy; and on the information which he gave, thirteen of the principal conspirators were arrested at the house of Bond, (Mar. 12, 1798.) O'Connor was at this time in the Tower, having been arrested at Margate, on his way to France. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who happened not to attend the meeting at Bond's, escaped for the time, but he was discovered on the 19th of May. He made a desperate resistance with a dagger, wounding two of those who seized him, one of them mortally; he himself received a pistol-shot in the shoulder, of which he died on the 3d of June.

Convinced now of the extent of the conspiracy and of the correspondence with France, the government, by a policy at which one shudders, even while conceding its necessity, resolved to cause the mine to explode as soon as possible. A proclamation was therefore issued on the 30th of March, declaring the kingdom in a state of rebellion; and the troops were ordered to act for its suppression in the most summary manner. Scenes of cruelty and oppression sufficient to goad

a people to madness were speedily enacted. The soldiers lived at free quarters; houses and property were burnt; suspected persons were half-hanged, flogged, and picketed. The peasantry in some parts were in terror, giving up their arms and taking the oath of allegiance; the leaders, fearing that all their projects would be thus disconcerted, resolved to delay no longer, and orders were issued for a general rising on the night of the 23d of May. The plan formed was to make a simultaneous attack on the camp at Loughlinstown and the artillery at Chapelizod, both near Dublin, and then on the castle and other parts of the city; the mail-coaches were to be stopped and destroyed, and their non-arrival was to be the signal throughout the country.

But government had timely information; more of the leaders were arrested, and the attempt on the camp and city was frustrated. The rebels of Kildare rose at the appointed time, and attacked Naas and other towns, but, with one trifling exception, they were defeated; and though bodies of them kept together for some time, little of importance occurred in that county during the rebellion. An attack on Carlow on the 25th likewise proved a failure. The Meath rebels were defeated (26th) on the hill of Tarah.

During the month of June, partial risings took place in the counties of Antrim and down in the north, and in that of Cork in the south, which were easily suppressed. It was in the county of Wexford that the rebellion really raged—a county which would probably have remained at rest had not the people been goaded into rebellion by the cruelties inflicted by the military and the self-styled loyalists. It was only in this county that priests appeared among the rebels, and it was only here that murders on a large scale were perpetrated by them. On the night of the 26th a fanatic priest named father John Murphy raised his standard; and next morning, Whitsunday, two rebel camps were formed on the hills of Oulart and Kiltomas, near Gorey.

The troops which the government had to oppose to the rebels were of a very insufficient character. A very small portion were of the line; the remainder were Irish militia, English fencibles, as they were named, and the corps of yeomanry, composed of loyalists, which, being mostly cavalry, were of very little use against the rebel pikemen. Many of the officers in command were utterly devoid of military skill.

The rebels on Oulart, having defeated a small detachment sent against them, advanced (28th) to attack the town

of Enniscorthy, which the garrison, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. On the 30th, having routed some small detachments, they appeared 15,000 strong before the town of Wexford, which was evacuated at their approach. They made these towns their head quarters; their principal bivouac (we cannot call it camp) being on Vinegar-hill, near the former; for it was their tactics always to take their post on heights commanding extensive prospects, where the royal troops must attack them at a disadvantage, and where, if they saw danger approaching up one side, they could escape it by flight down another. At this time they had a great number of protestant prisoners in their hands, whom they confined in the jail and other places in the towns and camp.

The whole southern part of the county, except Duncannon and New Ross, was now in the hands of the rebels; and on the 4th of June they made a furious attack on this last town. Fortunately, general Johnson, a man of courage and military skill, commanded there. The rebels fought with desperation during a space of ten hours, but were finally repelled, with a loss of more than 1000 men; that of the army being 90 killed and upwards of 100 wounded. During the battle, some cowardly ruffians came to the house of Skuliabogue, where above 200 protestants, of all ages and sexes, had been left under a guard, and pretended to have an order for their execution, as the soldiers, they said, were butchering the catholics at Ross. They piked or shot 37 on the hall-door steps, and then shutting up the remaining 184 (including a few obnoxious catholics) in the barn, they set fire to it and burned them all. A priest named Murphy was said to be the chief instigator to this atrocity.

On the same day, in the northern part of the county, general Loftus and colonel Walpole, with 1500 men, advanced in two divisions from Gorey to attack a rebel army on Carrigruah-hill. The rebels, having had timely information, were approaching the town, when they encountered Walpole, who, with the usual strategic ability of the day, knew nothing of their motions till he met them. He was himself killed and his troops were routed; and Loftus, deeming discretion the better part of valor, retired to Tullow, in Carlow, leaving Gorey to its fate. On the 9th, the rebels, 27,000 in number it is said, advanced from Gorey against Acklow, in the county of Wicklow, with the intent of marching for Dublin. They met with a gallant resistance from about 1600 men, under general Needham; and their leader, father Murphy, who pretended to catch the flying

bullets, being killed by a cannon-ball, they retreated to Gorey.

The rebels having concentrated their forces at Vinegar-hill, general Lake prepared to make a simultaneous attack on them from different quarters, with a force of 13,000 men. On the 21st, the several divisions advanced to the attack, which commenced at seven in the morning. The rebels stood the firing of cannon and musketry for an hour and a half; they then broke and fled to Wexford, by what was called 'Needham's Gap,' that officer not having arrived at his post till after the battle. The town of Wexford was surrendered to the royal troops; and though various bodies of the insurgents still kept together, the rebellion was in effect ended.

While the rebels lay at Vinegar-hill, scarcely a day passed in which they did not put to death some of their protestant prisoners. It is computed that about 400 were thus butchered. At Wexford the prisoners were saved, chiefly by the influence of the catholic inhabitants, till the 20th, when a leader named Dixon commenced a massacre similar to that of September, 1792, in Paris. The victims were conducted in parties of ten or twenty to the stately wooden bridge over the Slaney, at the particular request of Mrs. Dixon, that, as she expressed it, "the people might have the *pleasure* of seeing them" put to death. The usual mode was, for two pikemen to stand before and two behind the victim, and thrusting their pikes into his body, to raise and hold him suspended as long as any signs of life appeared. In this manner 97 were murdered. Human feelings still showed themselves in the midst of these barbarities. Some of the priests proved themselves men of humanity. Father Philip Roche, a military leader, and brave as a paladin, though rough and boisterous in manner, exhibited the humanity always attendant on true courage. Some of the lowest of the people saved the charitable rector of Wexford. Many other instances could be given. We fear, that if a fair balance were struck of the blood shed and the cruelties and other enormities committed during those unhappy times, the preponderance would be greatly on the side of the loyalists. Courts-martial made little discrimination between the innocent and the guilty; nay, to have saved the life or property of a protestant was construed into a proof of guilt, as it argued influence over the rebels.

To the honor of the rebels it is to be recorded, that though they had in their hands a number of protestant fe-

males of all ages, not the slightest insult was offered to their chastity. Widely different in this respect was the conduct of the royal troops, with the exception of the Highlanders, who on all occasions behaved with honor and humanity.

At length the arrival of lord Cornwallis as viceroy announced the return of tranquillity. An amnesty was published, and the rebels were permitted to return to their homes and resume their avocations. O'Connor, Emmet, and the other chiefs who were in prison, obtained leave to expatriate themselves, on giving all the information in their power respecting the plans and proceedings of the United Irish society. Every appearance of rebellion had disappeared, when a French force of 1100 men, under general Humbert, landed (Aug. 22) at Killala, in Connaught. They were joined by a part of the peasantry, and they pushed on at once for the heart of the kingdom. A force of 3000 men, or more, under generals Hutchinson and Lake, at Castlebar, actually ran away, leaving their artillery behind them, and fled to Athlone. As the lord lieutenant was advancing with a considerable force, Humbert moved toward Sligo; but he afterwards crossed the Shannon, and reached a place named Ballinamuck, in the county of Longford, where, finding himself surrounded by an army of more than 20,000 men under lord Cornwallis, he surrendered, (Sept. 8.) His rebel auxiliaries were pursued and slaughtered without mercy. Thus terminated the last (as we hope it may prove) rebellion in Ireland, after a loss of more than 50,000 lives, and the destruction of property to the amount of upwards of a million sterling.

No time was now lost in preparing measures for the proposed Union. The usual and only course was adopted — arguments were addressed to men's interests, not to their reason. All the boroughs to be suppressed were to be lavishly paid for to their proprietors; titles of nobility, bishoprics, judgeships, places in all the public departments, in many cases ready money, were given or promised to the great aristocracy and to the members of the legislature. The boon of emancipation was held out to the catholics. The chief opponents of the measure were the people of Dublin, who saw in it a loss of consequence and profit to the city and themselves; and the lawyers who were in parliament, and therefore foresaw a diminution of their own importance. There were, however, many who were actuated only by pure motives of mistaken patriotism. In March, 1800, the measure was passed by the Irish parlia-

ment. Its principal opponents in the British legislature were lords Holland, King, and Thanet, and Messrs. Grey and Sheridan. On the 2d of July it received the royal assent, and the legislatures were joined, never, we trust, to be dissevered. Ireland was to send 32 elective peers to the house of lords (of whom four are prelates, who sit in rotation) and 100 members to the house of commons.

We will now proceed to make a rapid sketch of the foreign affairs of Great Britain. Restricted by our narrow limits, we can only promise a bird's-eye view to our readers.

On the 19th of May, 1798, a fleet of 13 sail of the line, with frigates, corvettes, transports, etc., carrying a land force of 20,000 men, under general Buonaparte, sailed from Toulon; its destination was Egypt, its chief object the destruction of the Anglo-Indian empire. It took the isle of Malta on its way, and reached Alexandria in safety, (June 30.) Lord St. Vincent, who commanded the British fleet off Cadiz, sent sir Horatio Nelson with 14 ships-of-war in search of the Toulon fleet as soon as he heard of its having sailed. Nelson, after exploring various quarters, at length (Aug. 1) discovered it moored in line of battle in Aboukir-bay, by Alexandria. He adopted the plan of Duncan at Camperdown, (though in a more hazardous form,) and placed a part of his fleet between the enemy and the shore, and the hostile squadron was thus engaged on both sides. The advantage in size of vessels, weight of metal, and number of men, was greatly on the side of the French; their admiral, Brueys, was an officer of superior ability, and they were aided by the batteries on the land; but nothing could withstand the skill and heroism of the British and their illustrious admiral. The engagement lasted through the day and night, and at two in the afternoon next day the firing ceased. Two only of the French ships escaped; two were burnt, nine were captured; 5222 men (including the admiral) perished; while the British had only 895 killed and wounded. For this great victory Nelson was created a baron, with a pension of 2000*l.* a year; but the king of Naples, more liberal than his own sovereign, gave him the dukedom of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily.

It is a painful duty to have to chronicle the infamy of so great a man as Nelson; but it is not to be concealed, that he was the slave to a passion for lady Hamilton, a woman of great beauty and talent, formerly the mistress, then the wife, of the British ambassador at the Neapolitan court. Acting under her influence, Nelson actually annulled a

solemn treaty concluded with the revolutionists of Naples. To the admiral prince Caraccioli, a man of advanced age whose only offence was having (it was said on compulsion) commanded the republican navy, he would not grant even the favor of being shot. The prince was found guilty at 12, and hung at 5 o'clock of the same day, lady Hamilton feasting her eyes with the sight to which she had urged her paramour. Posterity is just; admiration, not respect, is the general feeling toward the character of Nelson.

On the 27th of August, 1799, a British force under sir Ralph Abercrombie landed at the Helder, in Holland. It repulsed the troops which opposed it, and captured the fleet in the Texel. Being joined by a Russian force, it amounted to 35,000 men, and the duke of York came and took the command. It is lamentable to observe the mischief that has been done to England by titled incapacity assuming the post only suited to professional skill. Had Abercrombie remained in command, disgrace might have been averted. The royal duke was obliged to engage for the release of 8000 prisoners of war, in order to be permitted to depart unmolested.

Buonaparte made a rapid conquest of Egypt; he then advanced into Syria. Already in imagination he had subdued the Turkish empire, when the defence of Acre by the pasha Jezzar, aided by sir Sidney Smith, checked his career. He returned to Egypt, and thence to France, where, by a master-stroke of boldness and policy, he subverted the directory which governed, and placed himself at the head of the nation under the title of First Consul. One of his first acts was to make proposals of peace to England, which, however, were rejected.

Early in the year 1801 a change took place in the British cabinet. Mr. Pitt, after a retention of power for so many years, retiring from office, and being succeeded by Mr. Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The cause assigned by Mr. Pitt was his inability to realize the hopes he had held forth to the Irish catholics in consequence of the scruples entertained by the king. It was thought by many that the new cabinet was only temporary, and that Mr. Pitt would resume his post when he deemed it advisable.

The northern powers, acting under the influence of the emperor of Russia, had again asserted that "free bottoms make free goods," and entered into an armed neutrality to resist the right of search claimed by England. All attempts at negotiation having failed with them, it was resolved to have recourse to stronger measures, and a fleet of 18 sail of the line, with frigates, etc., under sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson

second in command, was sent to the Baltic. It was proposed to commence with the Danes; but instead of proceeding at once to Copenhagen, they were to land Mr. Vansittart with a flag of truce to try to negotiate. This delay gave the Danes time to prepare; and when the fleet anchored off Copenhagen, (Mar. 31,) a line of 19 ships and floating batteries, with land batteries and other modes of defence, had been made ready. Nelson undertook the attack with 12 sail of the line and the small craft, (Apr. 2.) The action commenced at ten o'clock; at one, the admiral, whom the wind prevented from coming up with the rest of the fleet, made the signal of recall, as some of the British ships had suffered severely, and the enemy's fire had not slackened; but Nelson ventured to neglect the signal. At two the fire had ceased along the greater part of the hostile line. The slaughter had been immense among the Danes; and, as they were now suffering also from the fire of their own batteries, Nelson wrote to the crown-prince to urge him to assent to measures for stopping the carnage. An armistice was agreed on for 24 hours, and the English were allowed to carry off their prizes. Nelson declared this to have been the most dreadful battle he had ever witnessed. He was raised now to the rank of viscount, the ministry being resolved to dole out their favors to him.

The assassination of the emperor Paul, and the accession of his son Alexander, put an end to the armed neutrality. The northern powers recognized the principle on which England acted.

On the 8th of March, a British force of 12,000 men, under sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed in Aboukir-bay. They thence advanced to Alexandria, where (21st) they defeated the French under general Menou, the enemy losing nearly 4000 in killed and wounded, the British about half the number; but their able general received a wound in the thigh, of which he shortly after died. General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the command, instead of besieging Alexandria, advanced against Cairo, in concert with the Turkish forces under the grand vizier and the capitan pasha. General Belliard, who commanded in that city, surrendered on honorable terms, and the combined army, now joined by an Anglo-Indian force of 7500 men, advanced to lay siege to Alexandria. Menou, after making a defence for some days, accepted the terms granted to Belliard, and Egypt was thus cleared of the French and restored to the Porte.

Buonaparte, who had now routed the Austrians both in Italy and Germany, and compelled them to sue for peace

was making vast preparations for the invasion of England, who on her part adopted the most energetic measures for defence; and such was the military ardor shown by the people, that in addition to a force of nearly 500,000 men by sea and land paid by the nation, the whole kingdom was filled with corps of volunteers, ready to encounter the victors of Marengo and Hohenlinden in defence of their liberties and properties. But peace was necessary to the French ruler, and after much negotiation a treaty was signed at Amiens, (Mar. 25, 1802,) England agreeing to restore all her conquests except Trinidad and the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. The war had largely increased the national debt, and it had greatly deranged the internal relations of the country; every one therefore rejoiced at the prospect of tranquillity.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE III. (CONCLUDED.)

1802—1837.

THE peace of Amiens proved to be nothing more than a truce. Buonaparte, who soon transferred the whole power of the state to himself, went on extending his influence over the continent, and preparing the way for the universal dominion at which he even then seems to have aimed. The English government, aware of his object, hesitated at restoring Malta to the Knights of St. John, in this offending against the letter of the treaty of Amiens; and discussion having proved useless, the minister of England left Paris, (Mar. 12, 1803,) and orders were issued for seizing the ships of France in the British ports. Buonaparte retaliated by detaining all the British subjects who were in France at the time. The war was now renewed; of the justice of it on the part of England few pretended to doubt, and all the national energies were put forth to sustain it.

The Addington administration was too feeble to direct the nation in this great crisis, and after holding the reins with an unsteady hand for a twelvemonth longer, they threw them up, (May 12, 1804,) and Mr. Pitt resumed his proper station. The duke of Portland, lords Eldon, Hawkesbury, and Cas-

tlereagh, and some other members of the former cabinet remained in office; lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden came in with Mr. Pitt; Messrs. Huskisson and Sturges Bourne became secretaries to the treasury, and Mr. Canning treasurer of the navy.

On the 18th of May, Napoleon Buonaparte caused himself to be declared emperor of the French, and at his summons the pope came to Paris and crowned him in the cathedral of Notre Dame, (Dec. 2.)

The new emperor appears to have had serious intentions of invading England. His plan is said to have been to distract the attention of the British government by sending out his fleets in various directions, and while the British navy was scattered in pursuit of them, they were to re-assemble and aid the passage of the large army which he had collected on the coast.

Nelson, who was in the Mediterranean, (1805,) learning that the Toulon fleet under Villeneuve was at sea, went every where in search of it, but to no purpose. Villeneuve got into Cadiz, where he was joined by the Spanish admiral Gravina, and the united fleet of eighteen sail of the line with frigates put to sea; Nelson pursued them with ten sail of the line. Having searched for them without effect in the West Indies, he returned to Gibraltar; he then sought for them in the bay of Biscay, and off the north-west coast of Ireland. On his return to Portsmouth, he at length received certain intelligence. Sir Robert Calder, who, with fifteen sail of the line, was on the look-out for the combined fleet, fell in with it (July 22) sixty leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Though it consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, he boldly attacked it, and succeeded in capturing two ships. The hostile fleets then remained in sight for four days, after which Villeneuve retired to Ferrol. For this gallant action sir R. Calder was brought to a court-martial, and severely reprimanded!

Villeneuve, having taken out the squadron which was at Ferrol, proceeded to Cadiz; he was followed thither by a British fleet under Nelson, who took his station fifty miles to the west of that port, using every precaution to conceal his arrival and the number of his ships. Villeneuve, who had received orders to put to sea immediately, came out of Cadiz (Sept. 19) with 33 sail of the line and five large frigates; Nelson, whose force was 27 sail of the line and four frigates, kept out of view, lest the enemy should put back. On the 21st Oct. the two fleets came to action off

Cape Trafalgar. Villeneuve formed his line of battle in a double crescent; the British fleet bore down in two columns, one led by Nelson in the *Victory*, the other by admiral Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*. Nelson's last signal was, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' He wore that day the stars of all the orders with which he had been invested, and he seems to have had a presentiment of his fate.

Our limits do not admit of the details of this greatest of naval conflicts. The victory of the English was glorious, nineteen sail of the line becoming their prizes, and one having blown up; but their joy was clouded by the death of their illustrious leader. He was shot in the shoulder by a ball from the mizzen-top of the *Redoubtable*, and he breathed his last at the close of the action, saying, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

This was the most important victory for England that ever was achieved. It annihilated the French navy, and put an end to all Napoleon's projects of invasion. Nelson's brother was made an earl, with a pension of 6000*l.* a year, and 100,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate; Collingwood was raised to the peerage; gold medals, etc. were bestowed on the other officers.

Mr. Pitt did not long survive this great triumph of his administration. His health had long been declining, and he expired early in the following year, (Jan. 23,) in the 47th year of his age. He was buried at the public expense in Westminster-abbey, and parliament granted 40,000*l.* for the payment of his debts. His death dissolved the cabinet. The king, in spite of his antipathy to Mr. Fox, was obliged to apply to lord Grenville to form a ministry which he knew must include that statesman. Lord Grenville became first lord of the treasury, Addington (now lord Sidmouth) privy seal, lord Erskine chancellor, Grey (now lord Howick) first lord of the admiralty, earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, the three secretaries, lord Henry Petty chancellor of the exchequer, etc. The change effected extended to the lowest officers, and the whigs now seemed to think themselves secure of a long lease of power.

Mr. Fox lost no time in endeavoring to negotiate a peace, but he soon found how much easier it is as an opposition leader to declaim against war, than as a minister to effect a peace with an ambitious and encroaching enemy. In justice to Mr. Fox it must be stated, that he scorned to sacrifice a particle of the national honor even for that peace which

he loved so much. He did not live to know the termination of his ineffectual negotiation. He died (Sept. 13) in his 59th year, worn out by the fury of the parliamentary warfare, and he reposes side by side with his great rival in the Abbey. He had the satisfaction, during his short tenure of power, to have measures passed for the suppression of the slave trade.

The whig tenure of office was much shorter than they had anticipated. They were personally odious to the king; their pretensions to superior wisdom and abilities caused them to be nicknamed 'All the Talents,' and Mr. Canning assailed and ridiculed them without ceasing on this head; their conduct of foreign affairs, moreover, indicated little wisdom or vigor. The public expectation, in fine, was disappointed; and the king, taking advantage of their introduction of a measure for the relief of the catholics, dismissed them from office (Mar. 24, 1807) with the general approbation of the nation. The duke of Portland was the nominal head of the new ministry, with Mr. Perceval, an eminent barrister, as leader in the commons; the three secretaries were lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning; and lord Eldon was made chancellor. A dissolution of parliament ensued, and the alarm of 'No Popery!' gave the ministers an overwhelming majority.

In the preceding year the victory at Austerlitz had prostrated Austria at the feet of Napoleon, and now that of Jena broke the power of Prussia, and those of Eylau and Friedland reduced Russia to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded at Tilsit, of which the real object was the overthrow of national independence all over Europe. Napoleon now commenced his grand system of measures for excluding England from the trade of the entire continent, by declaring the British isles in a state of blockade, and prohibiting all intercourse with them. The English cabinet, in return, by orders in council, declared every port from which England was excluded to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels trading with it liable to capture.

As it was evident from the treaty of Tilsit, that Napoleon, who was never restrained by any feeling of justice or honor, would, when he saw fit, occupy Denmark, and add her resources to his empire; the British ministry, acting on the principle of self-preservation, resolved to anticipate him, even at the expense of justice. A fleet under admiral Gambier, carrying 20,000 troops, commanded by lord Cathcart, appeared in the Baltic, and an envoy was sent to Copen

hagen to require the surrender of the Danish fleet, to be restored when peace should be concluded between France and England. The reply being a positive refusal, the troops were landed, (Aug. 16,) and Copenhagen was invested by sea and land. After a bombardment of four days, a capitulation was made, (Sept. 8,) and all the ships, stores, timber, etc., were surrendered, and were conveyed to England.

In the year 1808 commenced the memorable Peninsular War, which, persevered in with energy, in spite of egregious blunders on the part of the British cabinet, of the unpatriotic conduct of the opposition, of the baseness, treachery, and pusillanimity of the Spanish and Portuguese governments, was carried, though at a ruinous expense, to a glorious termination, and led to the overthrow of the despotism which oppressed Europe. Providence had so arranged that England should possess another Marlborough in sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already in India reduced the power of the Mahrattas, while his brother the marquess Wellesley was governor-general. To attempt to detail the military achievements of this illustrious warrior in our restricted limits would be mere presumption. More fortunate than his great predecessor, he has met with an historian worthy of him, and the publication of his own despatches has given to his fame the only addition that it could receive. We shall aim at nothing beyond the enumeration of his victories.

Napoleon was resolved to add the Spanish peninsula with its colonies to his dominions. In the year 1807 his troops occupied Portugal, the royal family having fled to the Brazils. Large bodies of troops were under various pretexts introduced into Spain; the king and his eldest son were obliged to appear before the emperor at Bayonne, and to resign the crown. They were sent as prisoners into the interior of France, and the emperor's brother Joseph was appointed king of Spain. But the pride and jealousy of the Spanish people took fire at the insult offered to the nation, and all the provinces of the monarchy prepared to resist. Deputations were sent to London, and the British government bestowed with lavish profusion money, arms, and supplies of all kinds. Spain was now to be the arena on which the battles of European independence were to be fought.

A force of 10,000 men under sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork (July 12) to coöperate with the Spaniards and Portuguese. He debarked in Mondego-bay to the north of

Lisbon. Reinforcements raised his troops to the number of 16,000 men, and at the village of Vimiero (Aug. 21) he engaged the French general Junot, and defeated him with a loss of more than 2000 killed and wounded. The victory would have been more complete but for the folly of the British ministry, who had appointed not less than two generals, sir Harry Burrard and sir Hew Dalrymple, over the man whose superior talents they must have known. The former arrived just before the battle, and though he did not interfere with sir A. Wellesley's movements, he assumed the command in time to prevent the victory from being completed. Sir Hew arrived next day, and Junot having sent to propose a convention by which the French should evacuate Portugal, it was agreed to, and the Convention of Cintra, as it was named, was made, by which the French troops, with their property, both public and private, were to be landed in France. This convention was generally regarded as disgraceful to England, and sir Hew received a vote of censure from parliament, which, it is evident, the secretary-at-war deserved much better.

In the latter part of the year Napoleon poured immense masses of troops into Spain, where he now came to take the command in person.

The British army in Portugal was now commanded by sir John Moore, a very able officer; but lord Castlereagh, with the usual ministerial presumption, took upon himself to direct the military operations. Moore was ordered to proceed to the north of Spain to join an expedition from England. He advanced to Salamanca, where finding the Spanish armies, whose coöperation he had been led to expect, routed and scattered, and the people lukewarm, if not hostile, he resolved to retreat to the coast, and by drawing the French after him give the Spaniards time to recover. It was now the depth of winter; the toils and sufferings of the army were extreme; a superior French force under marshal Soult pressed on their retreat; but they reached Corunna (Jan. 11, 1809) unimpeded. They had embarked their sick men and artillery, when (16th) they were furiously attacked by Soult with a force of 20,000, theirs being only 14,500; after a severe action, the assailants were repelled with a loss of 2000 men, the British losing half the number and their excellent commander. They buried him at night in the citadel, and Soult, as a generous enemy, raised a monument over him. The troops embarked during the night, and proceeded to England.

Marshal Soult thence advanced into Portugal, and made himself master of Oporto. At the same time the regency at Lisbon having applied for a British officer to discipline and command their troops, general Beresford was the person selected: sir A. Wellesley also arrived with a British army, (Apr. 22,) and he took the supreme command of both the British and Portuguese forces. He marched without delay against Soult, whom he forced to evacuate Portugal; he then advanced into Spain to coöperate with the Spanish general Cuesta against marshal Victor. A severe engagement was fought (July 27 and 28) near the city of Talavera in Estramadura; the British were 19,000 men, the Spaniards 34,000, while the French had 50,000 veteran soldiers. The enemy was finally repulsed with a loss of more than 7000 in all; the British had near 5500 killed and wounded; the Spaniards said they had lost 1200, for on this, as on most occasions, the Spaniards proved of little use in action. Sir A. Wellesley, aware of this and of the baseness of the *Junta* at Seville who administered the government, resolved to remain no longer in Spain, and he retired into Portugal. For his conduct of this campaign he was created viscount Wellington.

Fortunately for Spain, Austria was now at war with Napoleon. His defeat at Aspern raised hopes that his despotism might be overthrown; but at Wagram all these hopes were crushed. The British cabinet, while Austria maintained the contest, prepared to make a diversion in her favor, and lord Castlereagh planned a mighty expedition to the coast of Holland. But Castlereagh, the most ignorant and inefficient of war-ministers, knew nothing of the country to which he was sending the troops; he selected to command them the worst general possible, in the sluggish, inert, and ignorant earl of Chatham, whose only merit was his being a Pitt; and he delayed the expedition till the season of utility was past. A fleet of 39 sail of the line, with frigates, gun-boats, etc., and carrying 40,000 soldiers, sailed from the Downs on the day of the battle of Talavera, but without a Wellington. We will not relate the details of this lamentable offspring of incapacity; it merely took the pestilential island of Walcheren, and the greater part of the men composing it perished by disease.

Mr. Canning, who was certainly the first statesman of his party, clearly saw the total unfitness of lord Castlereagh for the situation which he held, and he tendered his own resignation to the duke of Portland unless his brother-secretary were removed. This led to a duel between the two ministers,

and to their subsequent resignations, and the foreign department was committed to the marquess Wellesley, a man of undoubted talent and energy.

In 1810 the malady with which the king had more than once been attacked returned, never to be removed. On the aberration of his intellect being ascertained, the chief executive power was confided to the prince of Wales as regent, and though the prince had long been connected with the whigs, he made no change in the ministry.

Napoleon was now able to direct his whole force against the peninsula. In the month of May marshal Massena took the command of 87,000 men destined for the conquest of Portugal. Lord Wellington, conscious of his inferiority of force, formed three lines of defence across the peninsula on which Lisbon stands. He posted his troops at Viseu, Abrantes, and other places; he suffered Massena to take Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. He then fell back to his first line of defence at Torres Vedras, having given the enemy a smart check at the heights of Busacos, (Sept. 27.) Massena, after lying about three weeks before the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, fell back to Santarem, and in the following spring (1811) he commenced his retreat, cautiously pursued by lord Wellington, who invested Almeida, which city being abandoned by the enemy, he led part of his troops to Badajoz, which marshal Beresford was besieging. This officer had, however, raised the siege, and with a force of only 6000 British, in conjunction with a Spanish army, he gave battle (May 16) to marshal Soult at Albuera. Never was British valor more conspicuous than on this day; by incredible efforts the enemy was routed, but of their whole number only 1500 remained unwounded. The loss of the French was 8900 killed and wounded, among whom were five generals; the Spaniards lost 2000 men. When lord Wellington arrived, an ineffectual attempt was made to storm Badajoz; leaving some troops to blockade it, he returned to Portugal, and he soon after laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, but marshal Marmont obliged him to raise it.

In the early part of this year the British troops in Cadiz, under general Graham, gained (Mar. 5) a victory over marshal Victor at the heights of Barrosa; but the ignorance and cowardice of the Spanish general rendered it useless.

On the 11th of May, 1812, Mr. Perceval was assassinated in the lobby of the house of commons by a man named Belingham, who fancied himself injured by the government. This fatal event led to a re-modeling of the cabinet. Over-

tures were made to lords Grey and Grenville; but, with the usual dictatorial spirit of the whigs, they would, to use their own phrase, 'ride rough-shod through Carlton house,' or not enter it; and this affair terminated in that upright and able though not brilliant statesman, the earl of Liverpool, becoming the premier.

While in this year Napoleon was engaged in preparing for his inauspicious conflict with Russia, lord Wellington resumed the offensive. Early in January he took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm; he then led his troops against Badajoz, which, after a most gallant and able defence by general Phillipon, was stormed (Apr. 6) and taken, with great loss on the part of the allies. Lord Wellington then moved northwards, and engaged near Salamanca (June 22) the army of marshal Marmont. The defeat of the French was complete, the prisoners alone amounting to 7000 men. After this victory the British general entered Madrid in triumph, (Aug. 12;) but having wasted thirty-five days in besieging Burgos without heavy artillery, he found it necessary, on account of the approach of the French armies, to retire into Portugal.

The dominion of Napoleon was now fast drawing to its close. The fatal retreat from Moscow was succeeded by the defection of allies and the insurrection of nations in the cause of independence. While the British government were aiding the confederacy of the North by subsidies, they did not neglect their great commander in the peninsula, and on the 16th of May, 1813, he was able to put his army of 48,000 British, 28,000 Portuguese, and 18,000 Spaniards in motion. The French army, equal in number and led by king Joseph and marshal Jourdan, retired before him toward France; but at Vittoria (June 21) they found it necessary to give battle. The victory of the allies on this day was one of the most decisive and glorious ever gained. The enemy fled, abandoning their baggage, stores, artillery, and every thing; the victors soon approached the Pyrenees; but Soult, the ablest of Napoleon's generals, had now taken the command, and in the defiles of the mountains much severe fighting occurred. Both armies took up their winter quarters on the shores of the bay of Biscay. The strong fortress of St. Sebastian had been reduced by the British, after sustaining great loss, owing to the want of skill in sir Thomas Graham, their commander.

In January, (1814,) the allies crossed the Rhine and entered France; lord Wellington at the same time entered it from the South, Soult retiring before him. At Orthes

(Feb. 27) another complete victory was gained, and the British general still advanced till he again encountered his rival under the walls of Toulouse, where, at the very time that Napoleon was signing his abdication at Fontainebleau, (Apr. 10,) a furious battle was fought, which terminated, as usual, in the defeat of the French, and concluded the war.

A portion of the victorious troops of Wellington had now to cross the Atlantic to engage a new enemy. In 1812, when the liberties of mankind were in agony, and England was straining every nerve in their defence, it might have been expected that the government of the United States would have sympathized with the glorious efforts of the mother country, and, if she were guilty of a few violations of the strict letter of the law of nations, would have overlooked them. But though England had expressed her willingness to revoke her orders in council, Mr. Madison could not wait with patience; and, while the European despot was pouring his myriads into Russia, the president of the United States ordered *his* troops to advance to the conquest of Canada; defeat, however, awaited them; they were obliged to surrender to far inferior numbers. At sea they had more success, for they succeeded in capturing the British frigates the *Guerrière* and *Macedonian*. They had also some success upon the lakes.

In the campaign of 1813, the British, though greatly inferior in force, maintained their superiority on land; but the Americans had the advantage on the lakes. A brilliant exploit at sea reëstablished the glory of the British flag. Captain Brooke, being off the port of Boston in the *Shannon* frigate, challenged the *Chesapeake*, which was lying there, to come out. The challenge was accepted; the American was superior in number of men and guns and weight of metal; yet in fifteen minutes she was a prize, and on her way to Halifax.

The overthrow of Napoleon in 1814 was calculated to bring the president to reason, and negotiations for peace were commenced. But the republicans longed for Canada, and the English wished to punish them for their ungenerous conduct. Hostilities were therefore continued, and at midsummer a body of Wellington's warriors landed in Canada; but the utter incapacity of sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief, paralyzed their valor. A fleet carrying a body of troops commanded by general Ross sailed up the *Chesapeake*, and the troops, having landed and defeated (Aug. 24) an American army of 8000 or 9000 men, took the city of Washington, where private property was respected, but all

the public buildings and stores were destroyed. The fleet and army then made an unsuccessful attempt on the city of Baltimore.

A most unfortunate expedition was sent up the Mississippi toward the end of the year, in the hope of surprising New Orleans. But, as usual, the secret transpired, and general Jackson, who commanded there, had time to prepare for its defence, and his dispositions were most able. Never did the nobler qualities of the British soldier show in greater lustre than in this disastrous affair. The Americans were posted behind intrenchments, with a deep canal in their front; from batteries and vessels of war they kept up an incessant fire; while their riflemen, taking deliberate aim, did murderous execution. In fine, the British were obliged to retire, having lost their leader, the gallant Pakenham, and between 2000 and 3000 of their peninsular heroes, (Jan. 8.) Peace had meantime been concluded at Ghent, and a war terminated which should never have commenced.

The sudden return of Napoleon to France in 1815 re-kindled the flames of war. The most energetic measures were adopted by the allied nations to oppose him; large armies were rapidly assembled in the Netherlands. The great and decisive battle was fought (June 18) between Napoleon and Wellington at Waterloo. To give the details of this important contest is out of our power; suffice it to say, that a victory more complete never was won, and that it crushed forever the hopes of the despot, who, ere long, sought refuge on board of a British man-of-war, and at length died a captive on the rock of St. Helena.

A general peace, which has not since been interrupted, was now established. During the remaining years of the reign of George III., England was internally agitated, in consequence of the difficulties and sufferings necessarily attendant on a return to peace from a state of war, which had greatly altered the relations of society: in many places the lower classes broke out into riots, which it required military force to quell; for [the members of these classes too easily become, when involved in political ignorance and darkness,] the victims and dupes of artful and unprincipled men, who seek to make them the ladder of their own ambition.* These men carefully instil into their minds a belief

* The following description of the *genus* demagogue is drawn by an American writer—"Demagogues are the natural fruit of republics; and the fabled Upas could not be more poisonous or desolating to the soil from which it springs. Envious of his superiors, panting for honors

that their misery, whenever it occurs, is attributable to the upper classes of society, and can be remedied by legislative enactments; [than which, greater, more absurd, or more injurious error cannot be conceived or propagated].

During the reign of George III., the subjugation of India was effected, chiefly under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, whose brother, the future vanquisher of Napoleon, first displayed his transcendent abilities in the war against the Mahrattas; and the names of Delhi, Assye, and Dargaum open the roll of the numerous and splendid military achievements which shed glory on his name. The whole of India, with the exception of Lahore, Nepaul, and a few other states, is now, more or less, directly under the dominion of Great Britain, whose rule is evidently, though not to the extent to be desired, a blessing to that vast region, and which would be ill exchanged for the withering despotism of Russia, or a return to the former state of turbulence and oppression.

On the 29th of January, 1820, the reign of George III., the longest in our annals, reached its close. The venerable monarch was in the 82d year of his age. The sterling goodness and the sincere piety which marked his character, had always, in spite of the party violence and anarchic principles which had prevailed so much in England during a great part of his reign, secured him the love and veneration of the great body of the people; and though so long shut out from the view of the world, his death caused a feeling of regret and melancholy. The prince regent mounted the throne as George IV.

The chief events in the reign of George IV. are the prosecution of the queen for adultery, and the emancipation of the Roman Catholics. Over the former, for the sake of all parties, we would willingly cast the veil of oblivion. Suffice it to say, that the queen was not spotless, but that she had been originally harshly, and even barbarously treated. There never had in fact been a more ill-assorted union; never were two persons less suited to each other than George IV. and his queen.

The bill for the emancipation of the catholics was intro-

which he is conscious he never can deserve, endowed with no higher faculty than cunning and an imprudent hardihood, reckless of consequences, and groveling alike in spirit and motive, the demagogue seeks first to cajole the people, then to corrupt, and last of all to betray and ruin them. When he has brought down the high to a level with himself, and depressed the low till they are pliant to his will, his work is achieved." — *Sparkes's Life of Washington*, i. 427.

duced in 1829 by the duke of Wellington and sir Robert Peel, hitherto its most strenuous opponents, but who now saw no other mode of averting a civil war in Ireland. [The imperious demands of the improved moral sense of the age, and which the whole nation, as with one voice, urged upon them, compelled these ministers to introduce the measure. It was carried with universal approbation.]

George IV. expired on the 25th of June, 1830, and was succeeded by his brother, the duke of Clarence, as William IV.

This monarch was hardly seated on the throne, when a revolution took place in France; and the excitement caused by it was not without effect on the elections for a new parliament. The feeling that a reformation in the house of commons was required, and that it would be productive of much benefit to the country by the correction of abuses, had become very general. An injudicious declaration of the duke of Wellington against reform hastened the crisis. The whigs at length arrived at office, and a ministry was formed with the veteran statesman earl Grey at its head.

A bill for the reform of parliament was introduced without delay. It was vehemently and unwisely opposed by the tory party, whose obstinate refusal of the right of sending members to parliament to such towns as Birmingham and Leeds had occasioned it. The whigs [with the whole voice of an enlightened nation urging and sustaining them] were equally resolute in their determination to carry it. The bill was finally passed, (June 7, 1832.) It abolished a great number of the small, or, as they were called, rotten boroughs, and gave representatives to many places which had not possessed them; it also altered the elective franchise, giving a vast accession of strength to the democratic principle. Public opinion [had, however, at this time,] by means of the press, become so powerful, that it was comparatively of little importance how the members of the legislature were chosen.

Several reformatory measures have been since passed, such as opening the China trade, emancipating the negro slaves in the colonies, amending the poor laws, reforming corporations, etc., some of which are undoubtedly beneficial; the wisdom and goodness of others can only be tested by time.

[In truth the "Reform Bill" ought only to be regarded as the commencement of a series of moral efforts which the improved tone of intelligence and morality of the present age is urging forward for the advancement of the *social* condition

of man ; for withdrawing the public energies of governments from those merely *animal* ambitions which have so long engaged the attention of *all nations*, and concentrating them upon the promotion of the real, internal happiness of the people. The tide thus once set in can never be driven back, and the effects will be felt, not only throughout Great Britain and her dependencies, but throughout the world. The passage, more recently, of the "Postage Bill," — a bill infinitely more important, in its objects and results, than any that was ever before introduced in any legislative assembly — is a most marked and glorious testimony to the truth of these remarks.]

William IV. died, after a brief reign, on the 20th of June, 1837, and was succeeded by her present majesty, Victoria, the only child of the late duke of Kent. [The most remarkable event of her reign has been the passage of the "*Uniform Penny Postage Bill*," (August, 1839;) a bill characteristic of the age and country; and the happy moral and intellectual, and therefore universally beneficial, effects of which are incalculable; effects which, unlike those of most measures of legislative bodies, will be felt by every individual of every class throughout the British Empire.*]

* [Nothing could more clearly demonstrate the power and efficacy of an enlightened *public opinion* and *public press*, — no example of the like kind had ever before been exhibited in any country, — than the history of this measure of Postage Reform. Mr. Hill's pamphlet on the subject was "printed for private distribution only" at the end of 1836 and beginning of 1837. It was afterwards published. In the ensuing session of parliament *five* petitions were presented on the subject. In the next session, (1837-38,) *three hundred and twenty* petitions were presented; committees were formed; and the whole of the public press became advocates of the measure. In August, 1839 it was the law of the land. — J. T. S.]

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF KINGS OF ENGLAND.

<i>Saxon.*</i>		<i>Saxon.</i>	
	A. D.		A. D.
Egbert, first king of Eng- land.....	827	Edward the Confessor... ..	1041
Ethelwolf.....	837	Harold II.....	1066
Ethelbald.....	858		
Ethelbert.....	861	<i>Saxon and Norman united.†</i>	
Ethelred I.....	866	William I.....	1066
Alfred.....	872	William II.....	1087
Edward the Elder.....	901	Henry I.....	1100
Athelstan.....	925	Stephen.....	1135
Edmund.....	940	Henry II.....	1154
Edred.....	947	Richard I.....	1189
Edwy.....	955	John.....	1199
Edgar.....	959	Henry III.....	1216
Edward the Martyr.....	975	Edward I.....	1272
Ethelred II.....	978	Edward II.....	1307
Edmund Ironsides.....	1016	Edward III.....	1327
		Richard II.....	1377
<i>Danish.</i>		Henry V.....	1399
Canute.....	1017	Henry VI.....	1422
Harold I.....	1036	Edward IV.....	1461
Hardicanute.....	1039	Edward V.....	1483

* The Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as they are usually called, were not distinct races, but immediate branches of the same original Gothic or Scandinavian stock. The settlement, at different times, of parties under these different names in England, was therefore but the union of branches of the same race, and not, in any instance, the intermixture of a foreign race.

† William the Norman was himself nearly connected with the Saxon line, and claimed the crown as his by bequest and election, and not by conquest. (See vol. i. p. 61, note.) Edgar the Atheling was the only one who had a legal claim to the crown against William; and, in order to cement his throne, and expressly for the purpose of gaining the affections of the people, William's son Henry I. married the daughter of Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, so that all his descendants have the blood of the Saxon monarchs in their veins. All the other nearest branches of the ancient Saxon line have, at various other periods, been united to the English crown.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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	A. D.		A. D.
Richard III.....	1483	James II.....	1685
Henry VII.....	1485	William and Mary.....	1689
Henry VIII.....	1509	Anne.....	1702
Edward VI.....	1547	George I.....	1714
Mary.....	1553	George II.....	1727
Elizabeth.....	1558	George III.....	1760
James I.....	1603	George IV.....	1820
Charles I.....	1625	William IV....	1830
Charles II.....	1649	Victoria.....	1837

END OF VOLUME 2

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